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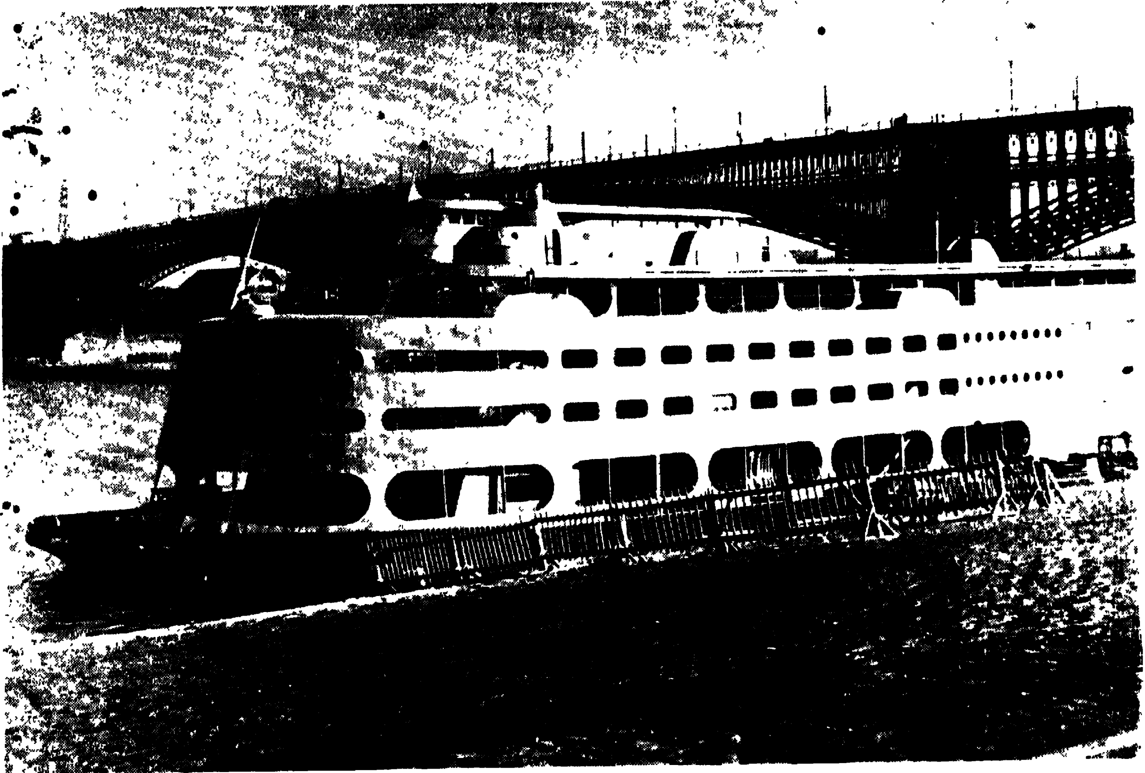
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A modern streamlined ferry boat passes under the Eads Bridge on the Mississipi River at St Louis, the largest city in the U S State of Missouri



The Ohio River, one of the major tributaries of the mammoth Missisipi River, rises near Pittsburg in Pennsylvania, the centre of American coal and steel industries



RAGINI DHANASRI

By Ramgopal Vijaivargiya

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

THE MODERN REVIEW



VOL. LXXX, No. 1

NOTES

Congress President's Letter to Viceroy

The long-drawn parley between the Cabinet Mission and the major political parties in India has reached its logical conclusion. The proposals made in the statement of May 16 contained the germ of democracy and as such, despite all handicaps placed on the Congress, are worthy of a prolonged trial. For where the path leads towards the goal it should be followed, however tortuous and thorny it might be. In the Interim Government proposals, on the other hand, the forces of reaction have had their last throw at bringing all our efforts at the attainment of freedom to negation and as such they cannot be accepted under any circumstances.

In a long letter to the Viceroy, the Congress President has comprehensively dealt with the reasons for the Congress rejecting the Interim Government proposal made by the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission in their statement on June 16. Following is the full text of the letter:

25th June, 1946.

Dear Lord Wavell,

Ever since the receipt of your statement of June 16th, my Committee have been considering it from day to day and have given long and anxious thought to your proposals and to the invitations you have issued to individuals to form the Provisional National Government. Because of our desire to find some way out of the present most unsatisfactory situation, we have tried our utmost to appreciate your approach and viewpoint. In the course of our conversations we have already pointed out to you our difficulties. Unfortunately, these difficulties have been increased by the recent correspondence.

The Congress, as you are aware, is a national organisation including in its fold the members of all religions and communities in India. For more than half a century it has laboured for the freedom of India and for equal rights for all Indians. The link that has brought all these various groups and communities together within the fold of the Congress is the passionate desire for national independence, economic advance and social equality. It is from this point of view that we have to judge every proposal. We hoped that a Provisional National Government would be formed which would give effect in practice to this independence.

Powers of Provisional Government: Appreciating of your difficulties, we did not press for any statutory change introducing independence immediately, but we did expect a *de facto* change in the character of the Government making for independence in action. The status and powers of the Provisional Government were thus important.

In our view this was going to be something entirely different from the Viceroy's Executive Council. It was to represent a new outlook, new methods of work and a new psychological approach by India to both domestic and external problems. Your letter dated 30th May, 1946, gave us certain assurances about the status and powers of the Provisional Government. These did not go far enough, according to our thinking, but we appreciated the friendly tone of that letter and decided to accept the assurances and not to press this particular matter any further.

The important question of the composition of the Provisional Government remained. In this connection we emphasised that we could not accept anything in the nature of "parity" even as a temporary expedient and pointed out that the Provisional Government should consist of 15 members to enable the administration of the country to be carried on efficiently and the smaller minorities to be represented in it.

Some mention of names was made and on our part suggestions were put before you informally, including the name of a non-League Muslim.

Selection of Names: In your statement on June 16th some of the names were made from the provisional list prepared by the Congress. The manner of preparing your list and presenting it as an accomplished fact seemed to us to indicate a wrong approach to the problem. One of the names included had not been previously mentioned at all and was that of a person holding an official position and not known to be associated with any public activity. We have no personal objection to him, but we think that the inclusion of such a name particularly without any previous reference or consultation, was undesirable and indicated a wrong approach to the problem.

Then again a name from our list was excluded and in his place another of our colleagues was put in, but as you have said that this can be rectified, I need not say more about.

Inclusion of Nationalist Muslim: One outstanding feature of this list was the non-inclusion of any Nationalist Muslim. We felt that this was a grave omission. We wanted to suggest the name of a Muslim

to take the place of one of the Congress names on the list. We felt that no one could possibly object to our changing the name of one of our own men. Indeed, when I had drawn your attention to the fact that among the Muslim League nominees was included the name of a person, who had actually lost in the recent elections in the Frontier Province and whose name we felt had been placed there for political reasons, you wrote to me as follows: "I am afraid that I cannot accept the right of the Congress to object to names put forward by the Muslim League, any more than it would accept similar objections from the other side. The test must be that of ability." But before we could make our suggestion I received your letter of the 22nd June, which surprised us greatly. You had written this letter on the basis of some Press reports. You told us that the Cabinet Mission and you were not prepared to accept a request for the inclusion of a Muslim chosen by the Congress among the representatives of the Congress in the Interim Government.

This seemed to us an extraordinary decision. It was in direct opposition to your own statement quoted above. It meant that the Congress could not freely choose even its own nominees.

The fact that this was not to be taken as a precedent made hardly any difference. Even a temporary departure from such a vital principle could not be accepted by us at any time or place and in any circumstances.

In your letter of the 21st June, you gave certain questions framed by Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated 19th June and your replies to them. We have not seen Mr. Jinnah's letter. In Question 3, reference is made to "representation of the four minorities *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsees", and it is asked as to "who will fill in vacancies caused in these groups, and whether in filling up the vacancies the leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained."

Problem of Scheduled Castes: In your answer you say, "If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of the minorities, I shall naturally consult both the main parties before filling it." Mr. Jinnah has thus included the Scheduled Castes among the minorities and presumably you have agreed with this view. So far as we are concerned we repudiate this view and consider the Scheduled Castes as integral parts of Hindu society. You also, in your letter of June 15th, treated the Scheduled Castes as Hindus.

You pointed out that in your proposal there was no "parity" either between Hindus and Muslims or between the Congress and the Muslim League inasmuch as there were to be 6 Hindus belonging to the Congress, as against 5 Muslims belonging to the League. One of the 6 Hindus belonged to the Scheduled Castes.

We are in any case not agreeable to the leader of a party, which claims to represent a community which is a minority, interfering with the selection of names either of the Scheduled Castes, whose representation you counted as falling within the Congress quota, or with the selection of representatives of the minorities mentioned.

In Question 4, the Scheduled Castes are again referred to as a minority and it is asked whether the proportion of members of the Government community-wise as provided in the proposals will be maintained. Your answer is that the proportion will not be changed without agreement of the two major parties. Here again one communal group functioning admittedly as such is given a power to veto changes in other groups with which it has no concern.

We may desire, if opportunity offers itself, to increase the representation, when it is possible, to another minority, for example, Anglo-Indians. All this would depend on the consent of the Muslim League. We cannot agree to this.

We may add that your answers restrict the Congress representation to Caste Hindus and make it equal to that of the League.

Decision on Major Communal Issue: Finally you state in answer to Question 5 that "no decision of a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it." You further say that you had pointed this out to the Congress President and he had agreed that the Congress appreciated this point. In this connection I desire to point out that we had accepted this principle for the long-term arrangement in the Union Legislature and it could possibly be applied to the Provisional Government if it was responsible to the Legislature and was composed of representatives on the population basis of major communities.

It could not be applied to the Provisional Government formed on a different basis altogether. It was pointed out by us in my letter of the 13th June, 1946, that it would make administration impossible and deadlocks a certainty. Even in the question as framed by Mr. Jinnah it is stated that "in view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original 12" no major communal issues should be decided if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it. Thus this question arose after the substitution of 14 for 12, *i.e.*, after your statement of June 16th.

Veto Power to Muslim League: In this statement no mention was made of this rule.

This very important change has been introduced, almost casually and certainly without our consent. This again gives the power of veto or obstruction to the Muslim League in the Provisional Government.

We have stated above our objections to your proposals of June 16th as well as to your answers to the questions framed by Mr. Jinnah. These defects are grave and would render the working of the Provisional Government difficult and deadlocks a certainty. In the circumstances your proposals cannot fulfil the immediate requirements of the situation or further the cause we hold dear.

My Committee have, therefore, reluctantly come to the conclusion that they are unable to assist you in forming a Provisional Government as proposed in your statement of June 16th, 1946.

Acceptance of Long-Term Plan: With regard to the proposals made in the statement of May 16th, 1946, relating to the formation and functioning of the constitution-making body, the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution on the 24th May, 1946, and conversations and correspondence have taken place between Your Excellency and the Cabinet Mission on the one side and myself and some of my colleagues on the other. In these we have pointed out what in our opinion were the defects in the proposals. We also gave our interpretation of some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views, we accept your proposals and are prepared to work them with a view to achieve our objective. We would add, however, that the successful working of the Constituent Assembly will

largely depend on the formation of a satisfactory Provisional Government.

Sd/- A. K. AZAD

Congress Resolution on British Proposals

The following is the full text of the resolution of the Congress Working Committee on the Cabinet Mission's Declaration released for publication on June 25 :

On May 24, the Working Committee passed a resolution on the statement, dated May 16 issued by the British Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy. In this resolution they pointed out some defects in the statement and gave their own interpretation of certain parts of it.

Since then the Committee have been continuously engaged in giving earnest consideration to the proposals made on behalf of the British Government in the statements of May 16 and June 16 and have considered the correspondence in regard to them between the Congress President and the members of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy.

The Committee have examined both these sets of proposals from the point of view of the Congress objective of immediate independence and the opening out of the avenues leading to the rapid advance of the masses, economically and socially, so that their material standards may be raised and poverty, malnutrition, famine and the lack of the necessaries of life may be ended, and all the people of the country may have the freedom and opportunity to grow and develop according to their genius. These proposals fall short of these objectives. Yet the Committee considered them earnestly in all their aspects because of their desire to find some way for the peaceful settlement of India's problem and the ending of the conflict between India and England.

The kind of independence, Congress has aimed at, is the establishment of a united, democratic Indian federation, with a Central authority, which would command respect from the nations of the world, maximum provincial autonomy and equal rights for all men and women in the country. The limitation of the Central authority as contained in the proposals, as well as the system of grouping of provinces, weakened the whole structure and was unfair to some provinces such as the N.-W. F. Province and Assam, and to some of the minorities, notably the Sikhs. The Committee disapproved of this. They felt, however, that, taking the proposals as a whole, there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central authority and for fully ensuring the right of a province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping, and to give protection to such minorities as might otherwise be placed at a disadvantage. Certain other objections were also raised on their behalf, notably the possibility of non-nationals taking any part in the constitution-making. It is clear that it would be a breach of both the letter and spirit of the statement of May 16, if any non-Indian participated in the voting or stood for election to the Constituent Assembly.

In the proposals for an interim Government contained in the statement of June 16, the defects related to matters of vital concern to the Congress. Some of these have been pointed out in the letter, dated June 25, of the Congress President to the Viceroy. The Provisional Government must have power and authority and responsibility and should function in fact, if not in law, as a *de facto* independent Government leading to the full independence to come. The members of such a Government can only hold themselves responsible to the people and not to any external authority. In the formation of a provisional or other Government, Congressmen can never give up the national character of the Congress, or accept an artificial and unjust parity, or agree to the veto of a communal group. The Committee are unable to accept the proposals for the formation of an interim Government as contained in the statement of June 16.

The Committee have, however, decided that the Congress would join the proposed Constituent Assembly, with a view to framing the constitution of a free, united and democratic India.

While the Committee have agreed to Congress participation in the Constituent Assembly, it is in their opinion essential that a representative and responsible provisional national Government be formed at the earliest possible date. A continuation of authoritarian and unrepresentative Government can only add to the suffering of famishing masses and increased discontent. It will also put in jeopardy the work of the Constituent Assembly, which can only function in a free environment.

The Working Committee recommend accordingly to the All-India Congress Committee, and for the purpose of considering and ratifying this recommendation they convene an emergent meeting of the A.-I. C. C. in Bombay on July 6 and 7.

Interim Government Proposal

The following is the full text of the *interim* Government proposal announced on June 16 :

"His Excellency the Viceroy, in consultation with the members of the Cabinet Mission, has for some time been exploring the possibilities of forming a Coalition Government drawn from the two major parties and certain of the minorities. The discussions have revealed the difficulties which exist for the two major parties in arriving at any agreed basis for the formation of such a government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission appreciate these difficulties and the efforts which the two parties have made to meet them. They consider, however, that no useful purpose can be served by further prolonging these discussions. It is indeed urgently necessary that a strong and representative Interim Government should be set up to conduct the very heavy and important business that has to be carried through.

The Viceroy is, therefore, issuing invitations to the following to serve as members of the Interim Government on the basis that the constitution-making will proceed in accordance with the statement of May 16 :

Sardar Baldev Singh, Sir N. P. Engineer, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. H. K. Mahatab, Dr. John Matthai, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Khwaja Sir Nazimuddin, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

If any of those invited is unable for personal reasons to accept the Viceroy will, after consultation, invite some other person in his place.

The Viceroy will arrange the distribution of portfolios in consultation with the leaders of the two major parties.

The above composition of the Interim Government is in no way to be taken as a precedent for the solution of any other communal question. It is an expedient put forward to solve the present difficulty only, and to obtain the best available Coalition Government.

The Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission believe that Indians of all communities desire to arrive at a speedy settlement of this matter so that the process of constitution-making can go forward and that the Government of India may be carried on as efficiently as possible in the meantime.

They, therefore, hope that all parties, especially the two major parties, will accept this proposal so as to overcome the present obstacles, and will co-operate for the successful carrying on of the Interim Government. Should this proposal be accepted the Viceroy will aim at inaugurating the new Government about the 26th June.

In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

The Viceroy is also directing the Governors of the Provinces to summon the Provincial Legislative Assemblies forthwith to proceed with the elections necessary for the setting up of the constitution-making machinery as put forward in the statement of May 16."

Interim Proposal Scrapped

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy in a statement regret that it has not been possible to form an *interim* Coalition Government, but they are determined that the efforts should be renewed. Until a new *interim* Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker government of officials. Following is the full text of the statement issued on June 25 :

"The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy are glad that constitution-making can now proceed with the consent of the two major parties and of the States. They welcome the statements made to them by the leaders of the Congress and the Muslim League that it is their intention to try and work in the Constituent Assembly so as to make it a speedy and effective means of devising the new constitutional arrangements under which India can achieve her independence. They are sure that the members of the Constituent Assembly, who are about to be elected, will work in this spirit.

The Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy regret that it has not so far proved possible to form an Interim Coalition Government, but they are determined that the effort should be renewed in accordance with the terms of paragraph eight of their statement of June 16.

Owing, however, to the very heavy burden which has been cast upon the Viceroy and the representatives of the parties during the last three months, it is proposed that the further negotiations should be adjourned for a short interval during the time while the elections for the Constituent Assembly will be taking place. It is hoped that when the discussions are resumed, the leaders of the two major parties, who have all expressed their agreement with the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission on the need for the speedy formation of a representative Interim Government, will do their utmost to arrive at an accommodation upon the composition of that Government.

As the Government of India must be carried on until a new Interim Government can be formed, it is the intention of the Viceroy to set up a temporary caretaker government of officials.

It is not possible for the Cabinet Mission to remain longer in India as they must return to report to the British Cabinet and Parliament and also to resume their work from which they have been absent for over three months. They, therefore, propose to leave India on Saturday next, June 29.

In leaving India the members of the Cabinet Mission express their cordial thanks for all the courtesy and consideration which they have received as guests in the country and they most sincerely trust that the steps which have been initiated will lead to a speedy realisation of the hopes and wishes of the Indian people."

Wavell-Jinnah Correspondence

The release of the Wavell-Jinnah correspondence throws a flood of light on the causes that led to the breakdown of the *interim* Government proposals. After the statement of June 16 was officially scrapped, Mr. Jinnah came out with a fiery statement in which he declared that "any attempt to whittle down in any way the assurances given to the Muslim League or to change or modify the basis of the statement of June 16, which has been accepted by the Muslim League, will be regarded as going back on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on their pledged word in writing and as a breach of faith." The charges of Mr. Jinnah may be considered to have been summed up in the following portion of his long statement :

> I regret that the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy should have thought fit to postpone indefinitely the formation of the Interim Government on the basis of their statement of June 16 as that statement clearly says that the Viceroy aimed at inaugurating the Interim Government about June 26.
>
> It is very difficult to see what are the mysterious reasons and causes for this sudden departure. The Muslim League emphatically disapproves of this action on the part of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, because all contingencies including rejection by the Congress were contemplated by and provided for in the statement of June 16 and clause 8 of the statement taken along with the context is quite clear and the delegation and the Viceroy were in honour bound to go ahead with the formation of the Interim Government immediately with those who were willing to come into the Interim Government on the basis and principles set out in their statement of June 16.

Viscount Wavell has not suffered these charges to go unanswered. The correspondence that passed between him and Mr. Jinnah has been released for publication together with the short but important letter, that was sent to the League President in reply to his statement mentioned above. The correspondence, published below, proves that Mr. Jinnah's charges against the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy stand amply rebutted.

Wavell's Second Letter

June 28.

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

The Cabinet Mission and I feel that there are certain points in your statement released yesterday which it would be wrong to leave unanswered.

You will remember that at an interview which the Cabinet Mission and I had with you on the evening of June 25, before the meeting of your Working Committee, at which you accepted the proposals in the statement of June 16, we explained to you that as Congress had accepted the statement of May 16 while refusing to take part in the Interim Government proposed in the statement of June 16, this had produced a situation in which para 8 of the statement of June 16 took effect.

This paragraph stated that if either of the two major parties was unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the lines laid down in that statement, the Viceroy would proceed with the formation of Interim Government which would be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16.

We said that since the Congress and the Muslim League had now both accepted the statement of May 16, it was the intention to form a Coalition Government including both those parties as soon as possible.

In view, however, of the long negotiations which had already taken place, and since we all had other work to do, we felt that it would be better to have a short interval before proceeding with further negotiations for the formation of an Interim Government.

Thus, whatever interpretation you may put on para 8, your Working Committee can have been in no doubt as to the course we proposed to adopt.

I confirmed in writing the same evening what we had told you.

Secondly, the assurances which you quote in your statement related specifically to the particular Interim Government that would have been set up if both major parties had accepted the statement of June 16.

To prevent misunderstanding I propose to publish this letter together with your letter of June 19 the substance of which has already appeared in the Press, and my reply of June 20.

The Viceroy's second letter of June 28 to Mr. Jinnah :

I have received your letter of June 28 and have shown it to the Cabinet Ministers.

We are quite unable to accept your suggestion that we have gone back on our word. As I have said in a letter to you earlier today, our course of action was determined by what had been laid down in para 8 of the statement of June 16 ; and we had made it plain to you before your Working Committee meeting on June 25, that we proposed to follow this course.

The arrangements for the elections to the Constituent Assembly have already been put into operation and we do not propose to postpone them.

As the substance of your letter was included in the All-India Radio news today I am publishing this reply.

W. Wavell

Mr. Jinnah's Letter

June 19th, 1946

Dear Lord Wavell,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 16th June, 1946 together with an advance copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself of the same date.

In my interview with you at Simla prior to the announcement of the Cabinet Delegation's proposals, you had informed me that you were going to form the Interim Government consisting of 12 members on the basis of 5 Muslim League, 5 Congress, 1 Sikh and 1 Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian. As regards the portfolios, you had indicated that the important ones would be equally divided between the Muslim League and the Congress; but details of actual allotment were to be left open for discussion. After the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and yourself, dated the 16th of May, 1946, you again on the 3rd of June at New Delhi gave me to understand that the formula for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed to me at Simla would be followed. On both the occasions I sought your permission to communicate this information to my Working Committee which you kindly gave. Accordingly, I gave a full account of the talks I had with you and the decision of the Working Committee in regard to the acceptance of the long-term proposals was largely influenced by the faith which they reposed in the scheme for the formation of the Interim Government disclosed by you to me on the two occasions. Further, as I have already pointed out in my letter to you of the 8th June, 1946, I made the statement before the Council of the All-India Muslim League that that was the formula, which, I was assured by you, would be the basis on which you would proceed to form your Interim Government, and, therefore, this formed an integral part of the plan embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation This was one of the most important considerations which weighed with the Council of the All-India Muslim League also in arriving at their decision, although even then there was a section that was opposed to the plan being accepted.

When the Congress Press started a sinister agitation against Congress-League parity with a view to inform you of the Muslim League stand, I wrote to you on the 8th June that any departure from this formula directly or indirectly, will lead to serious consequences and will not secure the co-operation of the Muslim League.

Subsequently, in my interview with you on the 13th June you informed me that you wanted to alter the basis and proceed on the formula of 5 Congress 5 Muslim League and 3 others, namely, 1 Sikh, 1 Scheduled Caste, and 1 Indian Christian. I told you then that if any change was proposed to be made I would have to place the matter before the Working Committee and may have to call another meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League. I also informed you that when the Congress finally agreed to your new formula I would then place it before my Working Committee for them to take such action as they deem necessary.

After discussion with the Congress representatives you wrote to me on the 15th June informing me that you had failed to negotiate an agreement on the composition of the Interim Government on the basis of five-five-three and that the Cabinet Delegation and yourself would issue a statement on the 16th of June on the action that you proposed to take and that you would let me have a copy of it before publication.

Accordingly, you sent me a copy of the statement by the Cabinet Delegation and yourself issued on the 16th June, with a covering letter of the same date, which I placed before my Working Committee and who after

careful consideration of the matter have authorised me to state as follows :

(*a*) That the Working Committee are surprised that invitations have been issued to 5 Muslim Leaguers to join the Interim Government without calling for a list from the leader of the Muslim League.

(*b*) That your latest proposal on the basis of which you now desire to form your Interim Government shows that you have abandoned parity between the Congress and the Muslim League, the two major parties, and have substituted parity between the Muslim League and Caste Hindus, and have added a fourth representative of the minorities, namely, a Parsi. One of the minority representatives nominated by you, *i.e.*, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, is a Congressman and has been selected, it appears, not to give real representation to the Scheduled Castes, but to give an additional seat to the Congress in the Interim Government.

(*c*) That the modifications which have been made in the original formula for the Interim Government have adversely affected the proportion of the Muslims in the Interim Government, as a whole and as against the Congress, as a single group.

(*d*) That in view of the serious changes which have, from time to time, been made to satisfy the Congress, it is not possible for the Working Committee to arrive at any decision in the matter of the formation of the Interim Government so long as the Congress does not finally convey its decision on the proposals to you, and

(*e*) That the question of distribution of portfolios should also be finally decided so that there may be no further hitch created by the Congress in this regard and the Working Committee may have a complete picture before them when they meet to consider the proposals.

Futther, I shall be grateful if you will please make the following points clear with reference to your letter and statement of the 16th June :

1. Whether the proposals contained in the statement for the setting up of an Interim Government are now final or whether they are still open to any further change or modification at the instance of any of the parties or persons concerned ;

2. Whether the total number of 14 members of the Government as proposed in the statement would remain unchanged during the interim period ;

3. If any person or persons invited as representatives of the 4 minorities, *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Chirstians and the Parsis, is or are, unable to accept the invitation to join the interim Government for personal or other reasons, how will the vacancy or vacancies thus created, be filled by the Viceroy ; and whether in filling up the vacancy or vacancies the Leader of the Muslim League will be consulted and his consent obtained ;

4. (*a*) Whether during the Interim period for which the Coalition Government is being set up the proportion of members of the Government, Communitywise, as provided in the proposals, will be maintained.

(*b*) Whether the present representation given to 4 minorities *viz.*, the Scheduled Castes, the Sikhs, the Indian Christians and the Parsis will be adhered to without any change or modification, and

5. In view of the substitution of 14 now proposed for the original of 12 and the change made in the original formula, whether there will be a provision in order to safeguard Muslim interests, that the Executive Council shall not take any decision on any major communal issue if the majority of the Muslim members are opposed to it.

I trust that you will kindly favour me with your reply as early as possible.

Yours sincerely,
M. A. Jinnah

Viceroy's Letter to Mr. Jinnah

June 20, 1946

Dear Mr. Jinnah,

I thank you for your letter of the 19th June which I have shown to the Cabinet Mission.

I do not think it is necessary for me to comment on the first part of your letter. I am sure you will appreciate that negotiations designed to secure acceptance by two parties with conflicting interests may not always end on the same basis as that on which they began ; and as you know, I never gave you any guarantee that they would necessarily be concluded on any particular basis.

I note the views of the Muslim League set out in paragraphs (*a*) to (*e*) of your letter.

The intention in the statement of June 16 was that the discussion on portfolios with leaders of the two main parties should follow the acceptance by both parties of the scheme. This intention still holds, since until the names are known, it is difficult to decide on the distribution of portfolios.

On the points which you desire to be made clear in connection with the Government to be formed under our statement of June 16, I give you the following reply after consultation with the Delegation :

1. Until I have received acceptance from those invited to take office in the Interim Government, the names in the statement cannot be regarded as final. But no change in principle will be made in the statement without the consent of the two major parties.

2. No change in the number of 14 members of the Interim Government will be made without the agreement of the two major parties.

3. If any vacancy occurs among the seats at present allotted to representatives of Minorities, I shall naturallly consult both the main parties before filling it.

4. (*a*) and (*b*) The proportion of members by communities will not be changed without the agreement of the two major parties.

5. No decision on a major communal issue could be taken by the Interim Government if the majority of either of the main parties were opposed to it. I pointed this out to the Congress President and he agreed that the Congress appreciated this point.

6. If you agree, I will send copies of the questions in your letter and of paragraphs 4 and 5 of this letter to the President of the Congress.

Yours sincerely,
W. Wavell

Candidates for the Constituent Assembly

The time has come for the selection of candidates for the Constituent Assembly. The Congress Leaders have suggested names of well-known Indian experts on constitutional law, irrespective of their party affiliations, for inclusion in the Congress list. That is good.

A Constituent Assembly is a rare feature in the life of a nation. Its tasks and responsibilities are very great. The more efficient is its work, the shorter is the

interval between two such Assemblies and the more durable the social peace achieved. The U.S.A. had her Constituent Assembly some two centuries back, need has not arisen to call another. France had several such Assemblies during the past hundred years. The prospective candidates for the Indian Constituent Assembly ought to realise the great burden they are going to shoulder. Their power will be immense, they would make or mar the future of the unborn generations. A revolution may be averted by them if they succeed ; a catastrophe will be a certainty if they fail.

The methods that were followed in selecting candidates for the Legislatures make us apprehend that the same tactics are likely to be adopted in selecting Constituent Assembly candidates as well. In the long lists of members of the Legislatures in Bengal, Bihar and Assam in particular, one has to look long before he comes across a name that suggests parliamentary abilities. The Congress list is no exception. Persons with well-known records of anti-social activities are included in it. It pained us to find a number of such names on the list of persons returned to the A.-I.C.C. from Bengal. The lists are faultless with regard to group quota. The declared criterion for these selections was that the candidates were political sufferers. The selecting authorities thought it fit to send workers to the Legislatures. We hoped that it would ensure at least one important thing that is badly needed today, discipline. But the disillusionment came too soon. In Assam, the Group controversy has needlessly exposed the division among Congress ranks in the Ministry as well as the Legislature ; in Bengal, the unsavoury facts revealed after the last election to the Upper House by the Assembly members augur ill for the province.

The fundamentals of Indian life and activity are embodied in a verse of the *Bhagavad Gita* : "Do your duty without waiting for the results thereof, be that good or be that ill." This great teaching of unattachment to worldly desires brings about an unruffledness of mind essentially needed by a patriot. The Bengal Revolutionaries of the Partition days had discovered the seed of their success in this verse, they made the study of the *Gita* compulsory for their recruits and thus succeeded in building up a band of workers with grim determination, sterling character, well-disciplined and ready to lay down their lives for the attainment of freedom for our motherland. They were a handful in number but they shook the British throne and lashed world opinion to alertness about India. They made tremendous sacrifices without waiting for a reward. Deviation from this principle has brought disaster on the Congress in Bengal.

The recognition of political suffering as an object of reward through the grant of membership of the Legislature cannot be too strongly condemned. This lowers sacrifice to the level of capitalisation and brings down the sufferer in the esteem of the people whom he served. The purity of his sacrifice is lost and it is natural that motive would be ascribed to his subsequent activities. Unfit for parliamentary work by temperament, lacking in educational experience and equipment needed for it and shorn of the respect he commanded among his folk, is bound to cut a sorry figure and the country suffers both ways. With parliamentarians innocent of knowledge of law and constitution, enactments serving sectional interests, Acts with retrospective effect and the like become frequent and a source of menace to the people. Valuable workers are lost in the Legislatures. The people are disappointed in their expectation that their beloved leaders, local and provincial, would resist the temptation of the paltry salary and honour that attaches to the membership of a Legislature. If employment has to be found for those of them in distress, other avenues should be discovered. Legislatures ought not be used as an object of reward or employment by any political party because it means evil for all, the workers themselves not excempted.

We appeal to the Bengal Congress authorities to ponder over and rise above personal, group or party tactics in making selections of candidates for the Constituent Assembly. Ability, and not the mere fact of political suffering, should be the prime test for such selections.

League Planning Committee on Pakistan Economics

The Honorary Joint Secretary of the All-India Muslim League Planning Committee in a statement says :—The Cabinet Mission's Plan provides that the proposed Union of India would deal with foreign affairs, defence and communications and shall have powers to raise the finances required for the purpose. The economic implications of putting these subjects under the control of the proposed Union are as follows :

The foreign relations and the foreign trade of a country are interdependent. Trade considerations play an important role in the determination of the foreign policy. The Centre, through its foreign policy, will be in a position to exercise a considerable measure of control over the volume, character and direction of the foreign trade of the constituent units.

The authority entrusted with the responsibility for incurring public expenditure can and does affect the economic life of the community to a very great extent. The expenditure on defence usually constitutes a very large part of the total public expenditure. Under the proposed Plan the defence expenditure will be the responsibility of the Centre which would thus have the power to influence the economic life of the units in a very effective manner.

The Defence Department of a country is usually the largest single employer in the country. It employs a large number of people directly as members of the defence services. The secondary employment created by it is enormous, for a very much larger number is employed in the production of goods and services required for defence. All this employment will be controlled by the Central Government.

The goods required for defence include, amongst others, the products of the following industries :

Iron and Steel Industry ; General Engineering Industry ; Power Industry ; Chemical Industry ; Cement Industry ; Consumption goods industries, such as leather, textiles, sugar, paper, matches, soap, etc.

The first five are basic industries, for their products are indispensable for other industries. The location of these industries is decided partly on grounds of strategy and partly in the interests of the economic development of the country. These decisions will be made by the Central Government which will thus have the power to promote or discourage the economic development of different areas.

In order that the requirements of the Defence Department may be efficiently and promptly met, a good deal of economic planning would be necessary. In

particular the development of the abovementioned industries will have to be planned by the Centre. This will greatly curtail the liberty of the Groups as well as Provinces in the matter of economic planning. The Units will have no option but to esure that their plans are such as can be fitted in the Master Plan prepared by the Centre. Thus the Central Government, through its economic planning for defence, would be in a position to determine the character of the economy which the different units are to have.

Communications play a very important role in the economic life of a country. The location of industries and of markets, the character of agricultural production and the economic development of different areas are dependent on the facilities available for the transport of goods and the rates at which they are carried.

The railways can't charge uniform rates for all goods and distances. Differential rates are both necessary and justified on economic grounds. But the right of discrimination places enormous power in the hands of the railway authorities, which can, if they so choose, cripple the economy of any area through their rates policy.

The Union Government will have the powers to raise the finances required for the central subjects. It has not been laid down as to how these finances are to be raised. There are two ways of doing this :

1. The units may make contributions to the Centre on an agreed basis, or,

2. The Centre may impose taxes on its own account.

As this question has to be decided by the proposed Constituent Assembly, it can safely be taken for granted that a majority of the members of the Assembly would be in favour of the second method. The economic effects of this method of raising the finances required by the Centre would be of a very far-reaching character.

Some of the important sources of revenue for a common centre are as follows :

Customs; Central Excise; Income-tax; Currency.

The imposition of import and export duties for revenue purposes is very closely connected with the imposition of such duties for protective purposes. It is necessary that the one should not nullify the effect of the other. The case for their proper co-ordination and control by the same authority is very strong. This authority is likely to be the Union Government which will thus get the powers to control the policy with regard to protection.

The incidence of import and export duties whether for revenue or for protective purposes cannot be uniform for all the people. Different people are affected differently. For example, the incidence of the export duty on jute has been to an appreciable extent on the Muslim agriculturists of Eastern Bengal. Again, the protective duty on sugar has meant that the Muslims, along with others, have been paying a higher price for the sugar consumed by them, whereas the beneficiaries of the duty have been the Hindu growers of sugar-cane in the U.P. and Bihar, and the non-Muslim owners of sugar-mills. Such examples could be easily multiplied. The point that it is intended to emphasise is that the authority imposing the import and export duties is in a position, to bring about a re-distribution of wealth amongst the members of the community and to discriminate between different people in the distribution of sacrifices and benefits.

Excise duties cannot be levied on a uniform basis. Only a few commodities are selected for this purpose and they are taxed at different rates. Besides, the incidence of excise duties, like Customs duties, is such that different people are affected differently. This gives the Central Government powers to exercise discrimination in the imposition of burdens.

Income-tax is a direct tax and through it all the economic activities of the individual come directly under the control of the taxing authority. People are naturally more interested in the authority that taxes them directly than in any other. That is why the component units in most of the federations in the world have always tried to reserve the powers of direct taxation to themselves leaving the Central Government to rely mostly on indirect taxes. But the increasing needs of the Central Government have usually led to an encroachment on the rights of the Units in the sphere of direct taxation, with the consequent loss of importance by the Units.

Currency is the source of inflationary finance. In times of emergency such as war, it is the most important source of finance for the Central Government. Once it is conceded that the Union Government will have powers to raise money otherwise than through contributions by the Units, the case for the Central control over currency becomes irresistible.

Currency and banking are closely related and their unified control is essential on economic grounds. This would mean that banking would also become a Central subject.

The Plan provides that any major communal issue should require for its decision a majority of the representatives of each of the two major communities. This may be an effective safeguard against any direct interference in the religious and cultural interests of the Muslims. But there need be no such direct interference, for the religion and culture of a people can be imperceptibly, but none less effectively, destroyed by applying the economic strangle-hold against which there is no safeguard, as economic issues are not likely to come under the definition of "major communal issues."

Some of the important key points for the control of the economic life of a community are as follows :

1. Foreign trade.
2. Protective tariffs.
3. Public expenditure (of which the expenditure on defence constitutes a very large part).
4. Income-tax.
5. Economic planning.
6. Basic industries.
7. Currency.
8. Banking.

Practically all the above subjects, for one reason or another, would come under the control of the proposed Centre which would be virtually an Akhand Hindustan Centre. The Units will find that policies with regard to most of the important matters are laid down for them by the Centre and all that they are required to do is to carry them out. It would be no exaggeration to say that under this arrangement the Groups and Provinces may be no more than glorified municipalities.

Is Congress a Hindu Body ?

Strenuous and persistent efforts have for some years past been made in India and abroad to paint the **Congress as a Hindu organisation. The propagandists**

were mainly Conservative Britons and their Indian catspaws of the Muslim League. The Indian National Congress has always been a national organisation of the Indian masses. Any person, belonging to any community or professing any religion, is eligible for membership provided he subscribes to its political creed, namely, attainment of Indian independence by non-violent and peaceful means, and pays a subscription of four annas per annum. An influential section of Muslims have all along been in the Congress, even Mr. Jinnah was one of its leaders for a number of years. The first President of the Congress was an Indian Christian and the second one was a Parsee. The longest term of Congress Presidentship has been held by a Muslim. Vital facts like these are deliberately suppressed for misrepresenting the Congress as a Hindu body. The estrangement of the Muslims from the Congress is solely due to British patronage. Recognition of Muslim claims even to an absurd length through the League and a blunt refusal to recognise them when the Muslims come through the Congress is the foremost reason which has added weight to the League. As soon as this patronage is withdrawn and the Muslim community finds that their claims are duly recognised when pushed forward through prevalent democratic institutions, the League will crumble.

After the *interim* Government proposals of June 16, were scrapped in spite of Mr. Jinnah's declared eagerness to work it, the League leader has been lashed to fury and in his usual manner has attacked the Congress in the following words :

> As regards the resolution of the Congress, I most emphatically repudiate its bogus claim that it represents India and its claim to 'national' character. The Congress is a Hindu organization and it does not represent any other community except the Caste Hindus. It certainly does not represent the Muslims, and the mere fact that it has a handful of Muslim henchmen for the purpose of window-dressing cannot give it the national character which it claims, nor the right to represent India upon which it keeps on harping. This has been established beyond doubt in the recent elections, the results of which show that the Muslim League carried away 90 per cent of the total Muslim seats in the various legislatures, and out of the remaining 10 per cent, the Congress share does not amount to more than 4 per cent.
>
> The Congress, therefore, has no right to represent or speak on behalf of the Muslims, and its refusal to accept the proposals for the formation of the Interim Government is based on sinister motives. First, they wanted to break the parity between the Muslims and the Caste Hindus. It was accepted by them at Simla last year at the conference called by the Viceroy in connexion with the Wavell proposals, and secondly, their insistence on nominating a Congress Muslim is aimed at striking at the fundamentals of the League and its Muslim national representative character and at attempting to establish a false claim that the Congress represents the Muslims and the Muslim League is not the representative organization of Muslim India. As pointed out above the Congress claim is not true nor based upon facts and, therefore, the Muslim League cannot be a party directly or indirectly to any course of action which is calculated to prop up this bogus claim.

This vituperation was anticipated by the Congress and a complete reply to the charges has already been recorded in advance in the Congress President's letter to the Viceroy. The letter, which has been reproduced elsewhere, is quite clear and we need not deal with it here.

It is not yet definitely known who were the persons that had pulled Mr. Jinnah's strings from behind. It has been naturally apprehended that they belong to the Civil Service. The role of the diehard Civil Service in India, most of whom are Churchill's men, in obstructing all efforts of Indian national progress is wellknown. In addition to manning the Secretariat, they now hold the gubernatorial *guddee* of eight out of eleven provinces of India. Their mind has been spoken out by one of Churchill's henchmen, Mr. Casey, who now speaks with 'authority' about Indian affairs. In a series of articles contributed from Melbourne and published in the U.S.A., in the *Christian Science Monitor* of Boston, Mr. Casey makes the following significant observation on the Hindu colour of the Congress. The articles appeared immediately after the publication of the Cabinet Mission's Declaration. In passing it should be noted that Mr. Casey was a nominee of Mr. Churchill and his stupid and self-opinionated administration—which favoured all reactionaries—has virtually ruined Bengal beyond redemption.

> All-India politics today are sharp and clear-cut. There are only two parties of India-wide consequence —the Congress Party and the Moslem League. The Congress Party is almost entirely Caste Hindu, the Moslem League is entirely Moslem.
>
> The Congress Party claims to represent all communities, but it is clear from the results of recent elections and from other evidence that it represents in effect only the Caste Hindus.
>
> However, even this means a considerable body of support. There are nearly 220,000,000 Caste Hindus in the whole of India, of whom about 160,000,000 are in British India. For those, like the writer, who prefer their figures in tabular form, the Indian population in millions are as follows :
>
> | | *Caste Hindus* | *Moslems* | *Scheduled Castes* | *Others* |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | British India | 160 | 84·1 | 42·3 | 27 |
> | States | 58·5 | 13·4 | 9·7 | 15 |
> | | 218·5 | 97·5 | 52 | 42 |
>
> These figures are from the 1941 Census adjusted reasonably for net population increase since.
>
> The Congress Party holds that divided India is unthinkable. It claims to speak for 75 per cent of India, and asks where it would be possible to find a bigger majority than this on any major political question in any country. It goes on to ask in effect for British India to be handed over to it, and the right to deal subsequently with minorities as a domestic problem. It says it realises quite well that India cannot have orderly government with a permanently dissatisfied minority of 100 000,000 in the midst, and that it will be up to the Congress Party to solve this problem.
>
> The Moslem League, on the other hand, insists that it will not in any circumstances come into an all-India Government working an all-India constitution under which Moslem representation would be swamped by that of Caste Hindus. It affects to believe that no constitutional safeguards for Moslems

in an all-India constitution would be any protection for them against the ambitions of the Hindus.

It would be difficult to conceive more irreconcilable political aims than those of the Congress Party and Moslem League. This is an unenviable situation that the British Government has to resolve—quite the most intractable major problem of its kind any Government has ever had to face. The situation is frequently compressed into slick slogans—*Quit India —Split India; United we stand, Divided We Fall;* and the reverse.

Unfortunately, there is very little room for compromise between the ambitions of the Congress Party for a United India and those of the Moslem League for an autonomous Moslem State or States.

A beautiful reply to this propaganda of the theory of internal differences and the unbridgability of the gulf between the major parties has been given by the *Globe*, Boston. After the publication of the Mission's proposals, it writes editorially :

The best indication that Great Britain really wishes to solve the Indian problem comes from empire spokesmen who say privately that the people of the sub-continent are capable of reasonably efficient self-government. India gives Britain such a bad name, and Indian Nationalism is such a source of strategic weakness in war, that she is becoming a liability rather than an asset.

Therefore, London has followed the breakdown of discussions between Hindu and Moslem leaders with a proposal for a constitution. It fails to grant Mahometan provinces Pakistan, the independence they demand, but instead would create a loose federation, more like the Swiss, less centralized than the American. The National Legislature and executive would deal only with foreign affairs, defense and communications ; any measure raising an issue between Hindus and Moslems would require majority support for both communities.

British power in India has so long acted upon the principle of "divide and rule" that Indian internal differences are out of hand, and agreement will be difficult to obtain. But it would be to the British advantage. Should India become an independent nation, London hopes that she will develop into a source of increased trade, as did the American colonies after they had won their freedom. Should the Indians decide on dominion status, the settlement may provide a precedent for others that will make the British Empire wholly a commonwealth.—[Italics ours.—Ed. *M. R.*]

Casey on Economics of Pakistan

After the Muslim League Planning Committee's view on the economics of Pakistan, Mr. Casey's opinion on the subject will be interesting. In one of the same series of articles published in *Christian Science Monitor*, Mr. Casey writes :

The present idea is to form one Moslem country in North-west India composed of the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and the North-West Frontier Provinces —and another in North-East India, composed of Bengal and Assam. Mr. Jinnah appears to claim the —and another in North-east India, composed of whole of these provinces as they now stand, although there are Hindu majorities in many of their districts. But it is possible that he would forego this extreme claim and, although with the loss of some rich industrial areas, be content with smaller but more purely Moslem regions.

Nevertheless, if Eastern Pakistan were to be confined to the Moslem majority areas of Bengal and Assam, I am not at all sure that it would represent the sort of Pakistan that the Moslem League would want, particularly if it were to exclude Calcutta and the coal fields. The Moslem League is not seeking a sylvan retreat—and that is what it would be, shorn of Calcutta and the coal fields. It would be a poor rural area, practically without any industry and not even able to feed itself.

The cry of Pakistan is raised in the towns and cities among the relatively small number of Moslems who think politically and who are mortally afraid that as a community the Moslems will be swamped by the more astute, better educated, wealthier and more numerous Hindus.

The Moslem League have worked themselves up into a state of mind that can only be called Hinduphobia. Not that there is not some justification for this. The Caste Hindus have dealt with the Moslems with the minimum of warmth and generosity—or even fairness. When and where the Hindus have been in the saddle, the Moslems have had the rough end of the stick. The Caste Hindus have given the Moslems little evidence that they believe in a fair deal—and they deny them a new deal.*

The fact remains that, Pakistan or no Pakistan, Hindus and Moslems have got to continue to live together in the same villages, towns and cities in which they are now closely integrated. Pakistan would not result in the village store being owned by a Moslem. It would not put the mills and the business houses into Moslem hands. The only way that the Moslems can advance themselves economically is to achieve education and to learn how to compete successfully with the Hindus, which means a vast amount of hard work and the passage of time.

Under the Pakistan division each side would have a formidable body of hostages in the camp of the other. If there were to be discriminatory treatment by the Moslems against the Hindus in Pakistan, this would be quickly followed by reprisals against the Moslems in the Hindu majority areas. Competition in discrimination might well follow with unfortunate and unpleasant results for both sides.

But unless the Moslems discriminate against the Hindus in Pakistan, how is Pakistan going to result in rapid and increasing economic opportunity for the Moslems ? If the Hindus are in almost complete control of, say, the cloth trade in Bengal (as they happen to be), and if the Moslems legislate to ensure that licenses to trade in cloth shall be, for the future, on a 50-50 basis as between Hindus and Moslems—this means, in effect, running large numbers of successful Hindu merchants out of the cloth trade for the benefit of the Moslems. Are the Hindus in Hindu majority provinces going to take this lying down ?

The competition and antagonism between Pakistan and Hindustan would translate itself inevitably into trade rivalry. The greater part of Indian industry would be in Hindustan, and the

* Needless to say this is a typical false statement incapable of being substantiated.—Ed. *M. R.*

largest part of the Indian market. Hindustan would, at best, be rather unwilling that Pakistan products should share its home markets. Tariffs would rise, inevitably, against Pakistan products, to the detriment of Pakistan industry—and vice-versa. The stronger party—Hindustan—would be likely to win a tariff war of this sort.

I do not believe that, even today, the bulk of the Moslems have given anything like enough thought to the demand for Pakistan. I do not believe that they have analyzed the economics of Pakistan objectively.

I am convinced that the solution lies in substantial and effective safeguards for the Moslems in an all-India constitution and government, to ensure that the Moslems get a fair deal, and maybe rather more than a fair deal, to compensate them for the disabilities that have been imposed on them in the past and to give them an opportunity of catching up.

We have always been in favour of giving the Muslims full opportunity for catching up, provided that any special favour granted to them must be specific, clearly stated and for a short period after which all discriminatory provisions would be withdrawn. The present policy of discriminatory treatment in favour of the Muslims *qua* Muslims in the economic, political and administrative fields means in effect perpetuation of backwardness. This serves as a drag on the progress of the whole society, and means selling the unborn generations into servitude.

India : British Report Leans to Moslems

Another significant contribution to the *Christian Science Monitor* for May 17, under the above caption should also be mentioned. It is written by Mr. Saville R. Davis, Chief of the London News Bureau of the *Christian Science Monitor* after the publication of the White Paper on May 16, and cabled from London. Mr. Davis writes :

On the whole, the British plan goes further than expected towards honouring the requests of the Moslem minority. The statement showed none of that tendency to favour the Congress Party at the expense of the Moslems which many commentators expected when the Mission left for India.

However, the Congress Party does gain a United India with a Central Legislature executive branch, empowered to control foreign affairs, defense and communications. The fact that the Moslems have agreed to this during the Simla discussions does not detract from its importance to Congress Party leaders.

The Moslems for their part gain what Lord Pethick Lawrence in a broadcast described as the "advantage of Pakistan without the dangers inherent in a division of India."

If ever a reasonable basis for agreement existed, therefore, it would seem to be now. The two parties face a clear decision whether to accept or shoulder responsibility for refusal.

Those who have not followed the Simla negotiations closely should understand that both the Congress Party and the Moslem League had abandoned their extreme positions during the Simla talks. It was no longer a question of centrally-controlled India versus dividing the country into Hindu India and Pakistan. In rejecting both these extreme solutions, therefore, the Cabinet Mission offended no one, since compromise was already far advanced.

The procedure of the Cabinet Mission was to start with a balance sheet of agreements at Simla and then make specific recommendations for "closing the remainder of the gap."

Where the Congress Party wanted one Constituent Assembly and the Moslems wanted federal and local assemblies, the Cabinet Mission recommended one assembly which at the appropriate moment, when dealing with the affairs of groups of provinces, would resolve itself into three groups.

Moslems wanted groups of provinces to have their own legislatures and executives. This was granted.

The Moslems wanted to have the provinces divided into Hindu and Moslem groups, prior to the constitution-making process, with the right for the provinces to secede with the groups thereafter if they so desired.

The Congress Party wanted each province left free to join the group or not. The British plan favoured the Moslems in the main.

Paramountcy Under Indian Union

The Cabinet Delegations' statement that withdrawal of paramountcy will not result in a transfer of it to the Indian Union, has brought a new constitutional issue to limelight. The declaration as to the cessation of paramountcy on the formation of the Indian Union not merely in regard to other states, as being incidental to the recognition of Indian independence without the same being vested in another body or sovereign authority, raises questions of great complexity, especially having regard to the varying degree of sovereignty enjoyed by about 600 States spread all over India. The whole problem of paramountcy has been discussed in a masterly article by Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer in the *Leader*. Sir Alladi says that during the *interim* period, the newly constituted Executive Council should function as advisers to the Crown Representative in regard to the discharge of his functions *vis a vis* the States. This is the same plea which has been vigorously put forward by Sir Gopalaswami Iyengar, who was himself until recently intimately connected with the administration of a premier Indian State. It apparently has also the support of Gandhiji as has been pointed out by Sir Gopalaswami himself. Discussing the powers and position of the newly appointed Executive Councillors in this regard, Sir Alladi says :

After all, it has to be remembered that the vital basis on which rested the bifurcation of functions under the Government of India Act has not come into being. The plea put forward is merely one for a reversion to the state of things prior to 1935 with this difference that whereas the members of the Executive Council shared the power and the responsibility prior to 1935, along with Governor-General, the present Councillors will, under the present constitution, having regard to the statutory changes brought about by the Act of 1935, be merely in the position of advisers to the Crown Representative in the discharge of his responsibility. It might be that whereas in the discharge of his functions as the head of the British Indian Government, the Governor-General is bound to accept the advice of his Councillors according to any agreed or accepted formula, the advice

tendered by the Councillors in regard to the functions of the Crown Representative may not have the same sanction.

Dealing with the Union's powers over the States, Sir Alladi says :

Even in regard to the States acceding to the Union it has to be noticed that the scope of paramountcy is not co-extensive with the range of subjects coming within the sphere of the Union Government according to the proposed scheme of the Cabinet Mission. If so, the question would naturally arise as to what is to become of the rights acquired, say, in regard to the passage and acquisition of railway lands the various agreements concluded in a large number of cases as a result of the exercise of the rights of paramountcy by the British Crown.

Are these rights to enure for the benefit of the Indian Union, and if so how does the position square with the limited range of the spheres of the Indian Union according to the proposed plan ? It will lead to inextricable confusion if the States which accede to the Union are to re-assert rights which have long ago lapsed or to resume the exercise of sovereign functions such as, say, the issue of independent currency, the re-introduction of an independent postage etc., on the ground that the Union Constitution cannot assume these high sovereign functions having regard to the restricted and limited range of union authority.

In regard to the non-acceding States the position is even more difficult. Are they to be resurrected as independent sovereign States spread all over India with a wider range of powers and amplified sovereignty than they ever possessed, as the ultimate dominion, according to the accepted theories of sovereignty, must reside somewhere ?

The Cabinet Delegation has made a statement that withdrawal of paramountcy will not result in a transfer of it to the Indian Union. This view is questionable in the light of the claim made by the British Crown on several occasions that in part at least the rights of paramountcy are traceable to their being successors of the Moghul Emperor. Besides, if the Indian Union is to be in any sense the successor to British sovereignty in India as the result of the recognition of India's right to independence, there is no reason why on the principle of State succession—a principle which has been recognized by the Permanent Court of International Justice in several cases—that the Union authority should not exercise the rights of paramountcy in regard to non-acceding States.

Paramountcy is, though undefinable and undefined, the result of rights acquired through treaty, usage and sufferance. If so, what is the constitutional impediment to these rights passing on to the Indian Union ? Any other conclusion would lead to inextricable confusion in Indian polity and a reverter to a state worse than the position occupied by the different States in India after the fall of Moghul Empire.

As the declaration stands at the present moment, a danger of confusion in the solution of the problem is recognised. Sir Alladi points out that these and other questions will have to be approached not from a legalistic standpoint but from the viewpoint of the larger interests of India as a whole. If all the 600 States are immediately brought into the Union, the problems arising may be capable of easy solution and adjustment.

Human Rights

In accordance with the resolution of the Economic and Social Council on the establishment of a Commission on Human Rights, the nuclear Commission on Human Rights held its first sitting in New York in May last. The Commission consisted of nine members representing Norway, U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, France, Belgium, Peru, China, U.S.A., and India. Our country was represented by Mr. K. C. Neogy. The nuclear Commission considered its terms of reference, the definitive composition of the Commission and various documents referred to the Commission concerning human rights and to report thereon to the second session of the Economic and Social Council. The Commission felt that while it was within its competence to draft a bill of human rights, it was not as yet in a position to do so, but it would proceed with the preparatory work.

A Committee appointed by the American Law Institute has done good preparatory work in this direction. A statement of Essential Human Rights has been prepared by them and published in the *Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science*. The cultures or countries represented on this Committee, besides the U.S.A., were British, Canadian, French, pre-Nazi German, Italian, Polish, Soviet Russian, Spanish, Latin American, Arabic, Chinese and Indian.

The statement opens with the preamble that upon the freedom of the individual depends the welfare of the people, the safety of the State and the peace of the world. In society, complete freedom cannot be attained ; the liberties of the one are limited by the liberties of others, and the preservation of freedom requires the fulfilment by individuals of their duties as members of society. The function of the State is to promote conditions under which the individual can be most free. To express those freedoms, to which every human being is entitled and to assure that all shall live under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, this declaration is made.

1. Freedom of belief and of worship is the right of every one.

The duty of the State in protecting this freedom may involve the following steps :

(*a*) To abstain from enacting laws which impair the right,

(*b*) to prevent its governmental agencies and officials from performing acts which impair this right,

(*c*) to enact laws and to provide suitable procedures, if necessary, to prevent persons within its jurisdiction from impairing the right, and

(*d*) to maintain such judicial, regulatory and operative agencies as may be necessary to give practical effect to the right.

2. Freedom to form and hold opinions and to receive opinions and information is the right of every one. The individual must be free to receive opinions expressed by others by any means of communication such as books, newspapers, pamphlets or radio.

3. Freedom of expression is the right of every one. It includes the freedom of the individual to speak, write, use the graphic arts, the theatre, or any other art form to present his ideas.

4. Freedom to assemble peaceably with others is the right of every one.

5. Freedom to form with others associations of a political, economic, religious, social, cultural, or any other character for purposes not inconsistent with these articles is the right of every one.

6. Freedom from unreasonable interference with his person, home, reputation, privacy, activities and property is the right of every one.

7. Every one has the right to have his civil and criminal liabilities and his rights determined without undue delay by fair public trial by a competent tribunal before which he has had opportunity for a full hearing.

8. Every one who is detained has the right to immediate judicial determination of the legality of his detention. The State has a duty to provide adequate procedures to make this right effective.

9. No one shall be convicted of crime except for violation of a law in effect at the time of the commission of the act charged as an offence, nor be subjected to a penalty greater than that applicable at the time of the Commission of the offence.

10. Every one has the right to own property under general law. The State shall not deprive any one of his property except for a public purpose and with just compensation.

11. Every one has the right to education.

12 Every one has the right to work.

13. Every one has the right to reasonable conditions of work.

14. Every one has the right to adequate food and housing.

15 Every one has the right to social security. The State has a duty to maintain or insure that there are maintained comprehensive arrangements for the promotion of health, for the prevention of sickness and and accident, and for the provision of medical care and for compensation for loss of livelihood.

16. Every one has the right to take part in the government of his State.

17. Every one has the right to protection against arbitrary discrimination in the provisions and applications of the law because of race, religion, sex or any other reason.

18. In exercise of his rights, every one is limited by the rights of others and by the just requirements of the democratic State.

This recognises the general relativity of rights. Thus freedom of religion does not permit practices such as human sacrifice, nor in countries where the prevailing standards profoundly disapprove, of practices such as polygamy. Freedom of speech does not forbid the State from adopting reasonable laws forbidding libel and slander; nor does it permit blasphemy or utterances tending to promote panic, mob violence, insurrection or war. The organisation of parties seeking to establish dictatorship is not consistent with freedom of assembly or association because it would tend to destroy the rights of others.

An international Bill of Rights accepted and observed by the member nations of the U.N.O. will prove a long step forward towards the safeguarding of a world peace.

India and South Africa

The passive resistance of the Indian settlers in South Africa against the fascistic intransigence of the Union Government and shameless hooliganism of the South African Europeans is making new history. We were anxiously awaiting the repercussions of the final passing of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, and suggested the application of economic sanctions as also the starting of a passive resistance movement. We are now witnessing heroic *Satyagraha* campaign of the South African Indians.

On June 11, a Government of India Press Note announced that as a protest against the South African Union Government's continued attitude of indifference to the representations of the Government of India, for the postponement of the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill, the existing trade agreement between India and South Africa was being terminated, and as matters did not seem to improve, it had been found necessary to recall the High Commissioner.

The Press Note traces the history of Indian emigration to Natal and recounts the recent antecedents a knowledge of which will help us to understand the sinister implications of the new measure. The new Bill came as a shocking surprise. The Government of India had reasons to believe that the attitude of the Union Government had changed and the problem of Indian rights would soon be solved. The Union Government had declared the ordinance for the creation of a Licensing Board *ultra vires* and expressed their intention of exploring an alternative solution of the Indian question. In June 1945, the Union Government undertook legislation for the provision of better housing facilities for all classes of the population, including Indians. Assurances were given that the new measure would not in any way prejudice existing Indian interests. The Government of India was given a hint that the Pegging Act would be allowed to lapse after March 31, 1946.

Thus the draft Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill came as a veritable surprise. And this Bill is worse than the Pegging Act because, while that Act applied only to residential land in urban areas, the present Bill applies to all kinds of land, including agricultural land, both in urban and rural areas. The franchise, which is proposed to be given on a communal basis, will provide for representation by Europeans, except in the case of the Natal Provincial Council where it may be by Indians. The Government of India asked for postponement of the legislation and, as recommended by the third Broome Commission, requested the Union Government to receive a representative delegation of Indians to explore an alternative settlement. The suggestion was rejected and the bill was rushed through the Parliament.

What has followed the final passing of the Bill is a tale of stupid and malignant brute force being resisted by the undaunted Indian passive resisters. The night attacks of the Europeans on the camps of the non-violent Indian resisters causing personal injury even to children and womenfolk may be compared to the worst sort of Nazi terrorist tactics. But the *Satyagrahis* stood their ground, undaunted by these insults, threats and assaults. As was anticipated, mass arrests followed under a 70-year old trespass law. In a statement on the arrest, Dr. G. M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress Party, said that the inhuman character of the Act of 1946 was made clear by the fact that the Government had chosen to avoid the real issue and instead of charging him with contravention of the measure, **it had chosen a weak subterfuge and prosecuted him under an antiquated law 72 years old.**

Mr. R. P. Deshmukh, Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, has revealed that the South African Europeans "openly talked of bloodshed and of burning and destroying Indian property in that country." They have actually chosen this path of brute violence against an unarmed and non-violent people. But *Satyagraha* will gain new force by this oppression upon the resisters and we hope the time will come when tyrannical strength will submit to this invincible moral might. In the meantime all efforts should be made to press forward the case before the U.N.O.

Anti-Indian Policy in Ceylon

The anti-Indian policy of Ceylon has focussed our attention to this puny pendant in the Indian Ocean. The recent agitation of the Indians in Ceylon against this reactionary attitude, which is very much reminiscent of the South African Union Government's anti-Indian measures, has caused grave concern all over India.

The position of the Indian population of Ceylon began to deteriorate as early as 1931 when owing to the provisions of the Donoughmore constitution the relation between the domiciled Indians and the natives of the island became tense and bitter. Thus while communal representation was abolished, the franchise of Indians became highly restricted. The rights of the Indians have been completely disregarded by the Soulbury Commission. The Indians are being asked to submit to more severe conditions. Commenting on the new constitution, *Roy's Weekly* has noted :

> The certificate of permanent settlement is not granted to even those who have laboured for more than a decade in the building up of the island's economic life. The Land Development Ordinance of 1935 restricted the qualifications of domicile further, and today Indians in the colony are made to undergo serious economic, civic and political discrimination and are treated as "marginal population."

The present agitation in Ceylon started as a protest against the action of the Ceylon Government in serving notices to quit on 400 Indian labourers and their families who have been working on the Knavesmere Estate at Undugoda for many years. Explaining the significance of the hartal held on June 4 as a protest against this action, Mr. S. Thondaman, President of the Ceylon Indian Congress, stated the main demands of the Indians as formulated by the Congress. They are : (1) franchise on a footing of equality with the rest of the population of the island, (2) comprehensive citizenship rights to all Indians by a quinquennial residence test and a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon, and (3) pending legal measures to secure franchise and civic rights, suspension of all discriminatory actions. Mr. Thondaman also warned that if the question was not settled by negotiations, a "united and uninterrupted struggle" would follow. He also made an appeal to Pandit Nehru asking for India's support in this fight against denial of franchise and citizenship rights.

On June 12, 25 000 Indian labourers working on the rubber and tea estates began what they called "an indefinite strike," demanding constitutional recognition and full franchise and citizenship rights for the Indian labourers in Ceylon. The Ceylon Indian Congress, which called the strike, stated that it was not confined to the issue of the 400 Indians who were asked to quit the Knavesmere Estate but referred to the whole problem of the "status of Indians in Ceylon which is sharply brought up by the incidents at Knavesmere."

It may be interesting to know the Ceylonese attitude in this connection. In an interview to the *A.P.I.*, Dr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council, explained the position of his Government regarding the policy of land settlement and said that it was the Ceylon Indians' own fault that there was at present no provision for their being absorbed into the island's economy. Mr. Senanayake also said that he personally doubted whether the Ceylon Indians would be able, in future, to get on good terms again, since the present Indian agitation against the new Constitution which gave Ceylon full freedom, had hardened Sinhalese opinion against Indians.

The intransigent attitude of the Ceylon Government, as revealed in the words of Mr. Senanayake, is deplorable. It is extremely unfortunate that Ceylon is thoughtlessly disregarding the eminently just claims of the Indians. It is a big risk indeed ; for the entire economy of the island is bound up with that of India. The Sinhalese nationalists are ignoring the repercussions that would be inevitable if this anti-Indian policy is pursued. We, however, urge the India Government to adopt a strong attitude in this matter, both as a question of principle and as one of expediency.

Trouble in Burma

Burmese politics still continues to be in a troublous state. The frequent cases of lawlessness and disorder have deepened the existing turmoil so that the present-day Burmese politics has become a baffling problem. About a month back, U Saw said :

> Situation in Burma politically and economically is deteriorating day by day. I wonder how long this state of affairs will continue. I am quite sure that the British people will regret it one day. As for the Myochit (Nationalist) Party it has no alternative but to withdraw its members since our Councillors cannot effectively do anything for reconstruction and rehabilitation of Burma. The Government cannot even restore law and order in the country.

A serious case of lawlessness took place in the second week of June when several persons including one woman and one infant were killed during a battle-royal between a gang of criminals numbering over 100 and the police force of Tawlate Police Station in Insein District. Last week it was reported from Rangoon that a gang of Burmese dacoits had formed revolutionary government, and this government had brought as many as 26 villages under its rule. It was further reported that there had been hundreds of cases of dacoity in Burmese districts during the last one month.

This is, however, the insignificant side of the picture. The Burmese troubles have another serious aspect. On June 7, the Anti-Fascist League staged a mass demonstration against the Government's "repressive measures' including the incident at Tantabin, 40 miles from Rangoon, where three were killed in police firing. Slogans were raised demanding the release of members of the People's Volunteer Organisation and withdrawal of occupation forces and granting of full independence. U Aung San emphatically stated, "A full-scale battle for freedom may yet not come if the British give us our peaceful demands. If the British, however, insist on it, they will have it." But the British policy will not change overnight, and it is significant that when lawlessness in Burma was being

discussed in the House of Commons, Mr. Henderson clearly stated that if the present chaotic conditions continue in Burma, it may not be possible to hold an election in next April or May. This policy of postponing the realisation of promises is typical of old British diplomacy. This old diplomacy may not prove sufficiently effective in the present situation. In the Commons debate of June 7, Mr. Driberg, Labour M.P., has rightly observed that the British must make a new start, talk to the nationalist leaders as equals and not patronisingly, and try to get the co-operation of the People's Volunteer Organisation all over Burma.

Rice Procurement Scheme of Saadullah Ministry Under Scrutiny

The Shillong correspondent of the *Young Assam,* a Sylhet weekly, has given some account of the rice procurement scandal perpetrated by the Saadullah Ministry. Sir Muhammad Saadullah, when out of office, has become a loud champion of the people in distress. It is extremely necessary that the disgraceful episode of blackmarketing, waste and gambling with the people's food during the last famine which black-painted the face of Assam under his administration should be published in all details. The full story of the brutal manner in which hungry *emigres* from Bengal to Assam, most of whom were Muslims, had been turned out of the province under orders of the League Ministers should also be brought to light.

The Report of the Surma Valley Food-Grain Procurement Enquiry Committee conducted under the Chairmanship of Sj. Paresh Lal Shome, Advocate-General of Assam, has been submitted and is being closely examined by the Bardoloi Ministry. The *Young Assam's* report is given below :

> The policy enunciated by the previous Government by the creation of license holders overnight and realising from them a substantial amount for the war funds by the District authorities before issuing their respective license was reported to be mainly responsible for the bungling of the whole affairs. It was the middlemen and the greedy inexperienced license holders that reaped the harvest at the cost of the cultivators. The charges of excess weight and less payment as resorted to by the middlemen license holders in settling accounts with sellers of rice and paddy and all of whom are cultivators as revealed by the Enquiry Report should also be examined in the light of the sufferings and loss caused to Government accounts and the cutivators. The lack of co-ordination between the Supply Department and the District authorities which is now clear left the Government Agents alone to do everything by themselves. It was evident that not a single godown was provided to the Government agents for the storage of the procured rice and paddy. It is no wonder therefore that paddy and rice had to be stored in *kutcha* godowns beyond the capacity of these godowns under definite instructions from the Government themselves. The then Ministry slept over the warning given by the Shome Committee in its interim report in July 1945 which ran as follows : "We have seen that most of the godowns have been seriously damaged because of the storage of the paddy and rice beyond their capacity and in a manner which is most careless and unbusinesslike. We are afraid Government may be made liable for heavy compensation for damages in the godowns by the owners thereof and these godowns should be released as soon as possible."

Another malpractice for which the late Government was entirely responsible must have attracted the notice of the Supply Minister, Mr. Mookherjee. He has discovered how the prices were ruling the market. The first and the known price was the price notified in the *Gazette* and the second and the confidential price at which Government agents were directed to make their purchase of rice and paddy from the cultivators. Why this huge fraud was perpetrated, under the very instruction of the late Ministry, is a matter which has engaged the serious attention of Mr. Mookherjee. He has also unearthed the mystery, how the interim report of the committee and the suggestions made by the Syndicates for better system of procurement was thrown to the waste-paper basket by the late Ministry. This callousness, on the part of the authorities concerned, made the province loser to a huge extent of money and the treasure of foodgrains at the time when it was most needed. Mr. Mookherjee must have seen how in 1944 the Ministry ordered the Syndicate huge stocks of rice and paddy for supply to Bengal and the Military but the Government failed to despatch these to their appropriate destination. This bespeaks of the inefficiency of the authorities to do their job and thus the huge loss to all concerned including the public was huger still. The stocks left by the Government Agent were allowed to be decomposed amounting to further loss on the one hand and the farce of fresh purchase on the other, indulged in by the Government themselves, must have convinced Mr. Mookherjee that there was a conspiracy to fatten some at public cost.

Asiatic Labour Conference

The Governing Body of the International Labour Organisation has decided to hold the Preparatory Asiatic Regional Conference in India in January, 1947. This is a most welcome move indeed. For, on various occasions we have expressed our dissatisfaction with the International Labour Conference which met at Geneva because it was mainly concerned with questions regarding Western labour and industry and had very little to do with Asiatic labour problems. The I.L.O. did not take any steps to remove the disabilities of a discriminatory character imposed upon Asiatic workers and to bring about equality of status in respect of working conditions, irrespective of race, nationality or colour. The present constitution of the I.L.O. does not provide for the direct representation of colonies or dependencies of member states at the meetings of the general conference. *The Leader* has rightly commented in this connection that "the colonial powers regard the colonies merely as markets for the manufactured goods of the West and think that the ideals of Geneva are a heady intoxicant which will impair the economy of the colony."

However, the present decision of the I.L.O. would go to fulfil a demand of the last 20 years. It was in 1926 that the first move for an Asiatic Labour Conference was made. Since then Indian delegates have been continually pressing forward their demand for an Asiatic Labour Conference at every session of the I.L.O. The Governing Body of the I. L. O. discussed the question at a meeting in 1931. A lot of discussion followed and eventually the question was

referred to the governments of the countries concerned. Much noise was made, but the Conference never met. Of course, an Asiatic Labour Conference was held in Colombo in 1934, but the I.L.O. did not organise it. The fact that it was not held under the auspices of the I.L.O. was most unfortunate; for it consequently failed to become representative of all the countries of Asia. Only three countries, *viz.*, Japan, Ceylon and India, sent their delegates to this conference. We hope the proposed Conference of 1947 will be free from all shortcomings and will be able to tackle seriously the problems of Asiatic labour.

Kashmir Happenings

The recent happenings in Kashmir have a symbolic significance in the present context of India's political developments. There is a dramatic suddenness in the story of Pandit Nehru's somewhat impulsive Kashmir visit and arrest. And so a recounting of the trend of events is necessary for throwing light on Kashmir politics which has appeared baffling to many.

The movement of the National Conference was suspended by its leaders at the call of the national leaders. The disturbances were partly quelled by instruments of terror and oppression, and the leader of the movement, Sheikh Abdullah, was arrested and his trial was to begin without delay. Prosecution of Sheikh Abdullah without a previous enquiry into the police and military excesses during the disturbances was the height of injustice. For the movement of the National Conference was inspired by no communal motive or personal ambition. it was a spontaneous movement of the discontented people of Kashmir against the reactionary rule of the reigning dynasty. The opposition that the Muslim National Conference put up against Abdullah's movement clearly proves the fact that the aspirations of the National Conference were purely non-communal. It was the distress and misery of the people that inspired the movement against the present dynasty which happens to be Hindu. Interested parties wanted to make capital of this spontaneous movement by trying to give it a communal character, and some even discerned the spectre of Soviet ambition and influence casting its shadow over the Kashmir hills. This propaganda helped the Kashmir authorities in victimising the leaders of the movement.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had long ago warned the Kashmir Government against taking any vindictive measure in this issue and in a long statement had revealed the inner story of police and military repression in Kashmir. When he found that the self-complacent rulers were paying no heed to his timely warning, he decided to visit the spot personally. The objects of his visit were mainly to arrange for Sheikh Abdullah's defence and to acquaint himself with the complications of Kashmir politics. But the Kashmir Premier let him know that no useful purpose would be served by his visiting Kashmir. Pandit Nehru was not daunted by this sort of diplomatic evasion and he stepped into the borders of Kashmir. An order prohibiting his entry into Kashmir territory was served on him when he crossed Kohala Bridge. Pandit Nehru observed with characteristic courage and dignity that he could not obey orders which he had defied for the last thirty years. Pushing back armed sentries, Pandit Nehru and his party walked along their way.

Next morning at 9-30, Nehru was arrested and detained at the Dak Bunglow at Domel. State military sentries guarded the Bunglow. Mr. Dwarkanath Kachru, General Secretary, States People's Conference, was also arrested. Later he was brought by Kashmir Government to the Dak Bunglow at Uri, 96 miles from Srinagar. The Kashmir Prime Minister, Rai Bahadur Ram Chandra Kak, however, told a press correspondent that they had no intention of detaining Pandit Nehru. Sheikh Abdullah's trial was postponed till July 1.

The arrest of Pandit Nehru came as a shock to the entire nation. Complete hartal was observed in many parts of India. In a statement, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad observed that the Maharajah of Kashmir had committed a grievous blunder in acting in the way he had done. He further said that if an amicable solution was not found, far-reaching and serious repercussions were inevitable.

Meanwhile, important discussions were going on in Delhi, and they needed Pandit Nehru's presence. Maulana Azad sent urgent telegram messages asking him to return in view of the serious negotiations in Delhi. In obedience to the President's directive, Nehru returned to Delhi, on the understanding that he should go back to Kashmir later. In a long statement to the Press correspondent next day he gave a description of the incidents in Kashmir. He observed:

> I am not disposed to obey any order I consider unreasonable anywhere and at any place whether in a State or in the rest of India. Nor do I consider myself an outsider in any State. The whole of India is my home and I claim the right to go to any part of it.

Commenting on the new set-up of things that was inevitable, he significantly said that in future the rulers would have to abandon their selfish policy of taking without giving anything. It is the question of human right, and not that of treaty rights or dynastic rights, that will decide the problems of the future.

Orissa State Merger Scheme

Orissa is going ahead in right earnest with the States merger scheme. At the Orissa States People's Conference held at Cuttack, Mr. Harekrishna Mahatab, Premier of Orissa, enumerated the advantages that would be derived by the amalgamation of Orissa States with the Orissa Province. He pointed out that if these two areas continued to remain separate, both of them would be weak, and there was the danger of even the Oriya race being wiped out. The greatest advantage of amalgamation would be that both areas together would become a stronger administrative unit making it possible for the province to have its own cadre in service, its own High Court and other institutions without depending on other provinces The other advantages would be the combined development of industries with the mineral and other natural resources of the province and the States, the efficient control of the rivers passing through the States and the province, and finally, the establishment of a strong unit in the A Group of provinces proposed in the Cabinet Mission's Declaration. The people in the States would then have the opportunity of enjoying civil liberties as the people of the province.

Mr. Mahatab indicated at the Conference that the question had passed the deliberative stage and was now receiving executive attention with a view to translate it into action. It has been taken up by the Orissa Government and the first official move in that direction was a Conference held at the Government House at Puri on June 2, where the representative of the Political Department, Mr. Herbert, was present.

With regard to the position of the Rulers, Mr. Mahatab said that they could not ignore the fact that they were the Governments of the States at present. In the negotiations they would officially represent the States and the people of the States could only be unofficially heard. In any common administration that might be set up for the province and he States, the Rulers also would have a voice. According to him, it was for the Conference to consider all those aspects and embody their views in the form of resolutions.

Mr. Mahatab revealed that he was in correspondenee with the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes. He said that the Nawab wanted details of the Scheme which he would be sending.

A second Conference is shortly going to be held in Calcutta by the second week of July, attended by the Rulers of the Eastern States Agency and also by Mr. Mahatab and Mr. Herbert. Mr. Mahatab hoped that the Nawab of Bhopal, in the meantime, would help the parties with advice. The move for the amalgamation of the Orissa States with the province was, however, not a new one. It had been in existence since 1939 when the States Peoples Inquiry Committee recommended it.

Mr. Mahatab made it plain at the Conference that in any common administration that might be set up for the province and the States, Rulers would have a voice. It was for the Calcutta Conference to consider all these aspects and embody their views in the form of resolutions. It was also better that they should have a central organisation for all the 26 States.

Hyderabad Constitutional Reforms

In a speech delivered at Gulbarga, Nawab Moni Jang Bahadur, Reforms Member of the Nizam's Government, referred at some length to the Hyderabad Reforms Scheme drawn up in 1939 but held in abeyance on account of the war. The Nawab outlined the main features of the scheme and the principal modifications that have been made in it. He said :

> As you are aware the most important components of the Reforms Scheme consist of representation by interests, joint electorates and parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims so far as the elected and nominated seats are concerned. Representation by interests is intended to prove that every elment of society shall receive representation in the legislature in proportion to its importance and that the Legislative Assembly shall not consist merely of those who have made a profession of politics. In other words, the Legislative Assembly shall present a true composite picture of the various interests of the country. Direct representation of interests will result in the establishment of close contacts between the Government and the public and the reduction of unnecessary intermediaries. The aim of joint electorates is to ensure that each community shall depend upon the other for the advancement of its interests. To make sure, however, that each member shall be a true representative of his own community, it has been stipulated that he shall secure at least 40 per cent of the votes of his own community. Each interest shall be represented by an equal number of Hindu and Muslim members, so that the possibility of rivalry and tension between the two communities may be eliminated. In view of the changes that have taken place during the last six or seven years, the Government have under contemplation certain necessary alterations the result of which would be that, whereas under the original scheme the nominated and appointed members were in a minority, under the revised scheme, the latter would constitute the majority. Besides, the franchise qualification of Pattedars and Cultivators prescribed under the original scheme is being lowered, which would treble the number of voters in those constituencies. For those living in urban areas who cannot under the existing arrangements seek election to the Legislature from any other constituency, a constituency is being created, consisting of owners and tenants of lands and buildings in urban areas, so that the urban population too may enjoy sufficient representation in the Legislature.

This, however, is not the complete picture. A short historical perspective may be necessary to give a correct meaning of this Reforms Scheme. The present State Council consists of 21 members of whom only 8 are non-officials. Out of them, two are *jagirdars,* two pleaders and the remaining four nominated by the Prime Minister. The Council's powers are strictly limited to legislation. Members have no right to question executive actions nor can they discuss the budget. Sir Ali Imam had drawn up a Reforms Scheme in 1920, which apparently was not liked by the Nizam. It was held in abeyance till Sir Ali Imam retired. After his retirement, it was quietly shelved.

In 1937, in pursuance of popular agitation, a Reforms Committee was appointed under the Chairmanship of Dewan Bahadur S. Aravamudu Aiyangar. The terms of reference restricted the Committee's powers to a very limited sphere. They were asked to report on "all suitable alternatives for the more effective association of the different interests of the State with the Government whereby the latter may be placed in continuous possession of their needs and desires."

The Committee recommended representation by interests instead of through territorial constituencies. Dewan Bahadur Aiyangar said that the only consideration which led him to view with favour representation by interests, was that it would dispense with communal representation. Representation by interests and joint electorates were the principal features of the Scheme. The main considerations which induced the authors of the scheme to accept the Fascist idea of the corporative State of which representation by interests was the corner-stone, was that it provided a way of escape from communal representation. Their hopes have been completely belied in two ways. First, they found that parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims had been introduced into the scheme by the back-door in opposition to the declared intentions of the authors of the scheme. Thirteen million Hindus were thus accorded parity of representation with three million Muslims ! Sir Akbar Hydari, then Prime Minister, was greatly distressed when he found in the final order as it came to him, parity of representation between Hindus and Muslims inserted in it. Secondly, the joint electorate feature is going to be removed very shortly before the first elections are held under the Scheme. Under the present Reforms, the State Council will be composed of 88 members of whom only 42 will be elected, the remaining 46 will be nominated.

The people of Hyderabad have registered their protest against the introduction of the new Reforms

Scheme. In a memorandum to the British Cabinet Delegation, the leaders of different political organisations in the State have pointed out :

> To introduce representation in the Legislative Assembly on a functional basis of a corporate State by the Hyderabad Government is simply ridiculous in the face of the Second World War being fought for democracy. Functional basis strikes at the root of representative government. . . . It encourages separatist tendencies already in existence and may stimulate class legislation.

States People's Demands

A number of highway important resolutions have recently been passed by the Standing Committee of the All-India States People's Conference. The most significant of them are the one on the Hyderabad State and the one on the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

In the resolution on the Mission's proposals, the Committee has strongly resented the way in which the people of the States have been ignored and bypassed in the new plan. It further says :

> In the statement issued by the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy on May 16, references to the States are brief and vague and no clear picture emerges as to how they will function in regard to the constitution-making processes. No reference has been made to the internal structure of the States. It is not possible to conceive of a combination of the existing internal structure, which is autocratic and feudal, with a democratic Constituent Assembly or a Federal Union.

The resolution, however, maintains that the General Council of the A.-I. S. P. C. welcome the provision that paramountcy will end when the new All-India constitution comes into effect. The Council further are of opinion that even during the interim period the functioning of paramountcy should undergo a fundamental change so as to prepare for its total termination.

The resolution on Hyderabad State says :

> Any State which does not even recognise elementary civil liberties is out of court in any discussion about the future. The State of Hyderabad will have to change its ways completely before it can entitle itself to any consideration in Assemblies determining the future of India. In the event of the ban on the State Congress continuing and other civil liberties being denied, it will be the right of the State Congress to function in spite of this ban.

Under-Production—Not Over-Population

The continual scarcity in India has evoked different explanation from different quarters. A large number of short-sighted economists, still haunted by the ghost of Malthus, persistently maintained that poverty was due to the tremendous growth of population in India. The bogey of over-population was found convenient by interested people to whom it offered a handy excuse for their criminal neglect of responsibility. This insistence on over-population has long retarded the growth of efficient production which alone can solve the problem of the country's total requirements.

In a recent broadcast from Washington, Sir John Boyd Orr, Director-General of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, hit upon the real point when he said that "the trouble in India is not over-population—it is under-production." For the purpose of adequate and efficient production, Sir John observed, India needed efficient agriculture and modern industrial plant. If she could produce more, export more, and import more, world trade would benefit and there would be no question of over-population. Every physically fit individual would be a source of wealth to the country if the social and economic structure were so organised that all could produce wealth.

Declaring that it was one of F.A.O.'s tasks to help such countries as India, Sir John recalled Mr. Amery's claim that food production in India could be doubled in 15 years if modern farming methods were used. "Actually production is increasing by only about one per cent. yearly," he said. "The density of population there is less than in England and Belgium but we do not consider these countries over-populated."

Sir John Boyd Orr suggested better farming methods, more fertilisers and more "diversification" and end to abuses in the landlord system and larger individual holdings as cures for India's under-production problem.

The U. P. Gram Panchayet Bill

The Gram Panchayet Bill, prepared by the last Ministry in the United Provinces, seeks to re-model the entire village life of the province. It deserves close study by all other provinces which desire a stable and substantial uplift for their rural folk. The original conception of a Panchayet as something on the lines of a Greek city state with the whole adult population of a village participating in its work has been given up as impracticable. The Gram Panchayet will now be an executive of 30 members elected by a meeting of the whole adult population of the village. This is a happy departure because it conforms to the Indian tradition of a village republic where the elders commanding the confidence of the local people were entrusted with the village executive functions. Usually such number was confined to five as the very name Panchayet suggests.

Under the Bill, it has been proposed that the larger body will be called Gram Sabha. It will meet twice a year. It will have power to pass the budget and also recommendatory resolutions. The Panchayet will, in addition to their normal functions, keep the land records and the village patwari will work under their supervision.

Plan for Village Roads in India

In the modern world, communications provide the basis of economic activity. Good, cheap and quick communications mean an immediate expansion in trade, commerce and industry, the resultant being general economic prosperity. In India, road development schemes have not received the attention they deserved, much less attention has been paid to the improvement of village communication calculated to open up the whole countryside. This question has been discussed in an article written by Mr. P. S. Sharangapani, himself an engineer, and published in the *Independent*. Discussing the need for village roads, he says

> The Governments in power have so far devoted their attention and resources to the construction of strategic roads, roads joining province to province,

district to district, district head-quarters to tahsil places, and tahsil places to police stations, mainly, for collection of revenue and administration of law and order. It would be bare justice that Government should now concentrate on construction of village roads, secure a balance between village roads and through communications, and cater for the needs of villages wherein resides over 85 per cent of the population of India, wanting employment and crying for an adequate standard of living.

The length of such village access-roads in the province would be, however, enormous and therefore, a wise planner should first fix a correct order of priority and do first thing first, taking into account the funds and the technical personnel available. It is simple enough to prepare large paper schemes, but hasty construction of ill-considered, ill-prepared, ill-digested schemes would only lead to enormous waste of money and reprobation by the posterity.

Village roads as would bring about maximum increase in the earnings of the village-artisans and cultivators, ought to be constructed first. They would fall under the following categories :

(*a*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of about 25 miles of a city having a population of over a lakh.

(*b*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of about 15 miles of the district head-quarters.

(*c*) Villages over 300 population and within a radius of 10 miles of a tahsil head-quarters

(*d*) Connecting to the existing metalled roads villages having—(*i*)Over 300 inhabitants and within a mile of the existing roads; (*ii*) Over 400 inhabitants and within 1½ miles of the existing roads; (*iii*) Over 700 inhabitants and within 2 miles of the existing roads; (*iv*) Over 1,000 inhabitants and within 3 miles of the existing roads.

Discussing the principal economic advantages that would accrue from village access-roads in the neighbourhood of large towns and markets, Mr. Sharangapani translates such economic advantages into money value. He says :

For one lakh of rupees spent on village-road construction as above, the increase in the earnings will be of the order of Rs. 8,000 to 9,000 per annum at a very conservative estimate, leaving out of account increase due to increased petrol duty and increased land revenue and other taxes. The annual loan charge for a road-loan of one lakh, assuming interest charges at 3 per cent and redemption of the loan in say 25 years would be :

Annual interest 3 p.c. on Rs. 1 lakh	3,000
Contribution to a Sinking fund at 3 p.c. compound interest for 25 years	2,746
Total annual loan charges	5,746
Annual expected increase in the earnings of the villagers	8,500

That is to say for every 100 rupees spent annually as road-loan charges, the village communities will profit by Rs. 150 (8,500/5,746), proving that construction of the above village roads particularly, is not only desirable but is a sound proposition from the point of finance and calculated to benefit the state as a whole.

Next, he comes to the technical aspect of the problem. The main considerations that should prevail in the design and construction of these village roads are given by him as follows :

(*a*) India being a very poor country, the village-access road must be the cheapest practicable.

(*b*) A 9-ft. wide moorum road should be sufficient. The road formation need not be more than 1 ft. high above the level of the surrounding country. The brims on both sides should have a flat slope for facility of cross-traffic. The grade should not as a rule exceed 1 in 30 for affording relief to the draught animal.

(*c*) The village bullocks are usually not shod and prefer to travel on soft moorum or earthen surface instead of on hard metal surface.

(*d*) The moorum roads can be converted to metal roads at a later stage, if traffic justifies it. If moorum is not available within a reasonable distance, it may be necessary to have a metalled road straight away.

(*e*) To secure economy, the bridges should be just-high enough not to cause more than 2 days interruption during rainy season.

(*f*) The earthen sides of the existing metalled roads should be widened to 8 ft. for use of village-carts which readily take to it if they are wide enough and properly maintained. This will also bring about segregation of the fast-moving motor traffic and the bullock-cart traffic. It will also help to eliminate the road-engineers' bogey of mixed fast but soft rubber tyred traffic and slow hard steel-tyred traffic ruinous to the tarred surfaces; and

(*g*) Fifty per cent of the cost of maintenance of a village road may be met from an *ad-hoc* village cess.

The article has been published with a view to draw the attention of the C.P. Ministry to it. We consider this scheme a fit subject of study by all other Provincial Ministries as also by the authorities at the Centre.

Labour Housing Problem

No serious attempt to find sanitary housing at a cheap cost for the industrial labour has yet been made. Problem of housing the lower middleclass folk is also equally pressing and that has also been equally neglected. Recently the Calcutta slums came into sudden prominence after the dramatic visits of Bengal's Australian Governor Mr. R. G. Casey. Only the bustees under the Calcutta Corporation were picked up as objects of Gubernatorial visits, the industrial areas of the city where housing conditions are hundred-fold worse were left out. Most of the big mills of the industrial areas are owned and controlled by British traders who have done nothing to improve the living condition of the barracks attached to their mills. Things are no better in other parts of this sub-continent.

In this province the present Labour Governor has recently visited some of them, closely following in the footsteps of his Australian predecessor through ankle-deep mud. Both the visits seem to have the same object in view, namely, to discredit the Corporation. The British-controlled industrial areas have once again been carefully left out of the Labour Governor's surprise visit programme.

Things are, however, moving in a different direction in provinces under Congress administration. In the United Provinces, the Ministry has specially deputed a senior officer to study housing conditions in the province. The following extract is from his report :

In this province Hathras, Shikohabad, Firozabad, Saharanpur, Mirzapur, Gorakhpur, Lucknow and Cawnpore are the main industrial centres where workers in large numbers flock from outside and adjoining areas. As yet in very few cases the employers have taken care to provide housing to the workers. Even in Cawnpore only two settlements have been created for the workers. The third is under construction.

Time and again, the Government has impressed upon the employers to provide healthy quarters to their employees but in the absence of any legislation even the biggest ones who advertise their philanthropy at such a large scale have not taken kindly to that thing. In Cawnpore, the congestion is acute and the health of the workers has been impaired much to the detriment of industrial efficiency.

Some time back some quarters were constructed by the Government on the hire-purchase system. It transpires that in some cases even non-industrial workers got in that scheme and the interests of the genuine workers suffered. If the work is entrusted to some co-operative society or other competent agency, that system can be very useful to the workers. The condition of Ahatas in Cawnpore has become still worse from the point of view of sanitation and health. The owners of these Ahatas never care to look after such civic amenities. Last time the Development Board had passed a resolution that the owners of such premises will be compelled to maintain cleanliness but as yet no action seems to have been taken on that score. The scarcity of building materials, specially of bars and other iron materials has checked the private building programme to a great extent.

Fight With Illiteracy

Munshi Iswar Saran of the Harijan Ashram, Allahabad, has drawn attention of the Congress Governments to a simple and easy way of removing illiteracy. The last U. P. Ministry had called a conference to deal with post-war educational problems and it discussed the problem of fighting illiteracy. It has formulated certain proposals but they would prove very costly. Munshiji has provided an alternative to this costly official scheme and we hope his scheme will receive the attention it deserves. The scheme, in short, is as follows :

Maktabs and *Pathshalas* may not be quite scientific institutions but they have existed in this country for centuries and they should be revived. They may not impart the best education but surely they will make our children literate. Literacy produced by any machinery is every time better than the prevailing ignorance. Their one great merit is that they will be extremely inexpensive. It will not be necessary to construct any buildings, nor will it be necessary to have any elaborate paraphernalia for them. Any Maulvi or Pandit of the old type—their race is not extinct as yet—will do as a teacher. It we wait for what are called trained teachers, we may have to wait till the Greek calends.

In my younger days I used to see a Pandit or a Maulvi teaching in the shade of a big tree or in the dilapidated verandah of some house where were gathered children numbering about fifty or less. One single teacher was able to manage them. I have seen children sitting on a *tat,* some had *takhties* and some wrote on the ground. Voluntary payments were made to the teacher. If he was good and efficient, the number of pupils rose, if he was not, the number dwindled.

I must frankly confess that I do not think our good Maulvis and Pandits will be able to tackle the problem of adult education. We shall have to devise some other machinery for this purpose. Then there is the question of inspection. I venture to think that this should not present any formidable difficulty. Of course, the entire scheme will be under the Education Department.

Congress Governments all over the country are in a peculiarly favourable position to launch this scheme. The success of this scheme depends on popular sympathy and co-operation. They are in a position to command it. An Education Minister with a forceful personality can create a band of workers and evoke sufficient enthusiasm in a surprisingly short time. Then there is the organization created by the Congress to help him. What more does an Education Minister with a will and a vision want ?

Ours is one of the poorest countries in the world. It is very difficult for the people of India to afford to have costly schemes drawn up on the model of the rich western countries. The method of primary education described above was just the kind that prevailed in India till mid-nineteenth century when it was destroyed through a planned denial of education.

Servants of India Society's Activities for 1945-46

The Servants of India Society, founded by the great leader of social reform, Gopalkrishna Gokhale, has completed 41 years of its existence. Pundit Hriday Nath Kunzru is its President, Mr. A. V. Thakkar, Vice-President and Mr. D. V. Ambedkar, Secretary. The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri was its President from 1915 to 1927.

The Society's activities embraced every arena of our national life. In the political sphere, the Society pleaded for the release of all political prisoners and the lifting of the ban on political organisations. The communal proportions laid down and known as parity between the Hindus and Muslims in the Wavell offer of 1945 was characterised by the Society as undemocratic and unjust. During the year under report, the Society was represented at the International Maritime Labour Preparatory Conference at Copenhagen. At this Conference the representative urged the necessity of introducing the systems of social insurance for Asiatic seamen. Much useful work has been done among the Harijans. Since last year, the Society has assumed full responsibility for the aborigines' welfare work in Koraput District, Orissa, where ten schools are conducted, and a school for Sahara children is financed. Active interest has been retained in the uplift work for the aborigines in Panch Mahals, in Assam, and in Bihar and the C.P. Valuable work has also been done in the field of rural welfare. Education and literacy continued to receive due attention. The Society concentrated its attention on measures to relieve distress caused by famine in many parts of the country.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE NEW SOCIETY

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

It is being increasingly realised that to secure a sound basis for a society, it is necessary to achieve a balance and adjustment between the individual impulses and the group needs, and in the same way between the different sections of society in the day-to-day human relationships as well as social dealings. Our living and working of one section are so intertwined with the living and working of another, that it is in the very nature of things that they be inter-dependent on each other for their mutual wellbeing, that the ways and codes of one certainly affect that of the other, that no one section can be isolated from the other. A social standard can, therefore, be only determined in terms of a collective standard, for society is an indivisible organism.

But unfortunately today the various parts of society are ill-balanced. The conventions as well as the codes which govern them also vastly differ. This has led to continuous friction and conflict between these component parts. A social plan has, therefore, to be directed towards eliminating the factors which destroy the balance and harmony and reduce the causes of the friction to the minimum so that the social unit may function as a harmonious whole.

Women happen to be one of the several sections of society that are out of step with the social organism. Their natural unfoldment has been arrested and progress stunted. Innumerable barriers have been erected in their path. Outworn customs that lack an inner meaning and significance, weigh them down like heavy mill-stones. But these are no more the exclusive problems of women than are children or the home. Rather they are the problems of society itself.

These are in a way world characteristics. But the Indian background is rather different from that of the West. In the days gone by when India enjoyed a well-established economic stability and a fairly harmonious and disciplined social pattern into which the women had been closely woven, the women enjoyed considerable freedom of opportunity and action, in almost every field of life.

The advent of machinery completely smashed the old pattern of living. Until then, the division between domestic and extra domestic, as now known, was vague. For the essentials of life were produced mostly by the family collectively. Society was split into small communities and all the daily activities converged around the fulcrums of the home. Hence the frontiers were fluid and the later divisions of labour between the sexes was never so pronounced. Each family, being more concentrated, was very much larger. Men and women worked together in fields and at home-crafts. But as machine converted each of these occupations into large-scale industries, their character underwent total change, and gradually even the most intimate tasks became public, such as cooking, eating and lodging. And when women found that their individual effort could not compete with the large collective extra-domestic industries, many of them found themselves increasingly forced to join the vast growing concourse of humanity tied monotonously to the machines. This brought a real onslaught on the quiet stream of the old home-life. It meant henceforth abandoning the ancestral setting, the home and its archaic privacy and cut adrift from the family moorings, to jostle with crowds, live in squalid slums, neglect the children all day, and the like. These changes came too rapidly to allow proper reconditioning of the human as well as the material elements of society. Hence our immediate future problems must necessarily carry a close and vital bearing on these.

For the first time, women came to be forced to carry double burdens. Henceforward, the home-activities came to be divorced from the professional and correspondingly the gap between the functions of men and women also widened. By far the larger number of women had now to toil singly at home for that was considered her "rightful" field of work. At the same time economic necessity forced her to labour outside the four walls of the house to earn her livelihood. By implication, the homework, hard and labourious though it was, lost its economic value and ceased to be related to the basic economy of the family. Women, therefore, lost her economic independence. As we have seen, she had to battle hard even to get recognition to these earnings of hers. Any future reconstruction will, therefore, have to commence from this foundation. In a competitive society, work is assessed only according to its "marketable" possibilities. Hence evaluation of such functions in modern pecuniary terms is rather difficult, although they are the most sweated and unregulated of industries. As a matter of fact, woman expends more time, energy and skill over her domestic tasks than any unionised worker in heavy industry. Her tools are countless, her hours unlimited, her obligations compelling. While society assigns her the several onerous duties, it grudges her even the few rights which are her natural dues. A worker with a job cut out and all the rights legally protected has economic precedence and higher social status than a housewife, simply because her industry does not entitle her to a weekly wage or a monthly cheque! This false slant has undermined the woman's independent status and made her a mere appendage of man. Hence the idea that "man supports woman," and the many social and sex inequalities that emerge from it, such as, for instance, lower wages even in large industries and lower scale of salaries in higher professions. The value of woman is not only pecuniary or biological, it is social as well. For she is the social stabiliser and the cultural repository. One of the basic fundamentals of future society would, therefore, be the recognition of woman in her traditional function as an independent economic entity and the termination of her present status as a "dependent" on man, as though she were a futile parasite and contributed nothing. The rest must necessarily follow as a natural corollary to this, for once she is put on an equal footing with man in the home, her natural right to the ownership of property is bound to be established.

Another curious anomaly that prevails today is that while society accepts as the inevitable characteristic of a natural order the working class woman's forced labour, it resents and obstructs the middle-class woman's aspiration for an independent extra-domestic profession,

Where she has made her own way, she continues to be treated on a lower economic footing. The future society has, therefore, to recognise the woman's right to any profession and also apportion her equal payment for equal work, free from the present sex discriminations.

This raises another issue. The change in the old economy and the rise of the new, has meant the break up of the old joint family system, for the new generations do not conform any more to the professions of their fathers, but rather aspire and train for new ones This has naturally meant straying-away from the central family conclave. This has had serious repercussions on the life of the woman. The woman, though perhaps to a lesser extent than man, is nevertheless becoming more individualistic. The rapidly changing conditions also serve to widen the gap between the older generation and the newer. The younger woman, therefore, gladly welcomes a home of her own, to live her own life untrammeled by the rigid codes and often the nagging interference of the old. But experience is proving that this problem is not solved so simply. In a large household, there was far more division of labour and the entire burden did not fall on any single woman. Rather where a young woman, particularly a new mother was concerned, it was appreciably shared by the elder womanfolk of the household. Equally important was the gradual initiation and training of budding womanhood to the onerous duties of a housewife and responsibilities of a mother. Such training was an indispensible part of the family culture. Today most young women just never get a chance of any such instruction. The academic routine absorbs them the first part of their youth and when that ends, it is to straightway enter upon the housewife's solitary domain. As schools and colleges do not as yet normally include home-science or mother-craft in their syllabus, such essential instruction is wantonly bye-passed, leaving the young woman raw and untutored for the heavy and important duties. On the other hand, the working class woman who are compelled to work outside their home, have to completely neglect their homes and the children, the latter being left to the mercies of the neighbourhood or the comparatively grown-up ones, who in their turn are thus unable to go to school. So far as the other classes go, only a small number may be able to afford a servant, but generally for all practical purposes they have to manage on their own without help. Ill-epuipped, unaided, these women carry on their struggle to keep the house going against great odds. For one thing life and human needs have become far more complex and make more demands on human energies and time. The man too expects more from an educated wife and more duties fall to her lot. Most young women of this class get utterly exhausted today within the first 5 to 10 years of their married life, weighed down by these domestic cares of every-day routine. They have little leisure and even less energy to keep up any intellectual interests. Gradually they lapse back into a kind of dead lethargy, their minds becoming dull. They soon forget even the little they had learned, and in course of time become quite uneducated if not exactly illiterate.

The middle-class women had fared better up to about a decade ago, when domestic labour was cheap and plentiful. Today it is neither, and often none is available for love or money. This struggle has been sharpening too. It is moreover wrong to imagine that some of these pressures will be ceasing with the termination of the war. As industrialisation progresses, these will become more and more accentuated, as has been the case in the West. We must, therefore, assume that such conditions will be the normal feature of the future and then plan.

Most people, particularly men, breesily come out with attacks on the modern girl and her incompetency as a housewife and mother. Such attacks are mainly malicious and born mostly of blind prejudice. But even were she so, what men of today fail to appreciate is the fact that the young women are mentally more hardy, more resourceful and courageously carry on in the face of the very severe odds such as the women of the past never had to contend against. While the latter lived in familiar surroundings, in the bosom of a family nurtured with care, young women of today are whisked off to strange unknown places the moment they are married where often they do not know the local language, and have sometimes to live as an isolated household, with not a second family to turn to. Unfortunately, our education is today so defective, so haphazard, lacking in organisation and cohesion, that most family lives do get quite disintegrated, for the woman is never able to organise her routine in a way as to be able to conserve time and energy. She has no leisure and gets completely weighed down under the burden of a life for which she is little equipped. Our old household is gone under the impact of a new world, with all its organisation and orderliness, but no new pattern has taken its place as yet.

These are in brief the very human problems of every day occurrence, but which nevertheless form the very kernel of the feminine world, and need to be tackled in a rationalistic and scientific way in the plan for a future society.

Thus while the old world has passed away, giving place to new, neither mentally nor in practice have we conditioned and adapted ourselves to the present world. As we have already seen, it is very essential that the domestic sphere and its functions get the due recognition, for it cannot be solved by compelling women to go out on jobs. Rather today, the approach is to give women the option to make her choice. Even in Soviet Russia where everybody is encouraged to work, there is in normal times no compulsion for housewives to do extra-domestic work. This is as it should be. Where women wish to engage themselves in extra-domestic work, as many are bound to, not only no discrimination should be applied but State and society should provide every facility, to enable women a free choice. Family allowances, baby bonuses and the like should be a part of the social structure. The Beveridge Plan makes a hopeful beginning in this direction and Canada has also come out with a plan for baby bonuses, thus every baby begininig with the second, entitles the family to an allowance. This definitely ensures the personal care and attention of its mother, as it now saves her from the burden of extra-domestic work. The Beveridge Plan also makes provision for Marriage and Maternity Benefit, which are also useful pointers. That is, the social insurance scheme provides for a young woman who has worked at a job up to the time of her marriage, to get a Benefit when she wants to marry and when she becomes a mother, so that she has ample funds in hand on those occasions which call for extra expense. This is a thoughtful and useful provision that a future State may take for a basis and improve upon. In countries like Sweden which have co-operative housing

schemes, houses are allotted according to the size of the family and not the purse. Thus if the house rent is one-tenth the salary of the income, it is irrational to allot a large place to a childless couple or a family of three or four members, simply because their income is higher and can pay a high rent, whereas a lower income family of larger size is squeezed into a smaller place. The prevailing practice needs to be altered to a more rational one. Housing space must be determined by the size of the family and not necessarily higher rent for a larger house. This alone can ensure healthy living, privacy and comfort for the growing children, one of the most essential requisites that are obviously ignored today.

But in addition, creches, nursery and kindergarten schools, planned leisure-hour children's activities etc., have to be an essential feature of a normal society. For whether a woman stays at home or goes out, there must be some place where a child can be left when the woman wants to take time off. Then the child ceases to be a burden. Moreover, in nursery and kindergarten schools, children learn at an early age to live in an organised and disciplined manner in a large group, learn healthy social habits. Especially where a woman has a large family and heavy domestic burdens, she is inclined to be less patient and more brusque with the growing children who often become victims of her temper for no fault of theirs. Thus such institutions are helpful even in the case of a full-time housewife.

All the more highly industrialised countries of the West have conditioned themselves to the scarcity of domestic labour and patterned out accordingly. Girls are taught from an early age to organise and run a house. Later they go into special institutions for more specialised training for the same. At the same time it is being realised that the old divisions of man's and women's functions have not the same reality today, especially with such a large number of women taking on jobs which were hitherto considered purely men's. To relieve women of these double burdens new adjustments are being made, through community kitchens, community nurseries and the like; the men taking a fuller and more rightful share in the household tasks. It is as it should be, for as women lend an increasing hand to the affairs considered exclusively the man's domain, he should play his part in what was regarded as an exclusively woman's sphere. In America, for instance, quite as many men go in for Home science courses as women. Men attend classes along with women conducted by the Maternity Association on the care and upbringing of children. Thus man is able not only to assist the woman at her domestic drudge, but also psychologically relieve her of some of the daily tedium and add to the general interest of an otherwise dull routine. There is so much more zest and interest when two work together in comradeship. Such a mental and physical condition is essential as a pre-requisite to provisions such as community kitchens and the like.

Another arm which the servantless community of the West has developed, is labour-saving devices in the form of gadgets. These are useful and also help in saving needless physical labour. They need, however, to be cheaply supplied and on a mass-scale to bring them within the reach of every woman and cease to be the luxury goods they are today.

Education in home-science and mother-craft should be the essential feature of every institution. The old idea that these being common instincts if you *feel* sufficiently, efficiency will follow, is a very erroneous one. Life is today extremely complicated and old methods have become ineffective. Therefore, a systematic training for modern living is very necessary. In fact this raises the whole issue of education. It is education alone which can give reality to principles that may be recognised as laws on the statute books. For without the requisite training, women can never be really independent nor can they take advantage of any of even the available facilities. The present system of education is essentially wrong, designed as it is on a single-sex basis. Therefore, even our mixed institutions are not *co-educational*, rather they are men's schools and colleges where women are *permitted*. Education has to be designed for *living* and life represents co-operation between the two sexes. Full cognisance must be taken of this and a proper approach in this direction developed. Therefore, social and home sciences should be an integral part of education. Moreover, qualified women should be as freely employed in all institutions as men are at present. Women should also be allowed to share equally with men, all educational responsibilities, particularly in the sphere of higher education where men still predominated. This alone would provide the proper atmosphere to nurture and build up healthier and less inhibited relationship between the two sexes. For it is here that the entire mechanism of collaboration between the sexes in all spheres, has to be worked out in theory and practice, to prepare the growing generations for the gentle and trying art of family living.

The ever-increasing penetration of women into the extra-domestic field is very welcome, for the world is after all but an extension of the home. On the one hand it cuts across the relative segregation of women as a sex and breaks up the old restrictions that narrow down the women's functions at the moment, and provide a wider and more varied field for them to function in. While on the other hand, their presence and participation brings a new and fresh influence to bear upon the larger problems. Women no doubt add their own touch of idealism and practical sense to things. In fact the treatment of no problem could be complete or in any sense satisfactory, unless men and women together shared the responsibility and lent a joint hand and joint vision. The future society has to encourage and welcome the participation of women in all spheres and activities of life, free from any sense of self-consciousness. For women are at present allotted a "not quite adult" status. There is a subtle suggestion that they are not responsible or mature enough, and need a helping hand like minors and children. Several of our laws which deny women equal economic and social rights with men, clearly indicate this. The basis of franchise for women in this country is another instance of this, where wifehood is made a basis for franchise. All this subtle undermining of equality must be replaced by a natural healthy acceptance of comraderie.

Our present social life is equally vitiated by a double moral standard both in law as well as in practice. In the last analysis, prevailing customs have the precedence over dead-letter laws, but where laws also serve to accentuate this double standard, the social life gets even more vitiated. While man is accepted as a weak wayward vessel with an inevitable tendency to transgress, woman is regarded as the repository of social morals. The fact is entirely overlooked that society is a double-harnessed chariot and its onward progress is

dependent on both man and woman. If one is allowed to play tantrums on the ground that is its nature, the progress of the other gets naturally impeded. When one demands equal moral standard, its implication is not loosening the discipline of the other sex also, but rather an attempt to impose the same discipline on both. As Gandhiji very aptly points out :

> "Woman is the companion of man, gifted with equal mental capacities. She has the right to participate in very minutest detail in the activities of men, and she has an equal right of freedom and liberty with him . . . By sheer force of a vicious custom, even the most ignorant and worthless of men have been enjoying a superiority over women which they do not deserve and ought not to have. Many of our movements stop half-way because of the condition of our women. Much of our work does not yield appropriate results. . . . They are a peerless pair, each helps the other, so that without the one, the existence of the other cannot be conceived, and, therefore, it follows as a necessary corollary from these facts that anything that will impair the status of either of them will involve equal ruin of them both."

The present idea that man can afford to be licentious so long as woman imposed upon herself strict discipline, is fallacious as well as dangerous. In future there ought to be only one ethical standard for both which neither could break with impunity. What is wrong for one cannot be right for the other. Death is as natural as birth and it is mere sadism to brand a woman, whose husband dies, with all manner of severities. Nor can monogamy be imposed upon woman alone while man is allowed to indulge in polygamy. In the society of tomorrow, the present law and custom needs to be replaced by a law of monogamy for both. At the same time, provision must be made for all eventualities by enabling dissolution of marriage under certain circumstances. The prevailing laws of marriage are both unfair as well as irrational, for while it does not prevent socially injurious unions such as between diseased or insane people, it forbids two intelligent people from separating if their union had in reality ceased to be and become a burden or a mockery. If marriage is a useful social institution, as we believe it to be, then it can survive only as a voluntary one, not coercive. For then it becomes an artificial super-imposed affair instead of an institution based on the deepest needs of man, an indispensible social instrument for the proper regulation of human relationships. Such a relationship can only be constituted through the inter-play of mutual love, respect and obligation. Where this spring is missing or is dried up and social fear alone holds two people together, such a union can never add to the strength and vitality of a people. Under these circumstances, the man has no more rights over his wite than an Imperialist country over a colonial. As Gandhiji rightly says :

> "For me the marriage state is as much of a discipline as any other. Married life is intended to promote mutual good. Where one partner breaks the law of discipline, the right accrues to the other of breaking the bond. The breach here is moral, not physical . . . the wife or the husband separates to serve the end for which they had united. Hinduism regards each as absolute equal of the other. No doubt, a different practice has grown up, so have many other evils crept in . . ."

Moreover, the result of a ban on dissolution or making divorce difficult certainly does not make for happy or successful marriages. That is an absolute fallacy. But while a different standard obtains for man, the only result is an additional threat for society and a handicap-struggle for woman against man. The new society must, therefore, lay down identical moral obligations for both the sexes and establish identical ethical standards, while all laws are brought into conformity with this principle.

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POEM

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

The famished, the homeless
    raise their hands towards heaven,
    and utter the name of God.
Their call will never be in vain
    in the land where God's response
    comes through the heart of Man
    in heroic service and love.

Lines written by the Poet during the Bengal famine of 1931

—From *India Speaks*
(Inauguration Volume, May 1946)

LIQUOR POLICY OF GREAT BRITAIN (1939-40)

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

Some time after the outbreak of hostilities with Germany, Temperance organisations in Britain criticised the British Cabinet stating that the attitude of complacency towards the drink problem which had all along characterised the governing classes of Britain should forthwith be replaced by one of quick and prompt interference with the activities of the Liquor Trade.

In explanation of such invasions on personal liberty as had already been found necessary, the Cabinet had stated that they had been due to the vital needs of the state. For instance, conscription had been enacted to increase military strength, the maintenance of the food supply of the nation had led to its rationing, the equipment of mechanised armies had ended in petrol rationing, the safety of the civilian population in thickly settled areas had rendered evacuation compulsory, and taxes, direct and indirect, had been increased till they made unprecedented demands on the purses of the people. It was, therefore, argued that the British Cabinet should not postpone the imposition of restrictions calculated to husband the resources of the country.

The British Temperance Movement put forward certain reasons in support of its demands for controlling the Liquor Trade and reducing the consumption of alcoholic beverages. The most important of these are referred to below.

Deterioration of Efficiency

There is such a close connection between proceedings for drunkenness and convictions on the one hand and the quantity of liquor consumed on the other, that a reduction in the amount used is immediately reflected in a considerable diminution in their number. It was urged that as, in the best interests of the country, it was necessary that the people as a whole should be encouraged to maintain their physical and intellectual efficiency at the highest possible level, it was desirable that they should, as far as possible, be saved from the temptation of drinking and thus lowering their powers, for it is a well-established fact that drunkenness and even the effects of moderate drinking falling far short of actual drunkenness, lead to industrial and physical deterioration which no country engaged in a life and death struggle such as the war with Hitlerite Germany could afford. In support of this contention, the following figures, taken from official publications, were placed before the public.

	Beer (Nearest Thousand Standard Barrels)	*Spirits (Nearest Thousand Proof Gallons)*	*Drunkenness Proceedings*
1913	35,324	31,794	263,404
1914	34,193	31,660	263,515
1918	12,791	15,108	44,266
1919	21,692	21,699	86,467
1920	26,920	22,125	144,073

As regards the convictions, in 1913, the year preceding the outbreak of hostilities, they numbered 183,514 in England and Wales diminishing gradually till in 1918, when control was strictest, they fell to a minimum of 28,028. Next year, that is to say, in 1919, the number of convictions nearly doubled while the year after that (1920) they were more than three times the minimum figures given above.

Along with the above statistical data, it was emphasised that the people who were proceeded against and specially those convicted were not only themselves unable to give their maximum services to the country but also that they needlessly absorbed the energy of others engaged in seeing to the maintenance of the normal life of the nation. It was, therefore, argued that if the British Cabinet took effective steps to reduce the amount of liquor available to the public, there would be a sharp drop in drinking, moderate and excessive, and so a larger amount of man-power with a higher measure of efficiency would be available for national service.

It was also urged that never before had there been a time when it was necessary for every Briton to be in a state of constant preparedness. The dangers of attack from the air had increased to an alarming extent and there were thousands of people scanning the heavens for German air-crafts that might rain death on defenceless men, women and children. As alcohol by drugging the brain, blurs the vision, it was essential to encourage sobriety not only in the case of the watchers but also where the general public, which had to be ready for any emergency, was concerned.

In that connection, attention may be drawn to the instructions issued to Wardens by the Chief Air Raid Wardens of different places among which reference may be made to those of Leeds, Chelsea and Marylebone. The first of these ordered that his Wardens were not to enter licensed premises (selling liquor) whilst on duty. The second stated, "None of our Wardens would drink on duty", while the third said, "We ask men not to drink on duty, as it is obviously desirable for the efficiency of the service."

Another point made by a religious organisation, the Emergency Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, soon after the outbreak of the recent war was that war conditions had led to the massing of individuals in new surroundings especially in the case of young men and young women called up for national service. So far as these young people were concerned, it could not be denied that while the resultant removal of the restraints of home was by itself an undesirable though unavoidable necessity, it was unwise to aggravate the risks to which they were already exposed by easy access to intoxicating liquors one of the effects of which, as shown elsewhere, is to materially weaken self-control.

Increase of Road Accidents

The connection between drinking and road accidents had been established even before the breaking out of the recent war but the British Cabinet had apparently failed to grasp the significance of scientific findings as regards the danger of alcohol even when taken in moderation by those in charge of highly mechanised machines of transport on land or in the air. Something has been said elsewhere about the increase of drinking after the blackout regulations had come into force and authorities have been quoted in support of this view.

It was pointed out at that time that this implied great responsibility on drivers of motor vehicles and pedestrians as also that drinking, under these circumstances, was a grave danger, not merely to the individual, but to the community as a whole, in addition to the imposition of an unnecessary burden on the police. Nothing was done and the number of road accidents mounted. Mr. F. C. Watkins, Labour Member for Central Hackney, voiced the rising tide of public indignation against the unchecked continuance of drink-caused accidents when, on the 16th November, 1938, he moved the following resolution in the House of Commons :

> "This House views with concern the continued high rate of road accidents in spite of existing measures and therefore calls for more effective action for the public safety."

Several members, including the Minister of Transport, participated in the debate which followed. One of these, Mr. Frederick Montagu who, it should be added, had never previously shown any deep sympathy with temperance principles, made a speech from which the following lines are quoted to prove the extent to which he thought road accidents were due to drinking :

> "A good number of the Members of this House know that I am no pussyfoot. I do not believe in restrictions and prohibitions . . . but I must confess to a very considerable degree of concern at the number of roadhouses to be seen round about London and in other parts of the country . . . When I note the enormous number of cars packed outside these places, especially at week-ends, I cannot help feeling that here is something which ought to be looked into and which may be responsible, to a considerable extent, for some of the selfishness and some of the slaughter."

This debate, too, characterised by temperance organs as an unsatisfactory one, did not produce any effect. *The Alliance News* for December, 1939, once more drew attention to the seriousness of the situation when it stated :

> "We are killing on the roads of our country twice the number of people as were killed in pre-war months, due very largely to increased traffic dangers after dark. The presence on the streets after blackout of persons who are just leaving public houses (more or less under the influence of liquor) has added greatly to the dangers of the roads."

A very prominent leader of the British Temperance Movement next drew attention to the *Report of the House of Lords Select Committee on Road Accidents* which, among other things, had said :

> "It should be emphasised that, even when there is no question of drunkenness, a small quantity of alcohol is for many drivers most dangerous,"

and emphasised the importance of the fact where the people concerned were the thousands of young airmen who were being called upon to face the terrible risks of aerial reconnaissance and combat. Their nervous parents constantly in apprehension of the dangers to which these young people were unavoidably exposed, he pleaded, had surely the right to demand that their boys should be placed beyond the reach of a temptation which, if yielded to even in moderation, might cost them and their comrades their lives.

Then came a request from the (British) National Temperance Federation to Sir Kingsley Wood, the Minister for Air, to receive a deputation to discuss with him the issue of alcoholic beverages as it affected [illegible]s of the air force. He declined to receive the deputation. Replying through his Secretary he said that he "was satisfied that alcohol is in fact used in the (air) service to a remarkably limited extent and that canteens are strictly managed under the full control of Commanding Officers."

This letter referred to the importance of moderation but carefully refrained from defining what, in official view, would be regarded as moderation in a calling so dangerous as that of a pilot. It was in this connection that an eminent medical man who, throughout his life, has been a champion of total abstinence observed that

> "The impairment of the power of judgment, of central, peripheral and binocular vision, of neuromuscular co-ordination is inevitable, after even small doses of alcohol. Bad enough in most other occupations, such a consequence for the airman is fraught with incalculable mischief."

The Air Minister was, therefore, requested in a second letter addressed to him by the General Secretary of the National Temperance Federation to accept and give effect to the view of Mr. Garro Jones, M.P., as expressed in April, 1938, that is, long before the recent war started, that

> "It would not be right to apply the same standard of conduct to the air pilots as to the other two services (Army and Navy where limited quantities of alcohol under certain circumstances are issued to the soldiers) even, let alone to the general public."

So far as the present writer is aware, the Air Ministry right up to the end of the war did not accept the suggestion of the Temperance Movement, detailed information about which appears elsewhere.

Depression of Living Standards

The annual per capita expenditure on drink in Great Britain in 1938, was about £5-12-0d or 8s-6d a week for a family of four persons. Actual enquiries conducted by temperance workers among men employed in a number of different industries showed that their expenditure on drink was usually between 5s and 10s a week, and that, in some industrial areas, it was much higher. For instance, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Licensing stated that

> "In Bermondsey, where the average employment wage was only 45s a week, the expenditure on drink alone came to 16s per family."

Taking 8s. 6d. a week as the average expenditure on drink, there can be little doubt that it had detrimental effects on the standard of living because statistical investigations have shown that over 50 per cent of all the children in Great Britain "are living in families where total income is less than 60s. a week." A deduction of 8s. 6d. from this amount implies a substantially lower standard of living for the whole family.

Temperance workers pointed out that war conditions would accentuate this tendency, for though it was sure that wages would rise, this would certainly be accompanied by an increase in the prices of the necessaries of life. The time-lag between wages and prices would always be there. Along with this, the cost of liquor would also increase and as users of liquor who would be called upon to work harder and for longer hours would fly to liquor to overcome, at least temporarily, their sense of fatigue and also for the sake of

sociability, it was certain that the expenditure on drink would run away with a larger share of their earnings than in normal times. And this, when it happened, as it was contended was only too likely to happen, would adversely affect the standard of living of the whole family. It was also held that as it was essential that the workers should be well-nourished, the greatest sufferers under these circumstances would be the women-folk and the children.

Wastage of Foodstuff

On the 28th December, 1939, Mr. J. W. Robertson Scott, writing to the *Times* from the office of the celebrated periodical, *Countryman,* referred to the wastage of valuable foodstuff and man-power in the following terms :

> "Brewing and distilling must be using up something like 17,000 tons of barley, 5,000 tons of other grains, and about the same tonnage of sugar, molasses, etc., weekly. Dare we any longer put off deciding (1) whether the nation can afford all this drain on feeding stuffs, and (2) whether it can permit all the attendant expenditure of not far short of £3,000,000 a week on materials and labour ?"

The British Cabinet which was greatly embarrassed by not only other criticisms of the same type but also when it was pointed out that the food wasted in the manufacture of liquor could be used for feeding pigs, attempted to defend itself by suggesting in what its critics regarded as an inspired broadcast, that "beech mast or acorns could be used instead of barley for feeding pigs." The reply to this came in the correspondence columns of a temperance paper in which a gentleman calling himself "A Practical Farmer" drew attention to the impractical nature of the advice offered by inquiring, "where is any one, keeping 300 pigs or more, to get beech mast or acorns ?"

Then ensued further correspondence the last word in which was said by one Mr. R. Rowse-Hosking, writing on the 2nd January, 1940, to *The Farmer and Stock-Breeder,* one of the foremost of farmers' journals in England. He said :

> "Instead of being palmed off to feed bacon pigs on beech mast and acorns, may I suggest a better way of obtaining the necessary food ? In beer alone, to say nothing of spirits, nearly ten million cwts. of malt and about three quarters of a million cwts. of rice, maize and other grains were used last year in its manufacture. Now, it is recognised that 10 cwts. of barley feed will produce 160 lbs. of pork, dead-weight, so that the barley used to make malt for brewing would feed about a million pigs of an average weight of 160 lbs.
>
> "Ships are badly needed for transporting war supplies. Why should they be used for bringing barley for brewers to destroy ? Some farmers are actually killing off the baby pigs because of the shortage of feeding-stuffs, and there will, therefore, be a reduction of the pig population and shortage of bacon.
>
> "Those who consume food are to be rationed on January 3rd (1940) ; those who produce food, we are told, are to be rationed for animal feeding stuffs ; but those who destroy it are to be let off 'scot-free.' Is it either right or economical to let beer come before bacon, eggs, or butter ? Is our Government afraid to ration the brewers ? Do they prefer the ruin of pig and poultry-keepers and to put the nation on short commons instead ?"

On the 20th February, 1940, the Minister of Food (Mr. W. S. Morrison) in reply to an inquiry made by a lady member of the House of Commons stated that "about one million pounds of grain (were) daily" used up by the Liquor Trade. This does not include sugar, molasses, etc., also consumed by it which proves that there had been no improvement in the situation after the appearance of the correspondence referred to above.

Early in March, 1940, the British Temperance Movement started a campaign to mobilise public opinion against the misuse of foodstuffs. It emphasised that food control had been introduced and rationing imposed to prevent their possible wastage. To this end, to quote its language, "a skilful and very expensive administration" had been brought into being which, as was only natural, was "financed by the increased cost of foodstuffs" to the public. For the materials it used, the Liquor Trade had to depend either on what was grown in Great Britain or imported from outside at considerable risk to the seamen. In either case, the manufacture of liquor from these substances constituted, in the language used by it, "a woeful wastage of valuable food products and the destruction of essential vitamins" which were "greatly needed by the British nation as a whole so that every soul might maintain its strength, vigour, and efficiency at the highest possible pitch."

The gravity of the food situation was such that even the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George, M.P., felt impelled to show his sympathy with the efforts of the Temperance Movement and when invited to a meeting arranged by it on the 14th March, 1940, sent the following wire to the President elect :

> "Deeply regret not present. Consider food situation demands drastic survey of brewery and distilling facilities. D. Lloyd George."

Misuse of Cargo Space

But the use of foodstuffs by the Liquor Trade had another and, from the human standpoint, a more deplorable result to which reference was made in a contribution which appeared in November, 1939, from which the following extract is made :

> "There is a shortage in certain imported foodstuffs, the reason being that there is a shortage of cargo boats. Yet it is estimated that to supply the Liquor Trade with its sea transport, over 50 million cubic feet of shipping space is employed annually. Are British sailors to continue to risk their lives for purposes of this kind ?"

The Liquor Trade continued to get its supplies of precious foodstuffs the transport of which by sea took a high toll of the lives of British sailors when the U-boat menace was at its worst. The indignation felt by all right-minded people was expressed in an article entitled "Liquor in War-time" published in the well-known *Spectator* of London on the 2nd February, 1940, from which the following lines are taken. It will be noticed that the point made is that the cargo space taken up by the food-stuffs used in the Liquor Trade, the most important of which is brewing, represented so much loss and that, at least under the conditions then prevailing, it should be utilised for importing food for man and stock.

> "In his address at the Mansion House last month the Prime Minister stated that if we want to win and, if possible, to shorten the war, 'We must control imports, we must do without commodities that are not necessary.' Bulky commodities taking much cargo-space are specially to be avoided, and

among them clearly must be included much of the material needed in brewing. Over half the total amount of barley used for this purpose is imported, as well as certain amounts of sugar, rice and maize. But in war-time, when sinkings of ships are of daily occurrence, cargo-space represents seamen's lives. Everything possible must be done to reduce their risks to a minimum, and to restrict space to the carriage of essential commodities only. Even if there were no question of the risk to seamen, cargo-space ought to be conserved for more useful purposes. Owing to the convoy system, the total amount of space available is considerably less than in peace-time, and this inevitably cuts down the import of both valuable foodstuffs and of feeding-stuffs for stock."

Significant Gaps in Propaganda

As the war went on and, with it, the need for finance grew more intense, a national savings campaign was instituted under Government auspices. The National Savings Association was organised and it sponsored an extensive publicity campaign through the press and the platform urging that while expenditure on the necessaries of life was, in the interests of efficiency, to be maintained, expenditure on luxuries must be drastically reduced and the money thus saved should be lent to Government. In their speeches, the Cabinet Ministers also pursued the same theme while there was no lack of this particular type of propaganda in broadcasts.

What was surprising in the whole affair, however, was the utter lack of any clear indication in regard to the particular commodities the use of which could be advantageously cut out. One would have thought that it was not at all a very difficult matter to draw attention to some very large items of national expenditure which could have been completely eliminated with very definite gain to the community and of which the enormous expenditure on alcohol is an outstanding example.

In some cases, the advertisements which appeared in the papers pointed out that it was wrong for the British merchant fleet to risk the abnormal perils of the sea due to the activities of German submarines to carry what we may call non-necessaries to England. Every one understood that this was to discourage their import and use by the British public which was expected to utilise the savings thus effected for national investment. Not one of these, however, mentioned anything about the waste of that part of the grain, sugar, molasses, and the like used by the Liquor Trade, which could be classed among the non-necessaries and importing which implied serious risk for seamen.

An obvious explanation of this seems to be that so general is the feeling against the curtailment of the facilities for drinking, that those conducting the propaganda were aware that there was very little chance of anything like a wide acceptance of such a suggestion.

Suggestions of the British Temperance Movement

All the above facts were known not only to the British Cabinet but also to individuals and organisations interested in the Temperance Movement in Great Britain. The United Kingdom Alliance of temperance organisations all over the country passed the following resolution:

"The United Kingdom Alliance calls public attention to the fact that the manufacture and consumption of alcoholic liquor entail:

"(1) The wastage of transport facilities.
"(2) The impairment of national efficiency.
"(3) The misdirection of man-power.
"(4) Uneconomic expenditure.
"(5) The destruction of food value of vast quantities of sugar and grain.
"(6) An increase in traffic danger."

The above resolution was passed soon after the outbreak of war with Germany. It had no effect in inducing the British Government to change its policy in the matter of the drink traffic.

In January, 1940, Mr. Earnest Winterton, a prominent temperance worker, wrote an article demanding immediate steps for halving the output of alcoholic liquors and prohibition of the use of spirits for beverage purposes. His other suggestions were putting up the price of intoxicating liquor by increasing the taxes and the weakening of their alcoholic strength. These were not accepted but there was no let up in the attempts made by those interested in the Temperance Movement to restrict the output and consumption of liquor. The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the London Free Church Federation held on the 14th March, 1940:

> "In view of the fact that the huge national consumption of intoxicants represents a serious wastage of foodstuffs by their destruction in brewing and distilling; that the drink habits of drivers and pedestrians are an aggravating factor in the appalling total of road casualties; and that the expenditure upon drink is impairing the economic resources of the nation, this Annual Meeting of the London Free Church Federation calls upon the Government to impose upon the drink trade, without further delay, not only the limitations which were found to be necessary during the last Great War, but also such additional restrictions as have now become imperative on account of the 'black-out' and of the importance of maintaining a constant state of national preparedness to meet any emergency."

The Temperance Movement realising the strength of the opposition it would have to encounter made, in 1939, from the Indian point of view, the very modest proposals that there should be a reduction in the drinking hours, that the sale of spirits should be made illegal from Friday night to Sunday night, that the "No-Treating" order of the war of 1914-18, should be imposed, that the alcoholic strength of spirits and beer should be reduced, that no canvassing for liquor orders and no publication of advertisements to push their sale should be permitted, that air pilots, motor drivers, etc., should not be allowed to drink when on duty or, better still, for a prescribed number of hours before going on duty and, lastly, that there should be "a progressive restriction of the national output of liquor" and the savings in labour and raw materials thus effected should be diverted to the increase of the National Food Supply.

The Temperance Group in Parliament systematically brought pressure to bear upon Government not to impose Prohibition which they regarded, and regarded rightly, as an impossibility so long as the British maintain their present attitude in the matter of the use of alcohol, but, in accordance with the resolutions quoted above, to introduce those restrictions which had been in force during the war of 1914-1918.

adding to them three other regulations to meet the conditions then prevailing. These were that places selling drink should close one hour after sunset, that advertisements designed to increase the consumption of alcoholic drinks should be prohibited and lastly, that drivers of motor vehicles and aviators should not be allowed to drink during their hours of duty. The whole Temperance Movement of Great Britain gave this programme its unqualified support but these were not accepted.

Attitude of the British Cabinet and Its Implications

On the 28th February, 1940, Dr. Little, a member of the House of Commons interested in the Temperance Movement, asked Mr. W. S. Morrison, the Minister of Food, "Whether, as the foodstuffs required for the production of whisky, beer, etc., are vital and necessary at the moment for the life and welfare of the nation, he will make a statement as to the extent of the rationing of cereals to distillers and brewers?"

The reply, according to the official proceedings of the House of Commons, was as follows:

> "In view of the limited supply of cereals available for animal feeding stuffs, the Government have decided to make an order restricting the output of whisky and other potable spirits for the current year to one-third of last year's production. The output of beer will be permitted to continue at a level not exceeding that of last year.
>
> "To ensure that the Government's intentions are carried into effect with the least inconvenience to the industries concerned, advisory committees representative of distillers, brewers and maltsters are being set up by my Department.
>
> "Steps will be taken to ensure that purchases of cereals for brewing or distilling are not made in excess of requirements for this year's permitted production. The consumption of sugar for brewing will, in accordance with arrangements made for the reduction of supplies for other industrial purposes, be reduced to 70 per cent of normal requirements. Supplies of cereals will, if necessary, be available to meet the deficiency.
>
> "I am glad to be able to state that I have been assured of the co-operation of the industries concerned in giving effect to the Government's wishes."

The point was also made that Government had increased the taxes on liquor in which connection the following information was supplied:

	Pre-war	*War*
Spirits (proof gallon)	72/6d.	82/6d.
Beer (bulk gallon)	24s.	48s.
Wine (gallon)	1/6d.	3/6d.

From the above reply, it is evident that the British Cabinet was at last compelled to take some steps in regard to the preferential treatment which had, up to that time, been accorded to the British Liquor Trade. That the action taken was, however, inadequate became clear when, as the result of inquiries, it was found that the amount of whisky then in bond, that is stored under charge of Customs till duty was paid, amounted to no less than 140 million gallons, equal to five years' normal requirements and that the preferential treatment in regard to the beer industry was to continue as its output was to be permitted to reach its pre-war figure, any shortage due to the rationing of sugar being made up by increased supplies of cereals at a time when serious shortage of agricultural foodstuffs continued to prevail.

From the above, it is abundantly evident that so far as the amount of liquor available for consumption was concerned, the position remained practically unchanged. *The Daily Sketch* of London offered the following comment on the above policy of the British Cabinet in its issue of the 29th February, 1940:

> "There will be plenty of whisky at present rates (unless the tax goes up) for years to come, despite restrictions on manufacture just announced. Amount of tax will probably remain as now throughout the war . . . Beer maximum output will be the same as last year. Even a cessation of distilling would not take effect for years, because of the time spirits need to mature."

When examined closely, the following inferences can be legitimately drawn from the answers given by the Minister of Food.

1. The output of beer would not be reduced by a single pint unless the Advisory Committee consisting of people financially interested in the brewing trade decided to do so. That this was not likely is self-evident.

2. The brewers who are food destroyers would continue to obtain as much sugar as if they were food producers like manufacturers of such articles as jam, marmalade, chocolate, etc., every one of these being allowed "70 per cent of normal requirements."

3. If the sugar allotted was found to be insufficient, the brewers would get grain instead.

4. As regards whisky, the output of which was to be reduced by two-thirds, we have to remember that potable spirits, unlike beer, keep for years and that supplies normally sufficient for five years were in stock when the above statement was made. Secondly, it is profitable for distillers to stop manufacturing whisky in war-time because of the higher prices paid for what is called mature whisky and the reduced demand inevitable by reason of war-time economy. The experience of the war of 1914-18 had shown that distillers would themselves have reduced their whisky output in war-time even if Government had not taken any action in the matter.

5. It was the contention of Government that increases in the prices of alcoholic liquors due to the enhanced taxes would tend to check their consumption but attention was not drawn to the fact that, as wages under war conditions were bound to increase, it was more than likely that their restrictive value was calculated, at least partially, to be neutralised.

Britain, Australia and New Zealand Contrasted

While Great Britain was, under pressure from various quarters, taking hesitating steps for controlling the consumption of liquor, the younger and, presumably, more vigorous Self-Governing Dominions were setting a worthier and a higher example. It was reported in the *Children's Newspaper* in November, 1939, that Mr. Robert Semple, Minister of Transport and of Public Works, New Zealand, had decreed that all the constructional camps of the country would be free from alcohol. These had come into existence as the result of the railway and road extension schemes involving expenditure of millions of pounds He took up this attitude because Government was paying very high wages to finish its new roads and railways as rapidly as possible and it was aware that alcohol slows up work.

The Christian World, dated the 28th December, 1939, reported that, sometime after the above step had been taken, the New Zealand House of Representatives passed, without opposition, a Bill prohibiting drinking at public dance halls or in their vicinity.

The same issue of the above periodical also reported that the then Australian Prime Minister, Mr. Menzies, announced the decision of his War Cabinet that military camps would remain "dry", which he said, "had been reached after careful consideration." Further, under the Defence Act, the supply of liquor to military trainees under the age of 25, who were being compulsorily trained in the State of Victoria (Australia), was forbidden. In the same State, the regulations forbade the possession and supply of intoxicating liquor at any Air Force canteen, unit, or station, during any period of training.

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THE LEAGUE IS DEAD, LONG LIVE THE UNITED NATIONS !

A Retrospective Glimpse

By Mme. L. MORIN

Geneva, 25th April, 1946

Geneva, who watched over the League's cradle, has just seen it safely to its grave.

But although the session had something ghostlike about it, the whole process has been conducted with all due pre-war formalism and dignity.

And the slight mist of melancholy which hovered around, together with past memories, was soon dispelled by the brilliant sunshine, the gorgeous flowers, the ever kindly welcome of the Swiss people, and the unchanging beauty of Geneva and its lake and mountains in the early spring.

On the 7th September, 1929, the first stone of the future palace had been solemnly laid in the Parc of Ariana. September, 1937, saw the first sitting of the League in its new abode. Easter, 1946 : hardly more than ten years have elapsed—but what eventful years ! —and the League is here again, yet only to breathe its last and transmit its legacy to its young successor U.N.O.

All through the war, people were exclaiming : "Look at that magnificent palace standing there useless, and it cost 30 million francs at the time." And what was the daily cost of war for each country, if you please ? People will always agree to the heaviest armament budget in time of war, but a much smaller amount to be spent in favour of peace or constructive purposes is always considered excessive.

It should not be forgotten that the League Secretariat, if at a slow rhythm, did pursue its activities during the war, within ten minutes from the German guns, in its own humble way a challenge to the forces of disorder. Contributions received during that period were devoted to the technical services (economic, social, financial, transit, hygiene, drug-traffic, etc.). And those very same services, in slightly altered forms, seem likely to assume nowadays an ever-growing importance, the need for them being even greater than before.

As the League steps out of the present world scene, it also steps into history, and it may well occupy there in future a more creditable place than its present censors would have us to believe. That is why, at this present juncture, it is perhaps not utterly futile to take a last retrospective glimpse at the League's activities and ideals.

Some Precursors

In fact, it would be a fascinating study to trace through history the evolution of arbitration or other ideas which were later on embodied in the League Covenant but this, of course, cannot be attempted within the scope of a short article.

A few instances, taken at random.

Tribunals of conciliation existed at times in ancient Greece to settle matters between cities.

Pierre Dubois, a thirteenth-century lawyer in Normandy, envisaged a court of arbitration between nations, with ultimate recourse to the Pope.

Henri the IVth, King of France, also devised a scheme for international organisation.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the Abbe de Saint-Pierre published a plan for realising universal peace through the means of European federation.

But all these reminiscences appear very distant from our present preoccupations.

How the League Was Born

In 1915, a "League to impose peace" was created in the United States and attracted the attention of President Wilson.

In 1917, under Wilson's auspices, a peace enquiry bureau, with 200 eminent jurists, undertook to study the means of organising the world on a new basis.

One of Wilson's fourteen points foresaw the constitution of a League of Nations.

A committee started work in England, on Lord Cecil's initiative. Its plan was approved, after certain alterations, by President Wilson and his private counsellor, Colonel House.

When the Peace Conference opened, a committee was asked to draft the statutes of the League of Nations. The final text was approved in plenary session on the 28th April, 1919, and incorporated in the Versailles treaty on the 28th June of the same year.

It can be contended that in 1919 and 1920, many treatises were signed under the sway of political passions prevalent at the time. But the League Pact itself was not hastily drafted. In fact it was composed with a great deal of care and thoughtfulness.

Yet, in spite of the immense hopes fostered by its creation, on the whole, and more so as years elapsed, the League has been more ridiculed than admired. Yet should we not be grateful that it existed at all ?

True to say, its failures have been more conspicuous than its successes. Mr. Charles Rieben, in the Swiss weekly *L'Illustre,* endeavours to give a comparative picture of both.

WHERE THE LEAGUE FAILED

In 1923, Italy had bombarded and occupied the island of Corfou, after the murder of General Tellini on the Greco-Albanian frontier. With regard to this dispute, unanimity could not be reached in Geneva. But a British "naval demonstration" seems to have proved a determining factor. Ultimately, a conference of ambassadors settled the affair, and Greece was compelled to pay a fine.

In 1928, Bolivia waged war against Paraguay, both revendicating the Chaco territory. Hostilities lasted several years and only ended through the intervention of six American states.

When in 1931, Japan grabbed at Manchuria, a vote of the League condemned the aggressor, but Japan banged the door and carried on.

In 1932, an imposing conference, in conformity with article eighth of the Pact, endeavoured to promote general and progressive reduction in armaments. Better late than never ? No, it was already too late then. And we remember how it failed.

In 1935, another "moral condemnation" was launched against Italy who had attacked Abyssinia. But sanctions remained ineffective.

In March 1936, Germany reoccupied the left bank of the Rhine. And all countries started again "polishing" their armaments.

In the face of the Spanish war, nothing substantial was done either.

Austria, Czechoslovakia were easy preys after all that precedes. How heavy the atmosphere was in Geneva at the time of the Munich Agreement, those who were there may remember.

In 1939, the storm broke out . . . Germany who had left the League in 1933, was free to laugh at its condemnations.

The agression on Finland provoked the exclusion of Russia : it was the last pronouncement of the League acting as an arbiter of conflicts.

WHAT THE LEAGUE DID ACHIEVE

Such are the League's main failures, but what of its successes ?

The most dangerous conflict settled by the League was the Greco-Bulgarian frontier incident in 1925. Greek troops had already entered Bulgarian territory. An Enquiry Commission was sent there and the parties accepted its verdict.

Later on, in 1934, the League intervened with success between Yugoslavia and Hungary, after the murder of King Alexander by Croatian Oustachis.

Thanks to the League, many frontier legations have been settled to the satisfaction of both parties, in Europe, in Asia, and even in America, where Columbia and Peru were quarrelling for the Letitia territory.

Of course, the intervention of some neutral state might perhaps have served the same purpose. Yet it was indeed convenient to have at hand a competent organisation prepared to act in any given circumstances. Otherwise, the choice of an arbiter is always a lengthy and delicate matter.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES

In the social, economic and philanthropic spheres, the work of the League has been considerable, and its failures in other fields should not minimise that fact.

After the last world war, the League repatriated thousands of prisoners, helped and supported countless refugees and people who had been deprived of their nationality. The work of Nansen and the passports that still bear his name are so well known that they need hardly be recalled here.

The League fought against white-slave traffic, and drug-traffic, so much so that the proportion of intoxicated people is considerably lower than it used to be. It also waged war against cholera and other diseases.

Its Institute of International Intellectual Co-operation, whose main office was located in Paris, helped by various measures to closer understanding between nations. The Indian philosopher Radhakrishnan contributed regularly to the work of that instiute.

The permanent Court of Justice has rendered such signal services that the U.N.O. has adopted it practically without any modification

The International Labour Office has accumulated a considerable amount of valuable documentation through enquiries on the spot all over the world. By the conclusion of some sixty conventions, it has helped to improve the lot of workers in all countries.

And last but not least, the meetings of the League in Geneva have brought together in a friendly atmosphere men of very different types, belonging to all nations. Through their work in Geneva, they learned to know each other better, and something of this has survived despite the storms of war.

THE CAUSES OF FAILURES

Why then has the League of Nations so deeply disappointed both those who created it and millions of people all over the surface of the earth who had watched its birth with ardent hope ?

Sir Eric Drummond (today Lord Perth) who acted for 17 years as its General Secretary, attributes this to three main causes :

1. The absence of the United States in Geneva.
2. The refusal of the Great Powers who were members to fulfil their obligations as they should have done.
3. The fact that the peoples themselves did not realise the consequences of those obligations.

In his remarkable book, *League of Nations Not Guilty*, the Greek writer Epirotis confirms this judgment : "The failures of the League," says he, "are due far more to the weaknesses of those who had to apply the Pact, than to the defects of the Pact itself."

Owing to this kind of "defeatism," the League could never effectively impose its decisions. Deprived of any coercive material power, it also lacked the moral courage to enforce sanctions in decisive circumstances, which they were precisely meant for. Through its growing inaptitude to cope with the most urgent problems of the day, the League had lost the confidence of the people, and could not be expected to survive.

It is evident also that the inclusion of the Pact in the Peace treaty was an error. The defeated nations were thus brought to consider the League as an instrument in the hands of the victorious powers, and in that very measure their faith in international institutions could never be won over.

Of course, the nations themselves bear their own responsibilities. To a great extent because the political education of people is still very imperfect, in the national as well as in the international field. And yet, the world is not lacking in men who might lead the

masses on the road to progress. And if masses are tired of big words and slogans, they are nevertheless eager to understand how things stand and what they can reasonably hope for. They can also be expected to act in the right sense when their confidence is gained.

The United Nations Organisation has much to learn through the Geneva experience. It has already benefited by it.

A new era is opening : May U.N.O. succeed where the League has failed !

—:O:—

POSITION AND POSSIBILITIES OF OUR FOOD PRODUCTION

By Prof. U. N. GHOSAL, B.Sc. (Econ.) London

To-day the problem of food has overshadowed all other economic problems. The occurrence of two major disasters on the food front within a period of three years is something unparalleled and profoundly disturbing. Whatever views we may hold on the inevitability of these two particular happenings, nobody can seriously dispute that our food position has now reached a critical stage. Fresh disasters of larger magnitude lie ahead unless, of course, we are equal to the task and with utmost vigour succeed in pushing through such schemes of reorganisation as would help us to secure both short and long term improvements in agriculture.

Three Main Issues

To clear the issues, we may distinguish three main aspects of the food situation. First, there is the quantitative aspect, *i.e.*, the relation of over-all supplies to over-all requirements. Are the supplies enough to maintain 400 million people increasing at the rate of five million per year ? Next comes the question of the composition of dietary which the vast masses of the people are habituated to consume. Does this food possess elements of adequate nutritive value ? In the last place, the manner in which food is distributed amongst the different sections of the people is no less an important matter. For, in a free market, scarcity may exist in the midst of plenty when consumer's demand is not backed by sufficient purchasing capacity. The broad answers to these questions are fairly familiar to most of us but they will bear some illustrations.

Quantitative Aspect

Although our statistics of agricultural production, like most other statistics, are proverbially unreliable, a rough comparison between total requirements and total supplies will point to certain vital conclusions. On the basis of a minimum diet of 18 oz. per day per adult (Estimate of the Advisory Board of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research) the annual requirement of 400 million approximates to about 54 million tons of food grains. *On an average* in recent years the main food grains production has been estimated at about 52½ million tons, leaving an annual shortage of about 1½ million tons. In partial adjustment of this chronic deficiency of internal supply a net import surplus of one million ton of food products has also taken place for several years. This brief picture has a twofold significance :

(*a*) It shews, in the first instance, how small is the margin between our scarcely sufficient food supply and disaster. For a country depending almost exclusively on agriculture which in its turn is subject to severe fluctuations in output on account of variations of rainfall, short supplies are inevitable at frequent intervals with their consequential dangers. For instance, a short supply of even a million ton would influence, on the basis of a meagre ration of 16 oz., the diet of about eight million people. If it is true that we are faced this year with a food shortage of six million tons the consumption (on the previous basis of calculation) of as many as forty-eight million would be affected. Even with drastic cuts in rations in urban and other areas, covering in all about fifty-three million people, we cannot hope to save near about ten million lives, unless sufficient imports are forthcoming. Ultimately, therefore, our outlook for food depends largely on the scale of imports we are able to secure from time to time and it is important to decide, in settling our food policy, how far such a course is desirable. Some considerations affecting this situation are discussed below in a separate section.

(*b*) The annual increase of population by five million imposes upon us the formidable task of raising from our soil, on a very low basis of nutrition, an additional million ton of food grains every year. Can we continue producing at this rate year after year ? In the past we have not been equal to this task, our food production having remained more or less stationary, and this has given rise to a number of deplorable consequences, *viz.*,

(*i*) a decrease in the average size of holding to 0·72 acre under food crops as against 1·2 acres per capita necessary to produce an emergency restricted diet under modern standards ;

(*ii*) an increase in the number of landless labourers who today constitute about one-third of the total population,—a fact of utmost importance in increasing the severity of mortality rates in a food crisis, as it did happen in case of the last Bengal Famine ; and

(*iii*) finally, in the necessary process of physical adaptation to decreasing per capita food, the average height and weight have also fallen.

Qualitative Aspect

Today we are faced not only with the danger of recurrent food shortages of a serious degree, but also

by an almost total absence of protective and energy-building food in the national dietary. Our daily meals are based almost wholly on cereals and how these compare with an accepted standard of a well-balanced diet will be evident at a glance from the following table :

Cereals	14 ozs.
Pulse	3 „
Vegetable	10 „
Fruit	3 „
Milk	10 „
Sugar and Gur	2 „
Vegetable oil and ghee	2 „
Meat and Fish	3 „
Egg	1 (number)

A few more data will be more illuminating. Of the total cultivated area, the area under cultivation of fruits and vegetables is less than 2 per cent. Although we have 200 million head of cattle—the largest in the world—the per capita production of milk is 7 oz. per day, whereas it is 35 in Holland and 53 in New Zealand. Again, it is said that at least 150 million people eat fish ; their requirement at 2 oz. a day would come to three million tons a year. Against this our present estimated catch ranges round a little more than half-a-million ton. Furthermore, confronted with the terrible pressure of population on the soil, there has been a progressive tendency to grow less nutritive cereals in place of more nutritive ones. If we take stock of cereal production in the last 30 years the increases have been of the following order, *viz.*, Rice 3·5 per cent, Wheat 4·2 per cent, Maize 5 per cent, Bajra 25 per cent, Barley 57 per cent, Jawar 110 per cent. The consequences on the health of the population and rates of mortality amongst its different groups speak for themselves.

Distributional Aspect

The cultivating classes in this country fall into three main groups, *viz.*,

(*i*) landless labourers who must either depend on the wages they receive from employment in the fields covering a period of 4 to 6 months in a year and from some other sundry occupations, or conditions permitting, engage in crop sharing by cultivation of land in possession of others :

(*ii*) the owners of small plots too small to provide adequate yields for supporting themselves and their families. These cultivators are also on the look-out for crop sharing or any other jobs at hand ;

(*iii*) the owners of large holdings who succeed in keeping themselves above want and still have a surplus produce.

The net outcome is that, since about three-fifths of the population belong to the first two groups, about half of the total produce finds its way into the surplus stocks of land-owners, Mahajans and other middlemen dealers of various sorts. Here is the crux of the problem that ultimately the distribution of goods in a free market is a question of purchasing power at the hand of consumers. Unless, therefore, necessary purchasing power is placed at the disposal of at least 250 million persons by creating additional sources of employment a mere increase of the yield from the soil would do little to secure an equitable distribution. So long as the present problem stands, and it can be solved only very gradually, the proposal for a subsidy on foodstuffs for poorer classes should engage our serious attention. A substantial portion of the surplus produce should be purchased at market prices and distributed at a lower subsidised rate to the starving millions. How this can be done, whether by direct procurement as the Government have been doing during wartime mainly for the urban areas, or by autonomous and co-ordinated Village Committees is a matter of organisation and cannot present an insurmountable obstacle if we are bent upon doing it.

A Vexed Controversy

In considering any scheme of agricultural reorganisation we must first settle a vexed controversy. Should we aim at self-sufficiency in the matter of food supply without depending to any extent on foreign imports ? The answer in principle is that with a given amount of land (like any other scarce factor) the object should be to raise the largest amount of value per unit of land irrespective of the type of crops raised. Today when conditions are abnormal the "grow more food campaign" has its validity and there is nothing wrong in substituting food crops for money crops on the available land. But with the return of normal conditions, it is argued, the continuance of this process would be absurd if per unit of land we can get larger money value in jute or cotton. In this connection the example of England is often cited. England does not produce all her food yet an Englishman, on an average, earns an income 15 times larger than an Indian. *Prima facie*, then, the allocation of land in this country should conform to the principle of maximum value.

But the analogy of England does not hold. England is a highly industrial country with a small population. India, on the other hand, is predominantly agricultural and is likely to remain so for a long time to come. And agriculture in all countries, though more specially in India, is exposed to grave uncertainties on account of the operation of some natural and uncontrollable factors. A world-wide shortage, as at present, is not always a remote contingency, and in such circumstances commercial crops will not help us in securing food from abroad. Moreover, our agriculture is scattered over seven lakhs of villages in which the majority of the cultivators have to depend for their subsistence on the food they grow in their immediate surroundings. "Defence is better than opulence," said Adam Smith more than 150 years ago, and the defence of our food front claims the first priority. If our efforts at intensification of production from existing areas under food crops do not meet our requirements for foodstuffs, we have, to a certain extent, to sacrifice the principle of maximum value.

Potentialities of Long-term Development

A food policy designed to achieve concrete results must perforce distinguish between long and short period targets. The possibilities of long-term expansion in agriculture are indeed without limits. We have at our command new knowledge and new methods created by the advance of science. In a technological age the days of miracles are not past.

In essence agriculture involves a set of simple operations. In order to reap a good harvest we prepare a seed-bed which we sow with good seed with proper quantity of manure and water. The main essentials, though not in order of priority, are seed, manure and water-supply, backed by proper methods of cultivation.

Let us take the case of irrigation alone. Of the total cultivated area of about 341 million acres only about 60 million acres are under irrigation. Now the most dependable method of increasing the output from the soil is regular supply of water. For, by proper irrigation *anything between fifty to one hundred per cent increase* in the output can be secured from the soil. Supposing we succeed, with better knowledge and resources at our disposal, in doubling the present area under irrigation within a measurable period of time, this alone would mean, in terms of output, an additional 12-15 million tons of food grains.

The application of manure and the use of improved seeds have also an equally vital role to play. With proper manuring production goes up by anything between 20 to 40 per cent, (Dr. Burns estimates in his Technoogical Possibilities of Agricultural Development that at the rate of 20 lb. of nitrogen per acre, *at least*, a 40 per cent increase in rice yield is to be expected), and better seeds yield 5 to 10 per cent more than what our cultivators are accustomed to get.

The organic sources of manure, such as cow-dung, compost, bone-meal, etc., are largely wasted in this country. Cowdung alone is said to yield 160 million tons with a capacity for manuring 25 million acres at a rate of lb. 40 nitrogen per acre. Again, bones to the extent of one million ton are available every year of which 3 lakh tons are collected and about 2 lakh tons are crushed, giving about 50 thousand tons of bone-meal. The production of compost has just commenced (in Madras) though not in any appreciable scale. Apart from organic manures, chemical fertilisers have immense possibilities. The maximum pre-war use of sulphate of ammonia for all food crops (except sugar) was only 20 thousand tons. At present the Government of India propose to produce some 350 000 tons.

In any long period planning the question of methods of cultivation as well as of research also come in. It is impossible to conceive of any farming under modern methods so long as the present system of uneconomic holdings caused by fragmentation and subdivision remain in existence. A solution has got to be found by introducing some form of group farming. Meanwhile, it may also be contended that a very large part of our cultivable waste, estimated at 170 million acres, can be brought under cultivation if, and only if, large-scale methods are adopted.

Raising the Nutritional Level

It is often suggested that agriculture can be married to nutrition by practising 'mixed farming,' such as cattle raising, vegetable and fruit growing and so on. The fundamental obstacle to mixed farming *on any appreciable scale* lies, however, in the amount of land over which we can secure control. Between land area and diet there exists an important relationship. We require more land to produce a well-balanced diet composed of sufficient protective foods than an ill-balanced one of similar calorie value consisting mainly of cereals. "To produce 1,000 calories in the form of milk requires from 2 to 4 times as much land as to produce 1,000 calories in the form of wheat or rice." For we cannot obtain from an acre of land an equal calorie value in the form of milk when it is devoted to grazing or fodder crops in place of cultivation for cereals. The same is true for fruits, vegetables, meat and other protective foods. It follows, therefore, that unless and until substantial increase in the yield of cereals per acre release a proportion of land under these crops of fresh acquisition of land is made, no substantial solution of the nutritional diet would be possible. Nevertheless, some advance along certain specified directions is an immediate possibility.

A few concrete instances may be given at random. It should be possible, for example, to produce some 25,000 tons of food yeast from molasses, a product of sugar which is normally thrown away. Yeast enhances the value of proteins already present in our diet and it is ideally suited to meet certain serious deficiencies of tropical diets (vitamin B deficiency). It can be mixed easily with flour for bread, or added to any liquid food such as soup, milk and sauces. Again an immediate expansion of the fishing trade, particularly, inland and inshore fisheries, is a practical possibility if a few administrative measures necessary for landing fish, which the end of the war now permits, are at once undertaken. Further, we produce 4 million tons of all kinds of oil-seeds and if the whole of what we produce is crushed properly, we can obtain 1½ million tons of oil-fats and 2½ million tons of oil-cakes. Above all, if the cultivators all over the country are encouraged to grow for themselves such ordinary vegetables as beans, peas, lentils, tomatoes, lettuce, etc., in any spare land they may have, there would be a considerable improvement in the composition of a balanced diet.

A Short-Term Plan of Outstanding Interest

Time is of the essence in any short period planning. To meet the challenge presented by the growth of our population we need annually about a million ton of additional food grains. Can we plan to attain this target immediately?

An outstanding contribution to attack this baffling problem has just been made by a group of authors writing under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs (*A Food Plan for India*, Oxford University Press). The authors point out that the most effective method of securing an *immediate* intensification of India's food supply lies in a *large-scale use of artificial manures* (Sulphate of Ammonia) *on irrigated and good rainfall areas* coupled with the utilisation of organic manures whenever possible. The authors believe that this method alone will secure an increase in the annual over-all supply by 12 to 15 million tons in course of the next 7 years (1946-53) which will be sufficient to feed 450 million people at 10 per cent increase in cereal consumption.

In concrete terms the fundamentals of this scheme are:

(i) the utilisation of about *half-a-million ton of Sulphate of Ammonia* for the first year, rising up to 3 million tons on the 7th year when the plan will be in full operation. Of this amount the Government of India propose at present to produce internally some 350,000 tons, the rest being obtained from imports;

(ii) *the application of this manure to some ninety*

million acres of land available already under irrigation and areas of regular rainfall, since without an assured supply of water artificials will do more harm than good ;

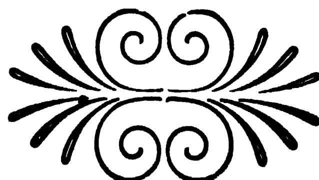
(iii) *the free distribution of the fertilisers* for the first year in any new area, and only at half the price for the second year and so on, in order to ensure the use of fertilisers. This would entail a subsidy of Rs. 13 crores from the Central Exchequer at Rs. 1-8 per maund on fertilisers used at a maund per acre on ninety million acres.

For putting this scheme into effect the authors suggest the setting up of 30,000 group centres each covering an area of 10 villages and each being equipped with a store for carrying fertilisers, improved seeds, new implements and the storage of grains received in part payment for materials supplied and services rendered. Given sufficient co-operation on the part of those for whom the scheme is proposed and a sufficiently high level of integrity on the part of the personnel which will have to work it, this plan holds out the prospect of solving in a substantial manner the *immediate* crisis in our food production.

Expansion of "Emergency" Irrigational Schemes

Nevertheless, we cannot rely too much on any single plan, least of all in agricultural planning. It is evident that the fight for food will have to be carried on all fronts. Unfortunately, an all-round struggle cannot be carried far on account of the chronic insufficiency or uncertainty of a common factor which permeates agricultural operations in every sphere and this, of course, is irrigation. In fact, irrigation is the largest single factor blocking all agricultural progress in this country. Double-cropping, manuring, vegetable growing, acquisition of fresh land—whichever way we look, the absence of an assured supply of water largely limits all efforts at expansion. Apart from these numerous combinations which irrigation permits, it is by itself an independent factor. Unaided by any other measure, it is the simplest and surest method of increasing output. Its proved merit and familiarity make it most acceptable to our illiterate cultivators who are ever so suspicious of all innovations.

It is common to think of irrigation mainly in terms of long-term planning. There is indeed little doubt that with the progress of years irrigation will gather larger and larger momentum in this country, and the recent appointment of the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission and the Central Technical Power Board, as fact-finding, initiating and co-ordinating bodies on a high level of experts, as also the irrigation programmes announced by the various provincial governments are first important steps in this direction. But the effect of all these will take at least another ten years to unfold itself. Meanwhile, even for purposes of short-term planning irrigation has abundant scope if the possibilites offered by the existing facilities and simpler methods are sufficiently explored and rapidly extended. We have already about 2½ million wells in actual use in this country irrigating an area well over 13 million acres. In those areas where knowledge of sub-soil water is reasonably complete the sinking of open masonry wells and tube-wells fitted with power-driven pumps should claim our first priority. Sir William Stampe, Irrigation Adviser to the Government of India, in an address given in 1944, pointed out that an increase of some 2 million acres could be effected within a period of three years by tube-well feeders, (even under war-time conditions), and, further, that an improvement of the existing canal system by better distribution of water and by reducing percolation losses could secure an increase of 15 per cent on the existing canal irrigated areas. Pending the development of electrical power, suitable mechanical devices will have to be organised for lifting water, since this is the main problem of successful irrigation from sub-soil water. Conditions arising out of the war, such as delay in securing materials and machinery, inadequacy of technical personnel and so on should not now hold up progress in the same manner as in the few years past. On the contrary, the end of the war should now place at our disposal a vast mechanical equipment which could be immediately turned to fruitful employment, especially for the de-silting of derelict tanks, the sinking of new tanks and wells, and the construction of drainage ditches. In the alluvial lands of Bengal, so often frequented by floods which leave on their trail the evils of water-logging, the construction and improvement of drainage system with the aid of these equipments are immediate possibilities. As for those areas where rainfall is precarious but is sometimes received in heavy falls of short durations, the twin problems of soil erosion and irrigation can be effectively solved by contour bunding and terracing. Some experts are agreed that an area of at least 5 million acres of marginal land alone—those extensive areas on the desert fringe which are cultivated perhaps only one year in every four or five and which never appear satisfactorily in statistics—can be brought under cultivation within a period of five years by the extension of contour bunding and other methods of increasing water storage and drainage. If all these short-term possibilities in the sphere of irrigation are put together it is not at all beyond the bounds of practicability to attain the immediate target of 6 lakh tons of additional cereal production on the basis of 1 lb. of grain per day per adult which the annual increase of population by 5 million demands.



SISTERS OF THE SPINNING WHEEL

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

"Ever women's company he keeps, yet a thorough saint is he : swift as Wind is he, yet the hero never steps forward : to the entire world he supplies clothes, yet himself ever unclothed he looks : behold his five heads, brother, and his single good hand"[1]—thus the *Charkha*, or the spinning-wheel, is described in an old Punjabi riddle. Uninterruptedly for well over thousands of years the spinning-wheel has been linked up with human life. "Centuries ago," says Sarojini Naidu, "poets used the simile of the spinning-wheel and the weaver's loom for the destiny of life, the Fates spinning and weaving out man's destiny."[2]

The first spinning-wheel was made by God, says an old proverb of the Punjab. Man is compared to the spinning-wheel. *Shaitan da charkha*, or the Devil's spinning-wheel is a common nickname for a cunning fellow.

Punjabi women have always spun. The spinning-wheels inlaid with ivory have been celebrated in their ancient folklore. Their carpenters still know the art of making beautifully carved spinning-wheels. The bride in this land of five rivers still expects to get a *Shisham*-wood spinning-wheel inlaid with brass wires ; the sandal-wood spinning-wheel, worthy of a princess, is, of course, beyond the scope of the dowry she receives from her father. A poor man's daughter, obviously, can only get one made of the *Kikar*-wood, or not even that.

In my village, the words of the old Punjabi couplet still echo in the hearts of the peasants :

Mera lai chall charkha othe,
Ve jitthe tere hal vagde.

Carry my spinning-wheel there
O, where your ploughs are tilling.

You are naturally reminded of
"When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?"

As ancient as the cotton cultivation, the spinning-wheel has a history behind it.

Ever since I can remember, the singing voice of the sisters of the spinning-wheel has been running in my veins like a pulse beating. I look back to the spinning-bees held at our house when I was young.

Spinning with my mother was a thing of art and beauty, as it is even today. Jatto, our family midwife, who gave herself airs of holiness with her forehead horizontally wrinkled, joined only occasionally. Dayawanti, who often wore a dove-coloured veil, was a young thing, slender-waisted and sleepy-eyed ; alive with rhythm, her whole body seemed to quiver like a string when she sang. Savitri, a cousin of mine, would not sing ; she was markedly quiet and Madonna-like. Punjabo, looked charming when she smiled, she was an artist out and out, and her songs were much in demand, songs came curling up through her memory. Nihalo, with her round face and her gold tooth, was never seen laughing. Bhagwanti, who had gold beads round her neck, was gifted with a genius for melody, she sang softly. Warm with life-blood and tradition, the spinning-songs, mostly sung in chorus, seemed to absorb everything.

Again and again I was attracted by the picturesque scene. There was a great bond between the spinning-bee and myself. I listened to the songs for sheer joy of music. The wheels had been there ; and songs, echoing from house to house with all their soulfulness, were impregnated with the rhythm of spinning, at once elemental and ancient. I shall always remember what Dayawanti once told me : "In my dreams the spinning-wheel talks with me : 'I was made by Visvakarma, the divine artist, every heart I approach with creeping footsteps ; wherever I go, I give work : I breathe the air of songs : Life is God's gift, I tell the women, and that they should spin as God span life : men do not want me ; I am the beloved of women'."[3]

"I draw songs from my heart as I draw yarn," mother would say, "sitting at the wheel I become a new woman. Sometime the spindle goes wrong but I can soon mend it, and that too, I do accompanied by some tune that seems to hang on my lips. Long live the spinning-wheel, I say, when it moves rightly."

Pitched in a lower key, Dayawanti would sing of the sun, the moon, and the stars :

With every turn of the spinning-wheel,
I wink at the stars.

Or

My dreams of the moon I distribute,
Take them if you care.

Nihalo's favourite song was :

Listen to me, O sun, listen to me, O moon,
Tears roll down my eyes :
The whole world enjoys,
But I spin my sorrows.

A simple couplet often reveals the spirit of the sisters of the spinning-wheel. Poignant similes and metaphors run like a crimson thread through the wide range of physical symbols.

The *Trinjan*, as the spinning-bee is called in the Punjab, always makes a happy picture. The young, unmarried girls, the brides, and women of every age, all sit together at their wheels. Room is made for every spinner. They all imbibe the spirit of competition. They all lift their voices together and sing. It seems spinning has never been independent of the song. With its subtle excitement, the task of spinning goes on with the spontaneous, unrestrained music of the songs. The young girls make a feast of colours, jet-black, sombre-red, yellow-blue, rose-pink and green. Such picturesqueness ! Such dark-eyed dreamy types ! The young brides, with their *hennaed* fingers, bend their veiled heads over their spindles ; their dresses are silk and brocade, some

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1. *Sada teemian da sang karda jati pher vi poora,*
Pavan sman chal hai usdi, pair na chukkda soora ;
Sare jagg noon leere deve, apon rainhda nanga,
Panj sir usde vekho bhai, hattha ikko changa.

2. From a public speech at Madras.—*The Hindu*, December 18, 1933.

3. Compare Mahatma Gandhi's note, *Swaraj through Women* : 'Since the beginning of time there has been a division of labour between men and women. Adam wove and Eve span. The distinction persists to the present day. Men spinners are an exception . . . experience shows that spinning will remain woman's speciality. I believe there is a good reason behind the experience. Spinning is essentially a slow and comparatively silent process. Woman is the embodiment of sacrifice . . . equality of sexes does not mean equality of occupation.'—*Harijan*, December 2, 1939.





The sad girl talks to her spinning-wheel



The wheat region along the Mississipi River



These big steel barges, pushed by the stern-wheel river steamer, carry food, machinery and other products along the Mississipi River from farms and factories to river ports and cities

beautifully embroidered. Mothers forget their worries in this happy company.

Any time may be fixed for the spinning-bee, any house selected for it. Of course each spinner likes to give a party at her place, for she thinks that the spinning-bee, ever under the protection of the gods, adds to the spirit of friendship and peace of mind.

The winter is good for spinning, they say. An all-day spinning-bee called *Chiri Charoonga,*[4] is easier on a short winter day. After the daybreak, they assemble inside a room and spin till sunset; at noon they get their meal from their homes and they know that it should be soon taken. An oil-lamp is kept burning all the day if the room is dark. Every spinner returns from the spinning-bee with over half a pound of cotton turned into fine yarn. Mothers and brides hurry away as soon as the spinning is over, but most of the young, unmarried girls insist upon going out only after sunset; if the spinning is over before the appointed hour, they indulge in some native indoor game.

Another winter spinning-bee is the all-night *jagrata.*[5] This begins at about 10 p.m. after the other household work is well over, and it continues till next morning. The night being longer than the day, they can have more output of yarn than what they turn out in the all-day *Chiri Charunga*. Some call it *Rat Kattani.*[6] Cold is bitter. But spinners have learnt to be enduring. Often fire is kept in an iron-pot in the centre. They have woollen blankets. What fear has winter for a spinning-bee ? says a Punjabi proverb.[7] They have some home-made sweet or fried corn, maize, gram or wheat, in the small reed-baskets; from time to time they eat, not so much for hunger as for driving away sleep from their eyes. Even the spinning-wheel laughs at the napping spinner in the spinning-bee.[8] Songs continue. The spinning-wheels warble. The dawn wears away. The rays of the morning sun fall on the spinners' faces. All hurry up to finish off the remaining cotton.

Summer is less liked by the sisters of the spinning-wheel. Hot winds make the cotton coarse, they say.

Water is sprinkled in a basket in which are placed the Poonian, or rolls of the carded cotton which become moist and make fine spinning easier. The sittings of the spinning-bee during summer days are held in some airy room, or under the shade of a tree in the compound; and at night they prefer a roof but also like the stars, especially the constellations and the pole star, to watch over them, and the moon, particularly when full, to serve as their lamp. Once I heard the spinners singing :

> Rise, O moon, and give us light.
> Counting the stars, I passed the night.
> Lo ! there appears the moon, ye sisters,
> There appears the moon.[9]

Rainy days are pleasant. Cotton gets automatically moist for fine spinning. In every thunder, in every shower of rain, in every downpour, the spinners hear a song. "If I am a spinner, I can spin even on a broken spinning-wheel"[10] repeats every one of them. But 'as a cook I spoil the corn; and as a spinner I turn cotton into wick-like yarn[11] is a proverb which when put into the mouth of a good-for-nothing woman, is sure to make the whole spinning-bee burst with laughter.



Devendra Satyarthi has devoted twenty years of his life to the single-minded ideal of collecting for India the rich treasures of her folk-songs. The present article forms a chapter of his forthcoming book "Meet My People".

The placing of the spinners' rolls of carded cotton in a common basket is essential. It is generally done before the commencement of the spinning-bee. One of the women is selected. She first places a set of four or five cotton-rolls taken out of her own reed-basket on the palm of her left hand, and as she receives similar sets from everybody she places them crosswise over her own. This group of cotton-roll sets is then placed in the common basket. She gathers a second, a third set and so on in the same order and places them in the basket. She will distribute them as work goes on, so that every girl receives her own set every time. The sets from the common basket are distributed only when the distributor herself has spun her set. No songs are sung while the cotton-rolls are gathered in the basket.

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4. *Chiri* means sparrow. *Charoonga* is an obscure word for baby-sparrow. The spinning-bee is so called for the spinners are expected to be so busy in their task as to have no time even to see sparrows.
5. *Jagrata* means vigil, the Hindustani, 'Ratjaga'.
6. Spinning throughout night.
7. *Tinjan noon ke dar pale da ?*
8. *Charkha vi hasse uste, jo tinjan de vich oonghe.*
9. *Charh ve channan te kar raushni, tare gindian rat vihaee ;*
Auh vehko chann charhia, ni bhainon, auh vekho chann charhia.
(In love-songs, the moon is often an emblem of the beloved; and the countless stars stand for hours of separation).
10. *Je main homan kati, tan lakkran nal vi kati.*
Kati (from kattna to spin) is an obscure word for the 'spinners'; a more frequent word being *Kattanhari* or *Kattanwali*; *Lakkran* (lit. pieces of wood) in this proverb refers to the broken spinning-wheel.
11. *Annon karan kabannan, kapahan battian.*
Literally it means, "With corn I make bad food, and cotton I turn into wicks."

Shy at first, a newly-married bride would soon thaw in the spinning-bee. I remember having seen a bride who tied a piece of yarn to a virgin spinner's wheel and said : *Je veer piyara khol de, je khasam piyara tor de.*; *i.e.*, if your brother is dear to you then untie it, if your husband is dear to you then break it. It was a proverbial saying. The girl knew the joke well. To untie the easily breakable yarn piece was a hard game, yet she had to try to show that her brother was dearer to her. But she only succeeded in breaking the thread, and the whole spinning-bee burst with laughter, saying : 'No harm, she loves her husband.'

"Spinning-songs are clever enough, my son," once an old peasant mother told me, "they remain hidden from me while my hand is away from the handle of the spinning-wheel." It reminded me of the words of a Kashmiri boatman who said : "The tunes of my boat-songs will certainly fall flat, if I sing without actually playing my heart-shaped paddle."

Work songs, all over the world, show an obvious, psychological connection between tunes and the tasks of manual labour ; they are hardly to be severed from the efforts and movements they were invented to fit. I noticed in various parts of India how difficult it was to collect the songs of toil from villagers while they were away from their work. Some of them would sing voluntarily, but they would often fail to produce the genuine music of their songs of toil. Back at their task, their songs would rush out correctly.

In districts scores of miles apart, variants of the same songs may be heard. Old songs live in the memory. But the spinners continue to make attempts at new songs.

Words of new songs sometime appear to fit a tune badly. The singers soon smooth out the crudity. Women who would make new songs always have the richest treasury of old songs at their finger-tips. They worship the genius of the old singers.

All the songs are not about the wheel. No doubt the spinners here and there return to the music of the wheel itself. Here is a beautiful song, sung to a significantly melodious tune :

"*Ghoon ghoon*, O my spinning-wheel,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?"
"Spin, girl, spin."

"Far-off is my father-in-law's place,
Should I live there or not ?"
"Live, girl, live."

"Long, long is my woe,
Should I tell it or not ?"
"Tell, girl, tell."

"My husband is a minor,
Should I stay with him or not ?"
"Stay, girl, stay."

"*Ghoon ghoon*, O my spinning-wheel,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not ?"
"Spin, girl, spin."

The sad girl talks to her spinning-wheel. Perhaps none else is ready to share the deep sorrow with her. She is not a rebel, not at all. She must wait till her minor husband is a youth. The spinning-wheel symbolises the guardian angel. She puts her own voice in the mouth of the spinning-wheel. She bears with everything as she learns to spin even the rough cotton into fine thread. Her woe mingles with her duty.

Another song is addressed to the bridal veil, though, unlike the spinning-wheel it keeps silent. It is red, it will always be red, the *saloo* as it is called by brides and all men and women. The mother and the mother-in-law are things apart, as the following song portrays :

I spin, I spin a fine, fine thread, O my bridal veil,
My mother-in-law, my mother-in-law sent me a bridal basket,
O my bridal veil,
I opened it, I opened it on a dark night, O my bridal veil,
From inside came out, from inside came out a black serpent,
O my bridal veil,
I threw it, I threw it across the river, O my bridal veil.

I spin, I spin a long, long thread, O my bridal veil,
My mother, my mother sent me a bridal basket, O my bridal veil,
I opened it, I opened it on a moonlit night, O my bridal veil,
From inside came out the *Naulakha* necklace, O my bridal veil,
I put it on, I put it on endearingly, O my bridal veil.

Words are inseparable from music. They seem to fly on the wings of the melody.

The wheel may be of gold and silver, as the ancient folk-songs witness :

O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!
Mine is a spinning-wheel made of gold,
Its axle made of silver I procured.

O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!
The thread that rotates the spindle is of silk,
Beautifully I got it dyed.
O my mother, *ghoon, ghoon,* the spinning-wheel warbles!

In some songs the spinners dream of the sandal-wood wheels. One of my pretty sisters-in-law, who passed away four years ago, gave me a gem of a folk-song :

My spinning-wheel is of *Kikar*-wood, darling,
Get me one of sandal, darling.

Cotton I won't spin any more,
Wool I won't spin any more,
Get me silk for spinning, darling.

My spinning-wheel is of *Kikar*-wood, darling,
Get me one of sandal, darling.

The spinners seem to think little and dream much. "When goddesses lived on the earth they always preferred spinning-wheels made of sweet-smelling sandal-wood ; Saraswati always span silk, while others took to cotton ; and daily they held their spinning-bees"—an old Brahmin woman once told me, and she meant it.

The spinning-songs, in which every-day life is viewed through the veil imposed by the singers, evoke the poetry of life, ever projecting beautiful pictures.

Some of the couplets, each of them mostly complete in itself, are highly symbolical. Some are purely impressionistic. The windy freshness of their rhythmic tunes belongs to the realm of the *Giddha* dance. Frequent references to spinning in some of them seem to show their origin in the spinning-bees. In the *Giddha*, the couplets are prologued, as Nihalo's song, addressed to the sun and the moon, shows. The prologue has actually no limit, it may run into many lines. But the spinners

often rarely take to the prologued pieces. They like to sing the simple couplets, and as regards music, it is not actually the same as is found in the *Giddha* dance; freedom is taken in order to adapt them to the rhythm of spinning.

Here are three prologued pieces. They are sung by brides and girls :

My mother gave me a spinning-wheel,
Inlaid with gold nails.
O mother, I think of you,
Whenever I see my spinning-wheel.

My spinning-wheel is made of *kikar,*
Get me one of the *shisham*-wood,
How heavily it moves,
Thirty-six times has broken the thread that rotates the wheel.
All the girls have come after the spinning,
I cannot spin any longer,
My spinning-wheel is a nasty creature,
O it won't let the innocent girl go to sleep.

O at home, my daughter, you never feel happy,
Outside you ever go to spin .
On the left hip you carry the spinning-wheel ;
The unusual thread you spin.
O you look so awfully cross,
Whenever your husband comes to fetch you.

The whole range of simple couplets emerges from living poetry.

My love is a sugar candy—
Sweetly he talks to me.

My love is a sandal tree—
I am satisfied with the scent.

My love is a cypress plant—
I begged and got from God.

Alas, I shall have to leave the full spinning-bee,
Here comes the strong man's bullock-cart.

My friendships of the spinning-bee—
O I remembered them in my bridal bullock-cart.

Let's go to give farewell to our friend,
Spinning we do almost everyday.

Leave the spinning-wheel, remove your seat,
Your parents all right will give you dowry.

O camel-drivers, the camels have gone to Lahore,
Lonely I feel while spinning, pray, ask my husband to come home.
Your drunkard son, O widow,
O he broke the axle of my spinning-wheel.

All the night you searched and searched
I hid myself in the spinning-bee.

Overhearing the echo of the spinning-wheel,
The ascetic came down from the mountain.

They do not necessarily rhyme together, nor are both always lines of a couplet of the same length. The prologue of a *Giddha* couplet, however, is beautifully rhymed. The first line of each couplet in the prologue is free as in the chief couplet ; the second line of each of the group keeps up the rhyme, balancing the one in the second line of the chief couplet.

A couplet of this type, prologued or simple, is called *Boli.*[12] From the depths of the heart comes the music that keeps up the words of a *Boli* fresh and thrilling ; its lilt glorifies the isolated themes.

The *Boli* is noted for extempore variations. The gifted spinner, it would seem, adds a new piece every now and then to the floating reserve. Every new composer would try to put the best emotion and lyrical impulse. The whole spinning-bee shares the joy of a new couplet and soon it echoes through the whole neighbourhood. The free arrangement of the lines allows ample scope to alter a few words and to put in a new idea. Passing from mouth to mouth, as observations show, the new couplets acquire their traditional character like old folk-songs.

Some are worthless as poetry. But some are remarkable both for their meaning and for feeling. Turning from subject to subject, the Boli-makers sometimes catch hold of a charming picture. It is only when they explore deep emotions that the poetic genius gleams 'like the flashing of a shield.'

Before a score of couplets have been sung, a spinner has many more in her head. So says the bidding Boli-champion with deliberate modesty :

Bolian da pul bannh dian,
Methon jogg jittia na jave.

With Boli songs I may build a bridge ;
But I cannot outshine the whole world.

Outwardly she strikes a note of humility. But she is a mine of songs. Her aspiration is to know many more, so as to outnumber the bricks used in building a bridge.

Kattni is a small reed-basket for the carded cotton rolls and balls of yarn. The spinner makes it herself giving it an ornate lid. As fancy inspires her she believes that little *Kattni* is acquainted with poems and the spinning-wheel has learnt the singing of couplets :

My *Kattni* recites poems,
My spinning-wheel sings the couplets.

Hearken, ye stars,
My spinning-wheel sings the couplets.

My *Kattni* recites poems,
The moon looks at it stealthily.

A girl begs that the youth should kill a peacock to supply her with quills to make a beautiful *Kattni,* but he refuses to oblige her :

Go and kill a peacock for me, my love,
A new *Kattni* I wish to make.

I won't sinfully kill the peacock ;
Of reeds you must make your *Kattni.*

This youth may still show his love ; he does so in his own way while she sits in the spinning-bee. It makes her inquire with a blush :

Which clever youth threw the pebble ?
It came right inside my *Kattni.*

The spinner sings freely. Like the girls and brides everywhere, they sing of love again and again :

In my dream, I embraced him;
I opened my eyes and saw him not.

The sand of your fresh foot-print,
Again and again I pick up and put to my heart.

The moon rises daily
Without my love it is all dark.

12. *Boli* means 'speech' literally, the plural is *Bolian.*

A dust-cloud fills my sight :
My love's figure I see no more.

Twenty letters came from you :
The one about your coming you never wrote.

Pollen is formed on the berry trees :
Not yet came the lord of my heart.

Love-couplets are simple and outrageously frank. They often run into a series making a significant scroll. Love-match is rare. A girl always marries a boy after her parents' will, and she is expected to make a good wife. Wedded love provides no inspiration for love-poetry. The twilight of romance is a necessity. The "drinker of fresh milk," the sweetheart of the goatherds, comes again and again :

O drinker of fresh milk,
Layers of cream are seen now on your bosom.

Or

You'll bear a son like a lump of curd,
O drinker of fresh milk.

The bride at honeymoon is a regular theme ; it is sung everywhere :

With the edge of her veil she fanned out the earthen lamp,
With the twinkle of her eye she talked to me.

Another heroine is Banto that now figures as a type of beauty. Her head is likened to a jungle, her face symbolizes the moon, and her waist reminds us of a leopardess.

The love-sick girl cannot spin. She invokes gods for blessings ; she is so sure of their nearness. But they do not seem to help her.

The couplets have a large family. Like the spinners themselves, they exchange side-glances. Some are antiphonal. They even lead to criticism of life, bearing a progressive satire on contemporary society.

The longer songs give full pictures. They are more popular with the elderly women who take pride in their long-winded music. Redolent of the ancient spirit of the spinning-bee, they are essential :

Brothers Shed Tears

The dark *shisham*, mother, the dark *shisham*,
Of the dark shisham I got the spinning-wheel made.
For it my merchant father liberally paid,—
Who got it ready, mother, O who got it made ?
I took it from the shop and placed in the yard
People thought the yard is filled with light.
I took it from there and placed inside
People thought the lamp was burning bright.
I took it from there and placed on the roof
People thought the crescent moon had risen.
I took it from there and placed in the street
Wazir Khan was dazzled as he passed by.
Don't you fear, Wazir Khan, don't you fear, brother,
This spinning-wheel has spun your turban.
The two supports of the wheel are of the *Kau*-wood made,
Having bid audieu to sisters, brothers shed tears.

Mother and Daughter

Mother, took the *chulaee* leaves,
Pray rend them first in tiny pieces.
Mother, make it delicious with a seer of butter,
Whenever your daughter comes from the spinning-bee.

Daughter, bring your spinning-wheel here,
Mother and daughter will spin together.
Mother, you are old and I am young,
We cannot pull on together,

Daughter, your kingly father will hear,
O where did you pick up this falling out ?
Mother, sisters of the spinning-wheel all fall out,
I too picked it in their company.

Mother, you yourself bring my spinning-wheel,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not give my seat.
Mother, you yourself bring my seat,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not give my basket.

Mother, you yourself bring my basket,
Sisters of the spinning-wheel will not leave me.

The Dark Cloud

From the east came the dark cloud,
From the west came the cruel rains.
Who'll help my rolls of carded cotton ?
Who'll help my spinning-wheel ?

My brother's wife will help my rolls of carded cotton,
My brother will help my spinning-wheel,
Her plaited tresses got wet,
His cheque wrapper got wet.

Where will her plaited tresses dry up ?
Where will his cheque wrapper dry up ?
Her plaited tresses will dry in the palace,
His cheque wrapper will dry up in the garden.

Song of the Bride

The first time the family-messenger came to take me,
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
O family-messenger, yes, O family-messenger,
The family-messenger is a perfect fool,
He picks up a quarrel,
I cry for justice,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The second time my husband's younger brother came to take me.
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
Husband's younger brother, yes, O husband's younger brother,
He is my heart's darling,
A minor, yet a thorough passionate fellow,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The third time my husband's elder brother came to take me,
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
My husband's elder brother, yes, O my husband's elder brother,
Under the bed he goes—
The preserver of my veil,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The fourth time my father-in-law came to take me,
What the hell do I care, with him I will not go :
I can't lift my veil,
I can't trail my scarf,
I can't tread my path,
My father-in-law, yes, O my father-in-law,
He is a peevish fellow,
An old man, yet all the more jealous,—
I will not go, I will not go, I will not go.

The fifth time my husband himself came to take me,
O dance with him, my mind, the peacock dance,

I could lift my veil,
I could trail my scarf,
I could tread my path,
My husband, yes, O my husband,
My heart's master is he,—
I go, I go, I go.

THE SONG OF LACHHI

Aha, where Lachhi washes her face,
There a sandal grows—where Lachhi washes her face.

Aha, Lachhi asks the girls,
What coloured veil suits a fair complexion—Lachhi asks the girls.

Aha, truly said the girls,
A veil that's black suits a fair complexion—truly said the girls.

The *Song of the Bride*, originally a dance-song, is adapted to the rhythm of the spinning-wheel. The *Song of Lachhi* is again a dance-song, toned down in the spinning-bee · the original three couplets do not hide themselves even in the rearranged pattern.

"The veil is a woman's life history. It is her mischief as a young girl. The red veil of the bride contains all her tenderness, her shyness and her passion. The veil of the matron is at once one with her dignity and her self-respect. The white veil of the widow is her shroud and her barrier from the bitter world. Her nature, her character are written upon it more surely than upon the lines of her hand. Without it she would be no longer herself, but a bare tree shorn of the glory of leaves."[13]

Through their songs the sisters of the spinning-wheel express their joy and sorrow, hope and despair, anger and fear. The old songs seem to pulsate with new blood in every generation.

That the spinning-bee has lost its old hold on the countrywomen is a sad commentary on an age of turmoil we are passing through. Must the machine take away the spinning-wheel? The young bride remembers her mother, but surely she does not remember by heart the whole stock of her mother's songs—songs that her mother inherited from her own great-grandmother.

Years ago, in a letter addressed to Anand K. Coomaraswamy, a lover of folk-songs discussed the loss of craft-songs in England: "What is to me most tragic, however, is the thought, nay, the conviction that for every old song found, there must be two or three lost utterly and irrevocably. We notice this particularly in the songs of the crafts. There are many records of songs of crafts having been in existence, but the songs themselves are no more to be found. It is machinery and industrialism that has destroyed them and we notice that wherever machinery and industrialism has come more recently, there do more of the old songs still survive. That is why in agriculture we have the largest collection of existing songs. In smithing, where there is still very little machinery—the blacksmith, farrier, village smith, a good many still linger, but the songs of the weavers and the spinners are gone with the handloom, as the songs of the potters have gone with the hand-wheel, and all those others where a man could sing peacefully in the job of his work. What would you have? You simply cannot sing when you have belts of machinery whirling aloud over your head and 5,000 other people working with you . . . I am convinced that it is only in old societies that have been untouched by industrialism, that the real connecting link is still to be found between music and handicraft, just as it is between handicraft and other things of a communal purpose."[14]

The spinning-bee is now breaking up in the Punjab villages. Old spinning-songs are fast disappearing.

Will it not be a rich compensation to preserve on phonographic records the songs of the sisters of the spinning-wheel?

The spinning metaphor is eternal. The poet of the Vedas asked his gods "to spin out the ancient thread." He sang again and again: "As fathers they have set their heritage on earth, as a thread continuously spun out."[15] Rich in detail, the picture of the young husband wearing on the first day of the marriage the garment made by the bride, as seen in the Atharva-Veda, looks very significant. Is not the ancient tradition still alive in India everywhere in one form or other? During the first year of her stay at her father-in-law's, the bride in Orissa, especially in Sambalpur district, would do no other work than spinning. Assam is equally proud of the spinning-wheel and the handloom. And in the Punjab, it was only natural that Hussain, the Sufi poet (1539-1593 A.D.) should compare his soul to a girl, who remained unmarried because she failed to prepare for her trousseau the yarn which, after the ancient tradition, she had to spin herself. As the husband adored the young wife who brought dowry, hand-spun and country-made, so God liked the Sufi who died with a good account of *Karma*.

Freely I go to the countryside and come back every time with scores of old and new songs. Freely I ask the spinners to raise their voice in a rich chorus. Freely I tell them of the "glorious tomorrow" when life will be worth living, and new songs will outnumber the new balls of yarn.

"You want songs," said a blushing young maiden, as I approached a spinning-bee in a remote village, "why not join us in our bee? You will have plenty and to spare by the evening."

So insatiable is my thirst for folk-songs that I decided to make a fool of myself and sat down in the circle of bright, gay girls.

The maiden, who had invited me, sang, burying her head in her knees:

If you'll marry, you old man,
First get your beard shaved,
Listen, I speak the truth,
O you must bring a gold palanquin.

I saw through the joke. They all blushed. I did not regret the happy occasion however, and rose from my seat much uplifted. Then an old peasant grandmother appeared on the scene. She asked me sharply: "But why don't you enquire about the growth of the cotton?"

I stood there silently. "We got very little cotton this year," she went on saying, "and this year spinning-bees will be thin. Even the cotton plants fall sick like men and women and children, my son, and we can't give them medicine." This was her realism. Her songs were over.

The sisters of the spinning-wheel joined the grandmother to laugh at me. "First tell us some way to save the old spinning-wheels from white ants," the maiden, who blushed no more, was saying, "and then enquire about our songs."

13. Freda Bedi, "In Praise of the 'Dopatta'," *The Tribune*, Lahore, June 7, 1943.

14. *The Ceylon National Review*, July 1906, pp. 19-23.

15. Rig-Veda, X, 56-6.



Sravanabelagola hill, behind which stands the sixty-foot high monolith of Gomateswara, Guru of the Jains

HINDUSTAN'S OLDEST MONOLITH

By FAQIR MOHAMMED, M.R.A.S. (Bengal)

SRAVANABELAGOLA has been defined by topographers as the "Mecca of the Jains." This is a unique adjective which became Mysore's copyright in 983 A.D., when Chamundaraya erected the colossal statue of Gomatesvara. In commemorating the workmanship of Aritto Nemi, this masterpiece celebrates the golden age of Jainism in India. It is here that a student of Art gets as if a glimpse of the classical Egyptian monuments. But monolithically, according to archaeologist Fergusson, the image of Gomatesvara is decidedly taller than any known statue of Rameses in Egypt. The artist has sagaciously engraved a scale on the lotus-representing pedestal, to measure the height of the image, which, with the exclusion of its foundation stone, stands sixty feet high.

Both historically and aesthetically, this seat of Jain culture has its telepathic romance. A pilgrim surveying round and round the sky-robed image, automatically recalls the pageantry of the third century B.C. when the great Mauryan Emperor, Chandragupta the First, took an oath of complete renunciation and settled in this part of Mysore, as an ascetic for the rest of his life.

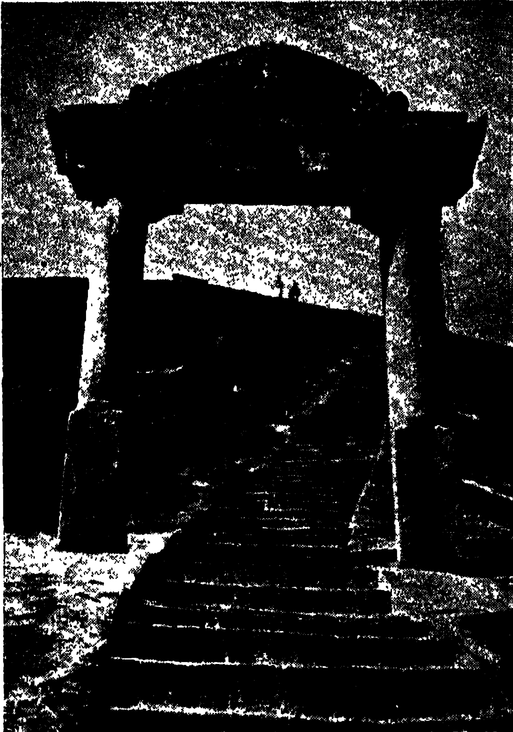
The Endless Penance

Carved out of fine-grained, light-grey granite, the image is a grand study in posture and emotion. A surveyor's first conception of it, is its rigid, military "attention" position. Due to the enormous stature of the statue, the topmost part of it has never been photographed satisfactorily so as to present a detailed study of the facial expression. The figure from top to bottom symbolises the meditative mood of the 'yati' during his prolonged penance to save the world. The rigidity of the upper extremity from the waist to the chin, betrays an endurance test of breath-control. The lower extremity from the quadriceps to the ankles, is fairly relaxed. The face is a little elevated from the natural angle and has often led the student into confusion, concerning its objective of stare.

Jain philosophy interprets it as the Guru's stare at the struggling world, and a simultaneous appeal to the skies. The face resembles a full-orbed moon with beautifully arching eyebrows and a medium-sized forehead. The head is covered with extremely unruly hair in spiral ringlets, which are often mistaken from a distance for tiny spools of celluloid. The nose is gracefully designed and the lips are tinctured with a light smile. The ears are very large, hanging down the level of the chin.

The figure, from the thighs upward, is free from all support. And from the feet up to the thighs, it has been illustrated as surrounded by anthills from which creep out serpents and a green, leafy creeper envelops the legs and arms of Gomata. The creeper embracing the arms, ends at the biceps in a bunch of flowers. Some

surveyors read 'contentment' in the face of the image. Others who disagree with this view, affirm 'spiritual non-complacency' as a staying emotion in the face. But apparently there seems to be no ground for these contradictions, since the facial details are quite accurate.



The colossal arch-gate leading to the statue of Gomateswara in Sravanabelagola

The eyes proclaim a reservoir of internal harmony and bliss plus a hope in the future of humanity. In the philosophic Jain conception, Gomata gazes beyond the farthest line of horizon, for the resurrection of the world, especially India, from misery. The artist has injected youth into the entire work and Gomata stands in the full romance of his youthful days. The first and the last impressions of a pilgrim's gaze at the image are that Gomata appears to have completely inhaled the air of the vicinity and has every justification to be understood, in a Yogic deep-breathing pose. This was Aritto Nemi's ideal conception of Gometaswara's penance before he outlined the diagram in granite.

To-day, it has become a real pleasure for the visitor to measure and compare his height, by standing close to the monolith. And the old idea that "the cap falls down when we gaze at the summit of the Westminster Abbey" is sometimes repeated by the topographer.

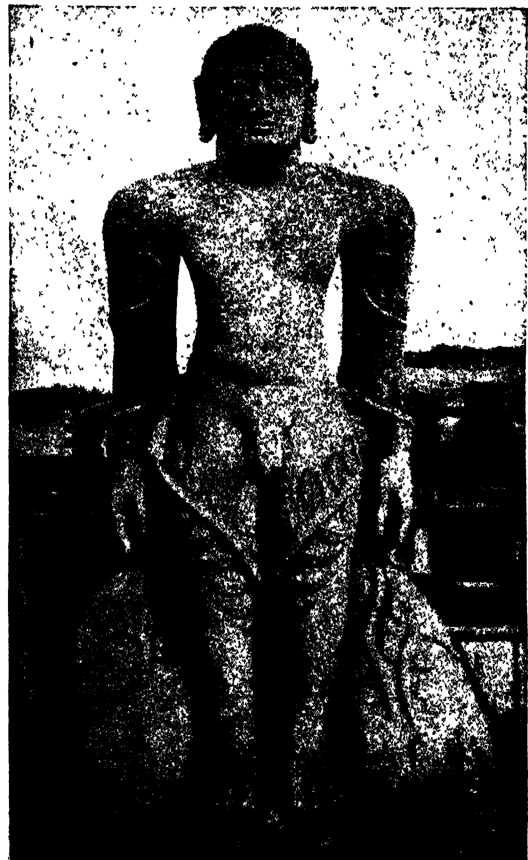
THE MAHA-MASTAKABHISHEKA

Sravanabelagola is the rendezvous of Jains who come from all over India, once every fourteen years, to anoint the head of the image. This is the greatest Jain pilgrimage performed in India which is called the 'Maha-Mastakabhisheka.' The earliest celebration of this festivity is recorded in an inscription, dated 1398, which reads: "Panditraya had it performed seven times."

In 1825, Maharàja Krishnaraj Wadiyar III celebrated it with pageantry and the ceremony was repeated in 1871, 1887, 1909, 1925 and 1940. The feàst takes place in the month of 'Magha' or 'Phalguna' of the Hindu calendar.

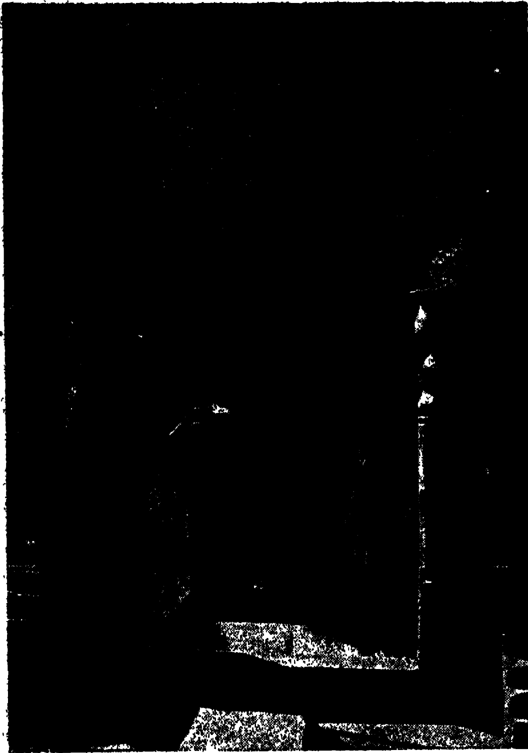
The proceedings of the pilgrimage are worth recording. One full month preceding the ceremony is devoted to worship in congregations in all Jain temples in the vicinity of the statue. This is followed by 'Pada-Puja' or, the worship at the feet of the great image. Boys and girls join their parents, priests and teachers in carrying brass and earthenware pots. Facing the image, an area of forty square feet is spread with bright, yellow paddy, which accommodates about a thousand painted earthenware pots filled with holy water. Cocoanuts and mango leaves are the chief features of the occasion.

On a scaffold above the image, priests stand with pots filled with ghee, milk and other perfumed beverages. At a signal given by the Swamiji, the contents of all these pots are poured over the head of Gomata in a multicoloured stream. This is a mere preliminary bath and the spectacular bath takes place in the afternoon on the Abhisheka Day. Now the one thousand pots resting on the carpet of paddy are lifted with a magical

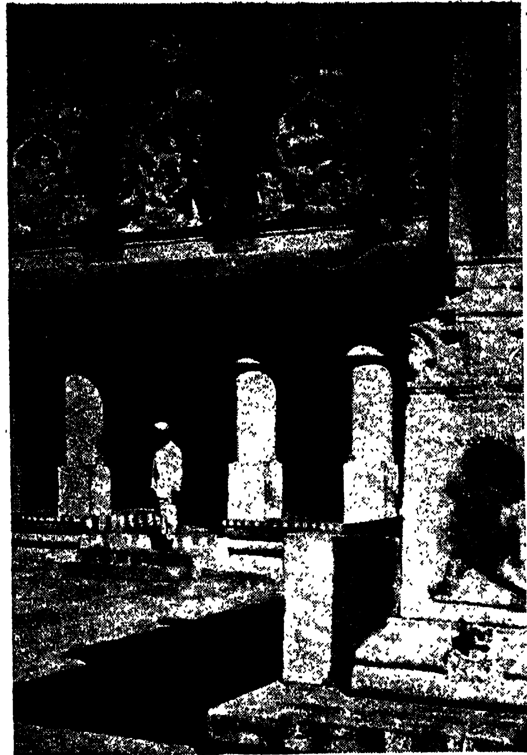


The sixty-foot statue of Sri Gomateswara in Sravanabelagola

speed to the scaffold and their total contents are poured in a fast-ending stream, when the sudden chorus of possible only when the human body is free from all requisites of the earth, including clothing, a fact which



Jain priests offering *puja* in Sravanabelagola on the *Abhisheka* Day which occurs once in every fourteen years



A view of Jain architecture in the Sravanabelagola temple

mantras from priests fills the air. In this final anointment, fifteen differen substances are used, *viz.*, water, cocoa nut meal, plantains, jaggery, ghee sugar, almonds, dates, poppy seeds milk, curds, sandal, gold flowers, silve flowers and silver coins. The las two articles are mixed with nin patterns of precious stones, whic are all picked up in furious spee by beggars and other pilgrims stand ing by the image.

Finally, to restore the origina beauty of the image, 1008 pots holy water are rained on the mono lith. This ceremonious festival highly expensive and is estimated t reach a figure exceeding Rs. 30,000. I was generously donated by His High ness the late Sri Krishnaraj Wadiya Bahadur who took an active part i its proceedings in 1940.

It is an exclusive pilgrimag of the Digambara sect of Jains wh hold nudism as the inevitable sign of spiritual perfection. It is on this consideration that the statue of Gomata stands completely nude. And according to the high priest of the Digambara sect, complete penance is



Bracket images in the Sravanabelagola temple narrating the golden post of the Mauryan Empire

is in conformity with the figure of Gomata.

The rigid posture of the *yati* symbolises perfect

self-control, while the nudity declares complete renunciation.

Chandragupta Maurya is believed to have migrated from Pataliputra to Sravanabelagola, where he spent his old age with his *guru* Bhadrabahu. A collection of five hundred inscriptions ranging from 600 A.D. till recent years, proves that this place was successfully ruled by Ganga, Rashtrakuta, Chalukya, Hoysala, Vijayanagara and Mysore rulers. Chamundaraya who erected the statue was the minister of the Ganga King, Rachamalla IV.

Tradition says that Bahubali is the dynastic name of Gomata who was the second son of the first Tirthankara Purudeva. Although he defeated his elder brother in the war of succession, he abdicated the kingdom in favour of his brother and retired into the woods, where he attained perfection as an ascetic. Bharata set up an image of his brother in North India. But as the statue was surrounded by serpents and was unfit for public worship, he set up a duplicate at Sravanabelagola. It is quite probable that the image must have been carved out of a boulder prostrate on the spot, as it would have been a task to carry a gigantic granite mass over the hill. Tradition concludes that Gomata, through his penance, burnt himself to death but the statement is not endorsed by history.

The distance between the summit of the head and the downward end of the car is 6½ feet. The shoulders are gigantically broad and are not in proportion to the size of the breastbone. The waist is extremely delicate. This is a combination of the shoulders of a Hercules and the waist of an Apollo. The nipples are diminutive for a mighty breast. The lower limbs between the knee and the ankles are rather dwarfed. Though the statue is not in total agreement with the technique of symmetry, it is stately and not lacking in command. Gomateswara has gazed over India for 958 years. But it is a baby compared with the statues of Rameses which have stared on the Nile for more than four thousand years. It is much younger than the guardians of Abu Simbal, but is more imposing, by virtue of its commanding position on the hill overlooking the wide plain below. In spite of the ravages of time and weather it retains its pristine beauty and is visible from many miles.

Just as a topographer is advised to see the Taj in moonlight, the best hour to appreciate the majesty of Gomata is in the full moon, which lights up its facial smile. Under the changing metre of the moon, the figure of Indra displays mystic beauty. Indra in the centre of the pillared hall, is holding a 'kalasa' (water-vessel) for anointing Gomata. The mellow moon makes the 'kalasa' blaze and shimmer in varying degrees, sometimes harsh, sometimes passive. These lights and shades of moonlight supplement the charm that Gomata is deprived of in sunshine. Gomatesvara at this moonlit hour is a poem in granite and a melody in solitude.

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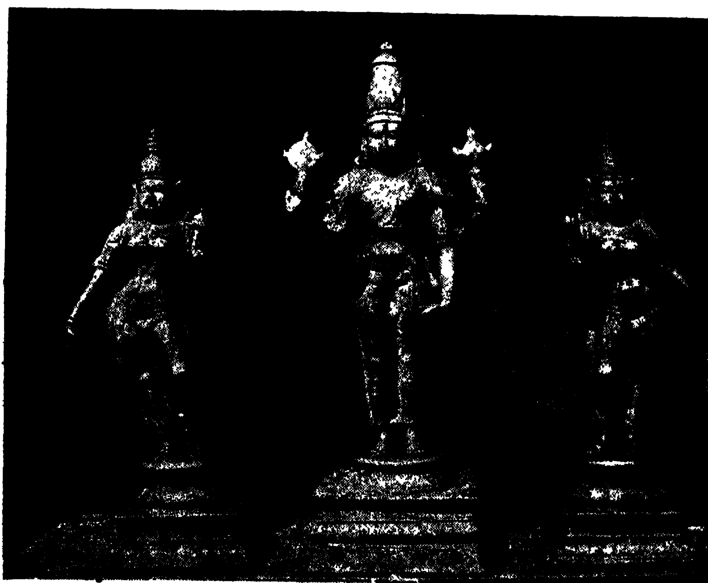
SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

Their Real Significance

By T. N. SRINIVASAN, M.A.

Of late, there seems to have been a very great demand from students of Indian Art and Art connoisseurs to collect as many of South Indian bronzes as possible either for purposes of exhibition or as commodities of a now-flourishing trade. So much so, like "going places" for the dillettante, it has become a pleasant pastime for many to take a trip to the South with the hope of snatching a few good specimens of the bronzes and at the same time arranging with obliging newspapers to broadcast these "finds," though in reality, they may be only a spurious imitation of an unavailable real one. It is the purpose of this short article to show that idols are not mere toys, that the temples are not more museums or repositories of artistic images and that the places of piigrimages are not holiday resorts.

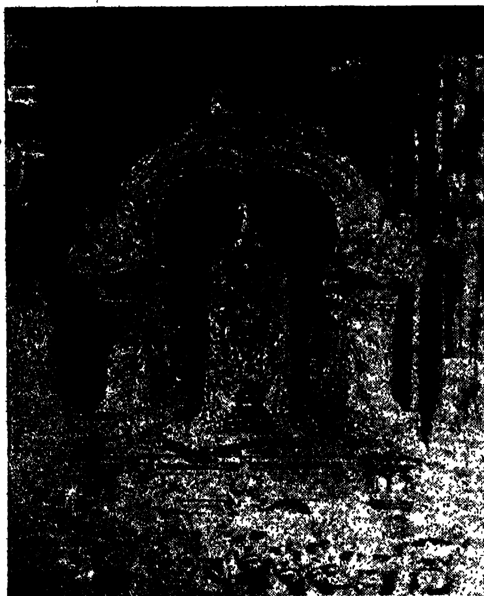
Idol-worship has been in vogue in our country from time immemorial and has ever played a prominent part in our religious life. In the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, the Vishnu Purana and other acknowledged old works, there are very many references to idol-worship.



Vishnu with consorts. A set of bronze images that must have once received worship but now forms part of some art-connoisseur's collection

In determining the constitution of the Cosmos, theistic schools of philosophers are agreed that there

are three essences—*Chit, Achit* and *Iswara*. These the Visistadvaitins—the followers of Sri Ramanuja—describe as the Jivatmas, the Prakriti and Iswara. In whatever manner the philosophers may speak of the ultimate resolution of the three essences, the Paramatma stands out as an indissoluble factor, as it governs



A close-up view of the processional images (*Utsavaberams*) of a South India temple in Madras

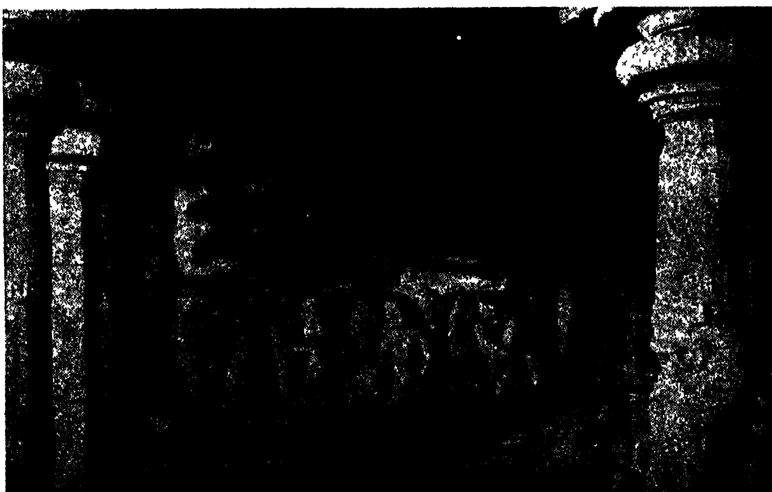
the essence of the existence. Hence it is advantageous to know the various manifestations of the Paramatman or the Parabrahman. They are five in number, *viz.*, *Para, Vyuha, Vibhava, Harda,* and *Archa.*

The supreme being, as he is, when he is transcendent beyond the Prakriti Mandala devoid of phenomenality is the Para. This form is accessible only to those who have attained *Mukti* or to those who never had the pangs of births, deaths, and rebirths.

The Vyuha is likewise inaccessible to us, as it is the manifestation of the Parabrahman in the apartment or laboratory of his various functions of creation, sustention and dissolution. The Vibhava form is accessible only to the most blessed of the creation. It is the manifestation through the various Avataras and other forms of visible appearance, when a personal contact with the divine form is made possible. Then we have the Harda or the Antaryami. God being omnipresent and omnipenetrative, He is in us and yet we see Him not. This realisation of God in every little act brings one to realise the Harda aspect.

The Archa is the easiest and most tangible form of God-perception and realisation and the one universally accessible form. Ancient treatises like Silparatna, Silpasara, Silpasangraha, Mayamata, Manasara and many other works on the Hindu Iconography are not mere secular sciences or catalogues prepared for the twentieth century "art hunters" for their trade purposes. But they are essentially a science of religion and as such it is a sacred science dealing with the location and structure of our temples, the form and constitution of our idols, the ceremony of installation and perpetuation of the spiritual magnetism in these centres.

God's manifestation in the idols is the essence of our religious worship though alien religionists may deride this form of worship, perhaps due to their ignorance of the basic underlying significance of idolatry. To take an ordinary common-sense point of view, an idol represents or symbolises the Deity and even if it did nothing more than that it need not be a subject of derision. It is a common practice prevalent in all countries and more so in countries claiming a very high order of civilization, to commemorate a hero of history, a patriot of politics or a seer of science by statue, wherein are best manifested the prominent features of the hero. An equestrial statue in a coat of arms represents a great military hero, while an impressive statue in academical robes with a book in hand will easily indicate a great educationist. The unveiling of statues and their decorations form a regular *puja*. If these are appropriate to the human heroes, may we not with considerable force claim for the divine statues a continuous *puja*, as knowledge of and reverence to the deity form the essence of every portion of our existence. But the idols enshrined in the holy places of worship are not mere symbols. The initial object of setting up images before us is no doubt to facilitate our meditation, to fix a definite object before us for concentration when our thoughts are so concentrated; they help us in taking the thoughts over to an object beyond and behind the actual phenomenon and that is the noumenon thereof. This power of translation and transportation exists in the holy idols by



Anantasayan-murti in Mamallapuram, one of the many marvellous pieces of stone-carved images belonging to the Pallava age



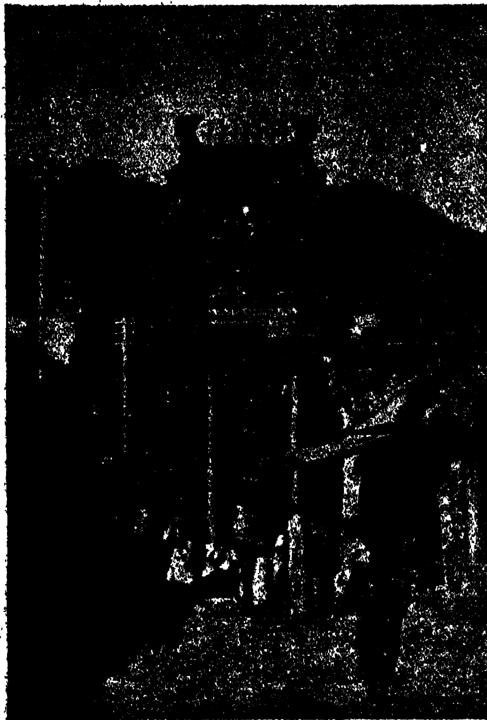
A typical South Indian Temple procession, showing the Deity being carried on a *vahana* (vehicle) with all its paraphernalia

the Amsam of God, that has been invoked both at the initial *pratistha* as well as the daily *puja* of these idols made by the appropriate *mantras*. The chanting of these *mantras* concentrates in the image an amount of spiritual magnetism and develops a form of superhuman power in them. Hence we find that *pratisthas* made by those who have in themselves an Amsam or Avesam of God like Sri Sankara, Sri Ramanuja, Lord Gouranga, or Sri Ramakrishna bring in an imperishable and ever-growing magnetism. The Paramatman infuses his Amsa in such images and shrines in graded proportions and is ever present with us in that form.

It is also to be noted that in some centres the Paramatman makes a manifestation *suo moto* without an initial invocation and that is known as Swayam Vyaktam or self-manifestation of God in an image. The famous shrines at Tirupati, Srirangam, Conjeeveram, Badrinarayan, Rameswaram, Kasi, Puri are among the many of such places, where the manifestation of God is voluntary. Though from one standpoint the shrine of even the least importance is an object of veneration for its own religious efficacy yet in the determination of the relative religious objects to be attained the varying importance cannot be lost sight of. There then are spread all over our country numerous idols, some of which are of very recent origin, some older still but whose installations are borne out by the Sthalapuranas or local chronicles describing their origin to some ancient Rishi, while some yet are of an age out of calculation.

Every shrine is a complete cosmic representation in itself coupled with all the factors of the spiritual realm and its hierarchy as will be seen by the principal idol in the temple and the various Parivaradevatas stationed all round it within the respective Prakarams, the Dhwajastambam, Vimanam and the tower. Taking only the innermost power—the presiding deity of a shrine, there are five forms, which are named Dhruvabera or the Immovable Mula Vigraha, the Kautuka or the small idol used for *archana* and *abhisheka* (bath), the Balibera or the small idol that offers food to the subordinate entities, the Snapanaberam which is constantly present in the temple and the Utsavaberam or the medium-sized idol which is used for outward processions, festivals and decorations. According to the Vaikhanasa Agama, there are five representations and as described at length that Vishnu in the Dhruva (fountain), Purusha in the Kautuka (spirit), Satya in the Utsava (laws of God), Achyuta in the Snapana (matter) and Anirudha in the Bali (energy) are the requisites for a true Archa form of God.

In the worship connected with most of the important shrines in South India, all the abovementioned five *murtis* are meditated as residing in the one principal *beram* and all the influence for good is derived principally from them. Our minds and lives have to be moulded in all aspects from the influence exerted in every temple. Hence the Snapanabera, the Bhogabera, the Balibera, and the Utsavabera appeal to us in the lower aspects of life, *viz.*, the bathing, the sexual



A view of the temple of Sri Venkateswara at Tirupati, one of the temples in South India still held in very high veneration

pleasure, the feeding or the world-sustenance and the everyday pleasures of life like marriage, but each of these is represented in a Divine form so as to dispel the vicious elements even in these lower pleasures and thus proceeding with us in our own aspects of life they take us all to the converging point of the Dhruvabera, which is the aspect of the Supreme.

Archa form of images are of three kinds—the Chitra which represents the fully shaped idol, which we see in temples, answering all the dimensions required in the various descriptive analyses of Lakshana, the Chitrardha, which are half-relief image that we find on towers, Vimanams and pillars and the Chirabhasa, which are painting on the walls or canvas. The variations and gradations of these various aspects consist only in the extent of the Divine Amsam that one imbibes in each centre and even here the faith of a worshipper if sufficiently wholesome and potent can draw unto himself the greatest power even in a smallest shrine. But the action and reaction of the influence are powerful and speedy in the strongest centres of spiritual magnetism.

It may not be possible within the scope of this short article to go into the minutest details of the highly scientific nature of the South Indian Iconography and the *agamic* rituals connected with the worship and spiritual upkeep of these South Indian Bronzes. A meagre glimpse is given to show that these images are not mere toys, intended by the ancient seers for decoration of the drawing rooms of the rich and the cupboards of the museums and art galleries. So also true are the various places of pilgrimage, which are not week-end holiday resorts for the moneyed men to go and sport themselves by seeing the palatial colonnades and the archaeological wonders there.

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WORLD'S LONGEST HIGHWAY TO CONNECT ALL AMERICAN COUNTRIES

As neighboring nations in the Western Hemisphere unroll new lengths of the broad concrete ribbon that is the Pan-American Highway, a construction dream of more than 21 years is becoming a reality. The highway, when completed, will stand as a monument to the co-operative spirit of its builders since all the nations through which it passes had a hand in its construction.

Historically the Pan-American Highway began in 1924 when a group of engineers and construction men representing all the Americas assembled in Washington, D.C., to draft the constitution of the Pan-American Highway Confederation, one object of which was to "study the best ways and means to unite with one another the different national highway systems with a view to the establishment of a Pan-American Highway System." Almost overnight the conversation, stimulated by the rapid growth of motor transportation during the 1920's, turned on the ideal of one longitudinal road connecting the capitals of all the Latin American countries.

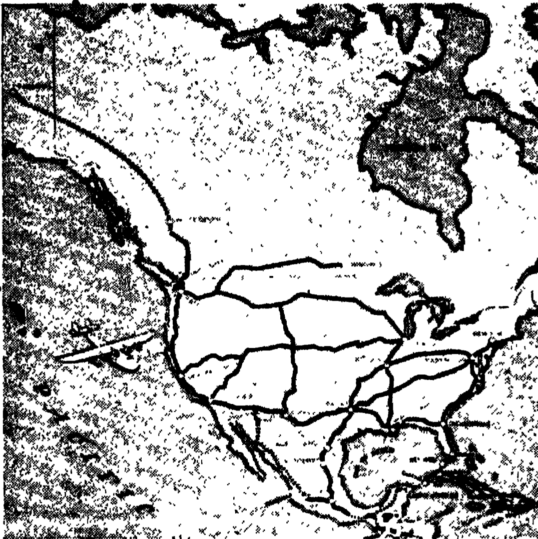
Now linking practically all of the American nations from Alaska on the north to Chile on the south, the highway already is speeding the economic inter-development of the countries through which it passes and is providing a means by which the nations, through an expected interchange of visitors who use the highway, can be linked more closely together in cultural relations. During the war, it was of inestimable value in accelerating the production and transportation of essential war materials and some foods and already has proved its high strategic value in the matter of hemisphere security.

When the German submarine menace, for example, was at its worst off the Atlantic Coast of the Americas and the use of ships accordingly was curtailed for the importation of war materials from Latin America into the United States, the highway was called into service for overland transportation. Ships at sea were routed to nearby ports from which their cargoes of war materials, coffee and other supplies were transferred to trucks and sent along on the highway. Because of the shortened sea routes the number of trips for each ship was materially increased with the result that a sufficient quantity of war materials from Latin America reached destinations in the United States.

EASED SHIPPING PROBLEM

During this period the highway served more than a military transportation purpose. The shortage of

shipping almost wiped out the export markets for Central American fruits and reduced coffee exports to a minimum. This disruption threatened to create further economic dislocation in Central and South



The part of the Pan-American Highway within Central America as well as that portion of the road which lies within the United States and Canada. The Alaska Military Highway is shown in a dotted line

American countries by reducing employment. To fill this breach, the affected countries directed parts of their surplus labor into construction work on the highway and thus partially maintained employment while at the same time the highway construction went forward.

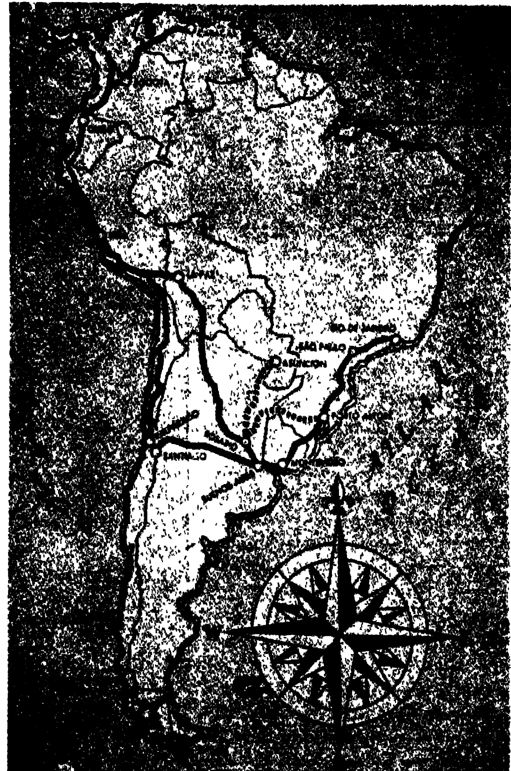
The U.S. Government has loaned money to various Latin-American countries to be used in construction of the highway, and U.S. Army engineers to plan and supervise construction. Most of the road is already carrying traffic. While some 1,200 miles, principally in Mexico, Panama, Colombia and Ecuador, are not surfaced for all-weather driving, the highway is entirely completed from Fairbanks, Alaska, to a point 432 miles south of Mexico City.

About three-quarters of the entire highway is now passable during all seasons of the year. The Inter-American section as the stretch from the southern U.S. border to Ecuador is called, is about half paved road, with another fourth surfaced for all-weather conditions. Of the 8,097 miles which lie in South America, from Panama to Chile and Argentina, one-quarter are paved, one-half have all-weather surfaces, the remainder is dry-weather surfaced and a small portion remains trail.

The route of the Inter-American section begins at Nuevo Laredo, Mexico, across the international boundary line from Laredo, Texas. The longest stretch of surfaced road on this section extends from Laredo to El Portillo, Mexico. El Portillo is a little less than 400 miles south of Mexico City. About 25 miles of this particular section have not been fully improved, but this is not a matter of much practical importance since traffic moves south from Mexico City to Matamoros by way of Puebla over a route that is fully improved and adds only 40 miles of additional travel.

The distance from El Portillo to the Guatemalan border is 614 miles, a good deal of which is under construction. Two isolated sections are paved and steady progress is being made on the uncompleted stretches, with the result that it appears probable that this section will be opened with a paved or all-weather road for a short distance beyond Las Casas within a comparatively short time. This will leave one gap in the highway in Mexico—a difficult mountain section of a little more than 150 miles on which it seems unlikely that an all-weather road can be completed within a year or two.

Two additional highway projects, not wholly a part of the Pan-American Highway but linked to it, are under consideration or in progress. The first is an all-weather road from Nogales, Arizona, near the Mexico-U.S. border down the Pacific Coast side of Mexico to Guadalajara, a few miles west of Mexico City. It provides direct connection with western U.S. routes running through Los Angeles and San Francisco, California, and Seattle, Washington, to join with the Alaska Highway from the United States to Alaska.

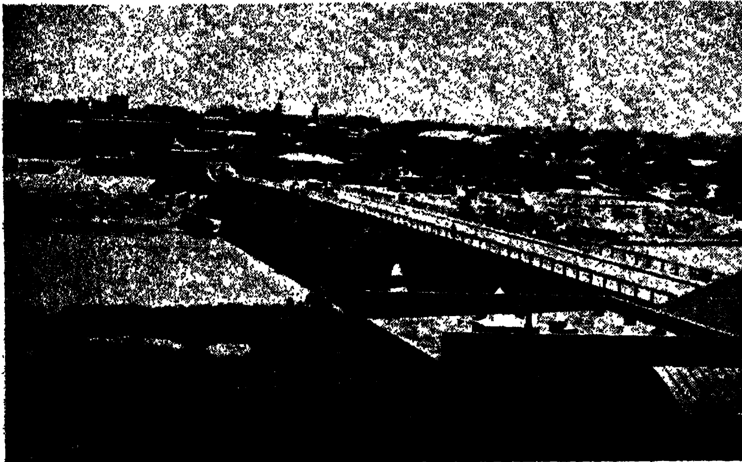


The South American section of the Pan-American Highway which will join the capitals of all the American nations

The second is a highway-ferry route from the south-eastern state of Florida to Cuba by ferry and from Cuba again by ferry to the easternmost point of the Mexican state of Yucatan. This route, if developed, will provide a short cut from the U.S. Atlantic seaboard into Mexico.

GUATEMALA SECTION COMPLETE

Guatemala, immediately south of Mexico, has completed the entire stretch of the highway which lies within its borders and an all-weather-surfaced road now extends 300 miles from Mexico to the El Salvador boundary line.



The international bridge between the United States and Mexico at Laredo, Texas, is the first of many international bridges on the route of the Pan-American Highway

In El Salvador the highway is paved from the Guatemalan border to the city of San Miguel, and about half the remaining distance to the Honduras border is surfaced for all-weather driving. The remainder is suitable for dry-weather travel. El Salvador is surfacing the dry-weather section under a co-operative agreement with the U.S. Public Roads Administration.

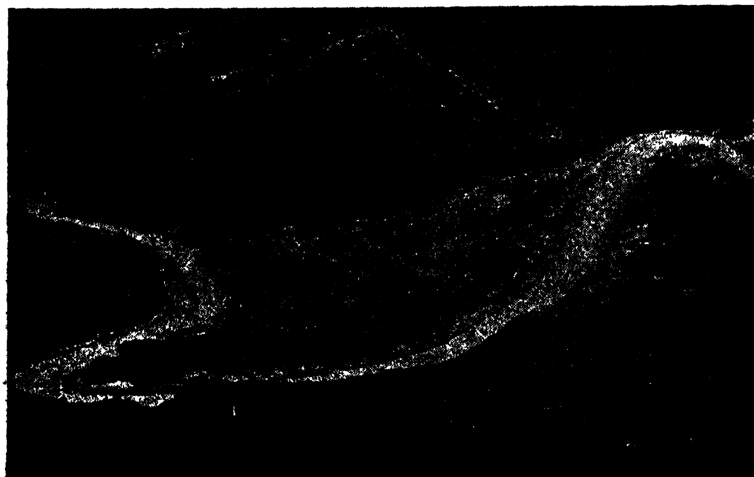
A stretch across a narrow part of Honduras consists of three all-weather sections separated by two short sections of dry-weather road. These short sections are being widened and surfaced by the Honduras Highways Department under the supervision of the U.S. Public Roads Administration.

The entire length of the highway which lies within Nicaragua is passable. A short stretch from the Honduras border is all-weather and the remainder dry-weather road. The next portion is trail and the remaining distance to the Costa Rica boundary consists of all-weather road except for about 60 miles centering on Managua, the capital which is paved. The unimproved portion of the approved route over which the highway will eventually run can, however, be bypassed on an all-weather road built by the U.S. Army as part of its pioneer road construction operations in Central

Out of the total length of the highway which lies in Costa Rica, only 115 miles consist of paved or all-weather road. In the northern section, much of the route is open for travel only with difficulty since several short sections are little more than trails. In the south nearly 125 miles is trail.

The most difficult road construction ever attempted anywhere is involved in the 71-mile section between Cartago and San Isidro del General in Costa Rica. About one-third of this section runs along the top of the Talamanca mountain range, and a large part of it between 9,000 and 11,000 feet above sea level. The view from this section includes probably the most stupendous conglomeration of high mountain peaks and ridges anywhere along the Inter-American route. The Atlantic and the Pacific Oceans are both visible from the highway at many points.

The major climb up this range begins about 125 miles inside the Costa Rican boundary, ascending some 4,000 feet in 25 miles to the country's central plateau where its population of 64,000 is largely concentrated and where Costa Rica's coffee is grown. Some 60 miles beyond the beginning of the central plateau, the route reaches San Jose, then goes up another 7,000 feet in 34 miles to Dead Men's Pass, which is nearly 11,000 feet above sea level. From the high point the road descends gradually to San Isidro del General.



In a rugged mountain section of Mexico, the Pan-American Highway follows a roundabout course

The first portion of the road in Panama, south of the Costa Rican border, is little more than trail, but from Volcan to Panama City is paved or surfaced for all-weather travel for the remaining distance. Below the city the improved road ends at the edge of the almost impenetrable Darien jungle.

Thus, for a year or two, perhaps longer, motorists along the highway will have to ferry from Panama to ports on either the Caribbean or the Pacific side of Colombia. The juncture at the Panama-Colombia border is the only one left in doubt along the entire length. Colombia has left a gap of some 40 miles to the Panamanian border to make possible a meeting place with Panama.



Using American-made road machinery, road construction crews are shown at work in El Salvador, Central America

In South America, the road from the Panama border runs along the Pacific Coast through Colombia, Ecuador and Peru down to Vitor Peru, where it splits into two highways, one running east to La Paz, Bolivia, and thence southeast to Buenos Aires, Argentina, the other continuing down the coast to Santiago, Chile, and then turning east to Buenos Aires. The route through La Paz is 5,433 miles long, a slightly shorter distance than the route via Santiago.

Spur in Eastern South America

From Buenos Aires it is possible in the dry season to drive northward along the highway to Montevideo, Uruguay, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

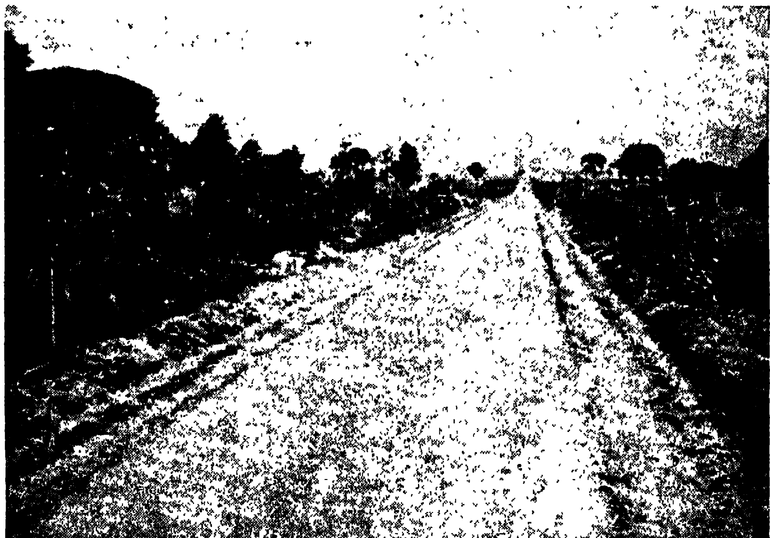
Of the portion of the highway which lies in Colombia, about three-quarters of the distance is all weather road, and only 165 miles is trail. All of Ecuador's 721 miles is paved or all-weather surfaced.

On the Pacific Coast route, about half of Peru's 1,666 miles is paved and the rest is all-weather road. On the La Paz route it has nearly 800 miles of paved road and about 600 miles of all-weather road, with a relatively short stretch of dry-weather road.

Chile has nearly 600 miles of paved and all-weather road out of a total of 1,597 miles. Argentina's two routes—one southward from La Paz, the other east from Chile—aggregate more than 2,000 miles of which approximately 85 per cent is paved or all-weather surfaced.

Uruguay's section of the route from Buenos Aires to Rio de Janeiro has 366 miles of pavement and all-weather road, and Brazil has 655 miles of paved road.

Points where the highway will cross international boundaries have not been finally determined in all cases. Wherever construction has progressed to a frontier there has generally been a definite agreement between the two countries as to the point of crossing. Common frontier points have been established between Colombia and Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia and Argentina and Chile. The crossing between Ecuador and Peru may not be established until both countries are ready to build to the line since a choice of several routes, all difficult to construct, will have to be made.



A finished section of the Pan-American Highway in the Central American republic of El Salvador

Completing the final links in the highway will entail highway engineering and construction work comparable to the work that was necessary in building the Alaska Highway from the United States to Alaska through the Dominion of Canada except that much of it will be done in tropical temperatures instead of the sub-arctic temperatures of Canada and Alaska.

Like the Alaska Highway, the unfinished sections of the Pan-American Highway present every variety of tough engineering problem—driving a road through deep morasses, deep forests and over mountains. Bridges must be built over torrential and raging streams and rivers, roadways blasted out of the sides of mountains and materials for construction transported many miles to the points where they will be used.

Longest Road in the World

From Fairbanks, Alaska, to its southern terminus, the road when finished will cover a total distance of 15,494 miles the longest road in the world, and will traverse 17 countries—Canada, the United States, Mexico, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Chile, and Brazil, with spurs off the main highway leading into Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela and Argentina.

Some of the more important bridges on the Pan-American Highway are remarkable examples of highway and bridge engineering. All are of the newest and most modern design and all are well-planned as to location. One of the most noteworthy is the Puenta Cuscatlan Bridge in the interior of El Salvador. This structure is the longest suspension bridge in Central America and spans the Lempa River, the largest river flowing into the Pacific Ocean between the Colorado River in the United States and the tip of the South American continent.

Because of the scarcity of proper materials, fabrication equipment and skilled labor in certain localities in Central America, a considerable portion of the materials used in bridge construction came from the United States. In addition to the U.S. prefabricated parts used in construction of the railroad bridge on the Mexican-Guatemalan border, 93 prefabricated timber bridges and eight abandoned steel bridges were bought in the United States and shipped to Central America by U.S. Army Engineers.

Construction work on the spans was aided by a mission sent to Central America by the U.S. Forest Service. Forestry experts went into the field and classified nearby available timber. The construction program, calling for the use of local materials as far as possible also led to the utilization in Nicaragua of tufa rock of volcanic origin for arch culverts and bridge superstructures, abutments and piers where the rock deposits were available.

A Highway for Peace

The superstructure of two bridges in Honduras, one a three-span bridge over the Cuacilope River, are finished. The newest to be completed is the Goascoran River bridge linking El Salvador and Honduras, a 480-foot steel and concrete structure built to carry heavy trucks with loads of 27 tons.

Other important bridges cross the international boundaries of the United States and Mexico, Mexico and Guatemala, Colombia and Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador, and Brazil and Uruguay, while another is planned to join Brazil and Argentina across the Uruguay River.

When the Pan-American Highway becomes an open tourist highway, what is now the "Good Neighbor Policy" between the American nations will change into a more simple, friendly understanding between the peoples of the various countries. Pre-war travel between Mexico and the United States proved this and post-war tourists undoubtedly will extend this spirit up and down the entire length of the two great western continents. This unity already is expressed in the international bridges, linking one American nation to another in an unbroken chain.

While in recent years the Pan-American Highway has been a strategic roadway for war, it will in the future be a strategic highway for peace.—*USIS.*

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STEFAN ZWEIG

By S. I. CLERK

"Before parting from life of my free will and in my right mind I am impelled to fulfil a last obligation : to give heartfelt thanks to this wonderful land of Brazil which afforded me and my work such kind and hospitable repose. My love for the country increased from day to day, and nowhere else would I have preferred to build up a new existence, the world of my own language having disappeared for me and my spiritual home, Europe, having destroyed itself.

"But after one's sixtieth year unusual powers are needed in order to make another wholly new beginning. Those that I possess have been exhausted by long years of homeless wandering. So I think it better to conclude in good time and in erect bearing a life in which intellectual labour meant the purest joy and personal freedom the highest good on earth.

"I salute all my friends ! May it be granted them yet to see the dawn after the long night ! I, all too impatient, go on before."*

Petropolis, 22.11.1942 Stefan Zweig

And so Stefan Zweig together with his wife Elizabeth Charlotte Zweig committed suicide at Petropolis, Brazil, on February 23, 1942, ending "a life in which intellectual labour meant the purest joy and personal freedom, the highest good on earth." His was, in all probability, the unique distinction of being simultaneously, an Austrian, a Jew, an author, a humanist and a pacifist. This rather uncommon combination brought him a good deal of trouble at the hands of brutality and unreason personified in the recent dictatorship of Germany. Thrice he lost his home and had to start anew.

Stefan Zweig was born in 1881 when the Habsburgs were the monarchs of Vienna, the Golden Age of Security. While in school, he began to take a very keen interest in theatre, literature and art. This was natural in the Vienna of those days when the cultural events in the city and neither the military, nor the political nor the commercial events predominated in the life of the individual and of the masses. Above all, he devoted

* From publisher's post-script to Stefan Zweig's *The World of Yesterday.*

himself to literature more than anything else. At seventeen he knew every poem of Baudelaire and Walt Whitman. He and his school friends, with the enthusiasm characteristic of youth, were familiar with authors and poets such as Paul Valery, Stefan George, Rilke, etc., who were usually honoured by the public and the savânts ten years later. Obviously, all this devotion to the Muse of Literature was at the expense of sports and physical training. He and most of his contemporaries at that time were definitely contemptuous about throwing away their time in playing games or in training their physical bodies.

Stefan Zweig is recognized today as a great European, a historian, a psychologist and a lover of mankind. Primarily, however, he was an artist—an artist of words. And, here too, he excels as a biographer. His studies of Marie Antoinette, Mary Stuart, Castellio, Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy, Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky, Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, (to mention a few) amply prove this. He was an ardent student of personalities and portraitures. These studies and his plays such as Thersites or Jermiah also reveal another important characteristic of the author. He champions Erasmus and not Luther, Mary Stuart and not Elizabeth, Castellio and not Calvin. His hero or heroine is one who succeeds in the moral and the spiritual sense, not one who succeeds in the ordinary mundane way. His studies differ from ordinary biographies because his goal is different. He is convinced that "it is only through the self-portraiture of a great artist that the genius of mankind becomes comprehensible to earthbound mortals."[1]

What occupied his mind throughout his life was the problem of the spiritual superiority of the vanquished. His plays such as Thersites and Jermiah pre-eminently deal with this. Jermiah is not a pacifist play. In it Stefan Zweig portrays the man who is denounced as a weakling in time of enthusiasm and temporary victory, but who, in the time of defeat, is the only one not only to endure it, but also to master it. This thought of his too makes his biographical studies really interesting.

It is difficult if not impossible to deal in any detail whatsoever with the innumerable books of the author. However, apart from his full-length biographical studies, mention may be made of a series of biographies he wrote under the general title of *Master Builders : An Attempt at the Typology of the Spirit*. It consists of three volumes : (1) *Three Masters* : Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky ; (2) *The Struggle with the Daimon* : Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche ; (3) *Adepts in Self-Portraiture* : Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy. As two random instances of Stefan Zweig's supremacy of portrait sketches, we may take up Casanova and Tolstoy from his book *Adepts in Self-Portraiture,* "wherein he describes Casanova, Stendhal and Tolstoy as "the three representatives of the ascending gradations of the same creative function, self-portraiture."

Casanova a great writer ? His entire literary output is the story of his own life. In it we have a naive self-portraiture, a simple record of deeds and events with the least attempt to evaluate them or to study the actual working of the self. Only when the joys of life became irrecoverable memories did Casanova venture to soil his fingers with ink. With him what is important is not the way in which he tells the story of his life, but the way in which he has lived it. What an average author has to invent, Casanova has actually lived. Normally, artists can never experience what they imagine and men of action and men of pleasure cannot tell their stories. Casanova is most probably the unique exception. He tells us the exciting story of his life without any moral restraints or fears. He never had an inkling that he was destined to become famous and hence his book is so interesting. Urged by absence of pleasures and by utter loneliness in his old age he writes his memoirs at Dux where he is librarian to Count Waldstein. The writing of this book is his last win at the gaming table. But he departs before the cards are turned and never learns that he is a winner. Yet, winner he is, 'for since he lived his life and wrote his story, no romancer and no thinker has invented a more romantic tale than that of his life or fabled a stranger personality than Casanova."[2] He may be denounced as immoral or disavowed as an artist, but none can deprive him of his immortality. Casanova demonstrates that it is a man's vitality and not character that determines whether he will be immortal or not. With immortality, morality is nothing, intensity all.

While Casanova is satisfied with a mere (though keen) description of his life, with Stendhal, self-portraiture reaches a higher level, the psychological. It is with Tolstoy that self-contemplation attains its highest level and self-portraiture in his case becomes a moral self-questioning. It becomes ethico-religious. And Stefan Zweig is both original and brilliant in his biography of Tolstoy. Tolstoy had a normal peasant physiognomy. His beardless face in youth was also similar to that of any average Russian peasant. "Rough-hewn like wood split for firing are the crossbeams of the forehead surmounting the little windows, the tiny eyes. The skin, like the outer surface of a wattle-and-dab cottage, is of clay, is greasy-looking and lusterless. In the middle of the full quadrangle of the face, we see a nose with gaping, bestial nostrils, a nose that is broad and pulpy as if flattened by a blow from a fist. Behind untidy wisps of hair project misshapen, flapping ears. Between the hollowed cheeks lies a thick-lipped, surly mouth. The general effect is inharmonious, rugged, ordinary, verging on the coarse . . . Tolstoy knew well enough that his countenance was unpleasing . . . That was why he soon let the hair grow on his face, that this mouth might be hidden behind a sable-mask—which only in old age grew silvered, and thereby venerable"[3] Only his eyes expressed the genius of the man. As Stefan Zweig quotes Gorky : "In his eyes, Tolstoy had a hundred eyes." Almost magical and magnetic, "they could blaze in the topmost altitudes of the spiritual world, and could with equal success throw a searchlight into the darkest abysses of the soul."[4] All things were possible to these eyes ; only, being inactive was impossible for them. And with such eyes ever piercing the very heart of truth, happiness is impossible for the one who possesses them.

Unlike most of the men of letters and artists, Tolstoy had an extraordinary physique. His strong body served him almost right to his death. Even at eighty he continued his daily vigorous gymnastic exercises. His sight remained unimpaired to the day of his death. So were his hearing and memory. As a matter of fact,

1. *Adepts in Self-Portraiture.*

2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*

it was his own bear's strength that Tolstoy feared most always and everywhere. He was almost panicky of the bestial unrestraint of the physical senses.

Tolstoy's writings are vividly real. Reading him and only him, we might be convinced that art is a simple matter and that all writing is hardly anything more than a faithful account of reality, an effortless transcription. However, what appears to be sketched freehand in broad and bold and clear outlines has really been achieved by very hard workmanship of a man who set to work painstakingly and diligently. Thus, for instance, seven drafts were made of *War and Peace* before the final novel was ready. Every detail was thoroughly checked by references not only to the contents of public libraries, but also to letters and other documents in private collections. Once his search for truth finished, he would strive for clarity. Here too the aim was perfection. At the same time, the toilsomeness of the process leaves no trace upon the finished product. Tolstoy's prose is timeless. His folktales, "Three Old Men", "Does A Man Want Much Land ?", "The Death Of Ivan Ilich And Polikoushka", and "Linen-Measurer" may have been written a couple of thousand years before the invention of printing or in the nineteenth or twentieth or thirtieth century, "for what finds expression here is not the contemporary mind as voiced by Stendhal and Rousseau and Dostoeffsky, but the primitive mind, which is changeless and perennial—the terrestrial pneuma, the primal sentiment, primal anxiety, primal sense of loneliness, felt by man brought face to face with the infinite."[5]

Tolstoy is not a man of the "higher" type, nor are his qualities those of a muse. They are ordinary qualities intensified. As compared with an average man his mind and senses work more vigorously. He never ceases to be normal. Hence his art is intelligible and absolutely human, and people hesitate to call him a genius. His books speak the language of naked truth and none other ; this is his limitation ; but they speak that language more perfectly than the books of any other imaginative writer, and this is his greatness. An incomparable recorder of truth, he lacks the power of creative fancy. Also, his cold and clear illumination brings little warmth to the heart. His books describe a world with no dreams, no illusions, no lies—"a world in which the only light is relentless truth."[6]

Turning upon himself, Tolstoy, a fanatical devotee of truth, is ruthless in knowing himself thoroughly. "But self-portraiture cannot be finished once and for all to attain the finality of objective works of art."[7] And to get a true likeness we must study all his works, novels and tales and diaries and letters. He had a mania for self-revelation. His urge to self-observation begins with the dawn of consciousness and ends only on the death-bed at the age of eighty-two. He was terribly introspective. Instead of a formal autobiography, Tolstoy writes the most complete autobiographies in the complex of his works. The novels and the tales contain perfectly recognizable portraits of their author in every phase of his career (e.g., Lieutenant Olenin in *The Cossacks*, Count Besuhoff in *War and Peace*, Squire Levin in *Anna Karenina*, etc.,). Unlike other artists who usually present themselves to the public in one impersonation (Stendhal as Fabrice, Gottfried Keller in Der Grune Heinrich, Joyce as Stephen Dedalus), Tolstoy presents himself to the public each decade in a new appearance. This and his diaries and letters leave hardly an unexplored region in the vast extent of his existence.

It was when he was verging on fifty that Tolstoy suddenly turned away from art and towards religion. This was not abnormal. Only the intensity of the process was unusual. The process itself was merely the inevitable adaptation of the bodily organism to the approach of old age. He fails to solve the mystery of life. But as an artist, he projects his own need into humanity at large, thus universalizing it. He was unable to be a pious Christian, but he succeeded in projecting questing ego into the world announcing the terrible problems which assailed it so as to serve as warning and instruction for all mankind. As the basis of his doctrine, Tolstoy selected the text "Resist not evil," expanding it "Resist not evil by force." Denunciation of force today by Gandhiji or Rolland owes a direct inspiration to Tolstoy. By "evil" Tolstoy meant force. Force also implies possessions, ownership and a desire to own more. Thus Tolstoy declared, "Property is the root of all evil and all suffering." Force is needed to acquire, increase and to protect property. State and Church aid these activities directly. Tolstoy is thus an anarchist, and in this respect even Trotsky and Lenin have not, theoretically, advanced beyond him. Tolstoy's books shook the Tsarist, the capitalist order of Russia to its very roots, just as Rousseau's writings destroyed French monarchy. Tolstoy would have opposed Bolsheviks' methods, but he did smooth the way for the Russian revolution.

To depict the archetypal man, "whose image (often recognizably enough) is hidden away within us all, to disclose his figure as clearly as possible and as completely as possible amid the complexities of our world : this was Tolstoy's primary aim as writer, an aim that could never be fully attained, and one that was all the more heroic for that. He was able to seek out and describe Everyman thanks to the unrivalled veracity of his senses."[8] And not since Goethe has any imaginative author been as successful as Tolstoy in revealing himself and the archetypal man. "Tolstoy, the indefatigable worker is the embodiment of Everyman's will, and Tolstoy, the incomparably sincere is the embodiment of Everyman's search after knowledge and truth."[9]

Now that we have dealt with two casual instances of Stefan Zweig's art of depicting personalities, we may consider his own method of work. He was an impatient and temperamental reader, and he believed the readers of his own books to be similar to himself in this respect. Consequently, his own writings have no superfluous descriptions or unnecessary minor details which bring failure to so many authors. Usually, he would have a number of drafts of his works before submitting the final work to the publishers. In the first draft he would allow his pen to go ahead without the least possible check. However, his real work—that of sifting and condensing—would begin no sooner a fair copy of the first rough version of the final book would be ready. Unlike others who like to show off everything they know about a subject, he always aimed at know-

5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*
9. *Ibid.*

ing more than what he gave out in his writing. This process of eliminating everything unnecessary would be repeated twice or thrice and in the end the process would become a sort of a chase for another sentence or even a word the absence of which would increase the tempo without lessening the precision of the writing.

Any study of the life and work of a person is incomplete so long as his interests and hobbies are not included in such a study. Beginning at the age of fifteen, thanks to larger means and augmented passion, Stefan Zweig gradually succeeded in collecting manuscripts of the greatest masters of all times in their own handwriting. He began by collecting merely famous autographs. Later he went in for manuscripts—the originals of works or fragments of works—which in a way help a person to have a glimpse into the creative method of some beloved master. Then he went further. No more satisfied with having merely manuscripts pages of a poet or a composer, he began to represent each poet or a composer in his happiest creative moment, the one of the highest achievement, *i.e.*, searching not merely for the manuscript of one of a poet's poem, for example, but of one of his most beautiful poem, nay if possible, "one of those poems which from the minute that the inspiration found its first earthly realization started on its way to eternity."[10] His collection contained among other things, a leaf from Leonardo's workbook, notes in mirror-writing for sketches; Napoleon's order of the day to his soldiers at Rivoli; a complete novel in proof sheets by Balzac; a first unknown version of Nietzche's *Birth of Tragedy*; a cantata by Bach and the aria of Alceste by Gluck and one by Handel. He was also interested in collecting even the furniture of a great person. Thus he writes in his autobiography, *The World of Yesterday*, that he was able "to acquire all the remaining furniture from Beethoven's room which had been auctioned off after his death and bought by Privy Councillor Breuming."

What was the ultimate object of such specialized collection of manuscripts? It was not the sense of sheer possession that tempted him, but the love of moulding a collection into a work of art. Ultimately, he wanted to leave this entire collection to such an institution which would spend a fixed sum every year in order to further the collection in his own manner, thus making the collection a living organism. However, the events in Europe upset his ideas and part of his collection he sold, part he gave to the National Library of Vienna and the rest is almost untraceable today. After all, he well maintains, "My joy always lay in the act of creating, never in what had been created. So I do not lament for what I once owned; for if we, driven and hunted in these times which are inimical to every art and every collection, were put to it to learn a new art, it would be that of parting from all that once had been our pride and our love."[11]

10. *The World of Yesterday.*
11. *Ibid.*

Stefan Zweig was of an emotional and artistic temperament. He was profoundly distressed by the disorders of our times, and was passionately anxious to pave the way to a better world. He deplored the fact that even though we have today infinitely surpassed our ancestors in technical and intellectual matters, in moral and humanitarian things, we are today worse than the most savage race of mankind. Wars without declaration of war, concentration camps, persecution, mass robbery, bombings of defenceless women and children—these and their likes have been our lot today. Like a few great contemporaries of his such as Freud, Yeats, Gorky, Joyce, Rilke, Toscanini, Anatole France, Romain Rolland, Stefan Zweig too typifies the truly great Europe—not the Europe which breeds imperialists and fascists, but the Europe of Plato and Socrates, Leonardo and Garibaldi, Wagner and Beethoven, Rousseau, Voltaire and Tolstoy.

List of books by Stefan Zweig published in English:

Verlaine: Critical biography, 1905.
Emile Verhaeren: Critical biography, 1910.
Erstes Erlebnis: Four stories of childhood, 1911.
Jermiah: Play, 1917.
Drei Meister: Balzac, Dickens, Dostoeffsky, 1920.
Der Zwang: Novelette, 1920.
Angst: Novelette, 1920.
Romain Rolland: Critical biography, 1921.
Die Augen Des Ewigen Bruders: Legend, 1922.
Amok: Novelettes, 1922.

Der Kampf Mit Dem Damon: Holderlin, Kleist, Nietzsche, 1925.

Ben Jonson's "Volpone": Play, 1926.
Die Unsichtbare Sammlung: Episode, 1927.
Der Fluchtling: Episode, 1927.
Ver Wirrung Der Gefuhle: Three novelettes, 1927.

Sternstunden Der Menschheit: Five historical minatures, 1927.

Drei Dichter Ihres Lebens: Casanova, Stendhal, Tolstoy, 1928.

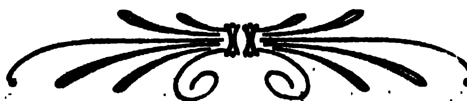
Kleine Chronik: Four sketches, 1929.
Joseph Fouche: Biography, 1929.
Rahel Rechtet Mit Gott: Legend, 1930.

Die Heilung Durch Den Geist: Mesmer, Mary Baker Eddy, Freud-Biography, 1931.

Marie Antoinette: Biography, 1932.

Triumph Und Tragik Des Erasmus Von Rotterdam: Biography, 1934.

Maria Stuart: Biography, 1936.
Castellio Gegen Calvin: Biography, 1936.
Der Begrabene Leuchter: Legend, 1936.
Benmeister Der Welt: Biography, 1938.
Gesammelte Erzahlungen: Fiction.
Megellan: Biography, 1938.
Brasilien Land Der Zukunft: Travel, 1941.
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EGYPT AND UNITY OF THE NILE VALLEY

By P. MADHAVAN NAIR, B.A.

I

The entire range of Anglo-Egyptian political relationship is dominated by two geographical features of paramount importance, the Suez canal and the river Nile. The former constitutes a vital artery of British Imperial communications ; the latter supplies the life-blood of Egypt's existence. To Britain, the safety of the Middle East and particularly Egypt which lies athwart her communications to the Far East and Australia is essential. The present conciliatory attitude of Britain in respect of her policy in the Levant and the Middle East as evidenced by her withdrawal from Syria, the formal grant of independence to Trans-Jordan, and the seeming hostility to Jewish immigration into Palestine is a welcome prelude to the impending Anglo-Egyptian negotiations.

Egypt is a mixture of reaction and progress, poverty and prosperity, of the East and West, of the ancient and the modern. Physically it pursates with life, activity and colour in the Nile valley and delta and looks barren, monotonous and lifeless in the inhospitable and scorched wastes of the Sahara and Nubia. Egypt enjoys a unique position in the modern world being strategically situated at the meeting point of two continents, Asia and Africa, as well as of the two seas, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. She is outside Asia and yet part of it and is for all practical purposes an oriental country.

The Suez Canal and Egypt

Egypt's strategic position has been enormously magnified ever since the cutting of the isthmus of Suez, that narrow neck of land which united Africa with Asia, and the opening of the great international highway, the Suez Canal—the product of the genius of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The importance of the Suez waterway can scarcely be minimised for this great artery of trade has cut short enormously the distance between Western Europe and India and countries of the Far East and Australia. Thanks to the Canal, Egypt has now attained a position of international importance. The Canal has brought in its train both evils as well as benefits to Egypt. She now lies at the cross-road of the world's trans-oceanic and trans-continental commerce. The proximity to this strategic highway has given Egypt great political and military significance for she commands and guards the Suez Canal and the routes leading thereto. Consequently she has been a prey to the clash of imperial interests. The British consider the Suez Canal as a vital link in the greatest sea route which connects the scattered parts of their Empire over which, they boast, the sun never sets and want to ensure its security by retaining their military and political foothold in Egypt. To Britain, the security of Egypt and the Canal zone is a very vital concern which dominates her policy in the Near and Middle East. Egypt urges the evacuation of British troops not only on grounds of political prestige alone, as is commonly supposed, but also because of the intriguing supervisory influence which the presence of the British Army in Cairo exerts on her international politics and equilibrium, her foreign policy and sovereign status. The political agony of Egypt is likely to be prolonged until the day her aerial navigation and commerce assumes a preponderant influence.

Egypt Versus the Arab World

Egypt lies in the centre of the Arab World, midway between the colourful land of Morocco, the garden of North Africa, in the west and the ancient and picturesque oil-land of Iraq in the east. She is the premier State of Arabism politically, economically and culturally. She has a bigger population and her economic resources are vastly superior to that of any other Arab State, Syria, Lebanon, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, Yemen or even Saudi-Arabia. Further, Egypt has an enterprising and industrious population politically conscious and fully alive to its great and hoary past. The people of most other Arab States, except perhaps that of the young republics of Syria and Lebanon, are still in their political infancy, are strongly conservative in outlook and are mostly nomads wandering about with their 'ship of the desert,' the camel, and carrying on a little trade in dates, hides and textiles, which are directly the result of their geographical environment. Egypt has a powerful and influential press and the activities of its agitators and the student community are well-known and hardly need any reference.

Egyptian Culture and Civilisation

The land of the Pharaohs was the seat of a great and ancient civilisation and the massive pyramids, still one of the world's wonders, and the brooding sphinx bear testimony to its virile and fascinating past. The Egyptians knew the arts of agriculture, architecture, astronomy, etc., before any other people and their civilisation is very ancient and wonderful, dating back to at least 40 centuries before Christ. She is the chief seat of Koranic and Arab learning and the ancient and celebrated University of El Azhar and the modern University of El Faud are among the most important and influential in the Arab world. El Azhar especially is the seminary of Islamic culture, the glory of a thousand years, holding aloft the torch of Arab learning.

The Arab League

The above facts would make it clear that Egypt enjoys a unique and special position among the countries of the Near and Middle East and there is no doubt that she is the leading state in the Arab world. Hence we witness the appearance of Egypt in the foreground of the Arab League, which is working for the formal federation of all the Arab States. The League represents upwards of 40 million people in the various countries of the Near and Middle East and has been formed with the object of safeguarding their common interests and independence. It is a new factor of great significance in international politics and under its energetic Seceretary-General Azzam Bey has become a force to reckon with in the politics and strategy of the Middle

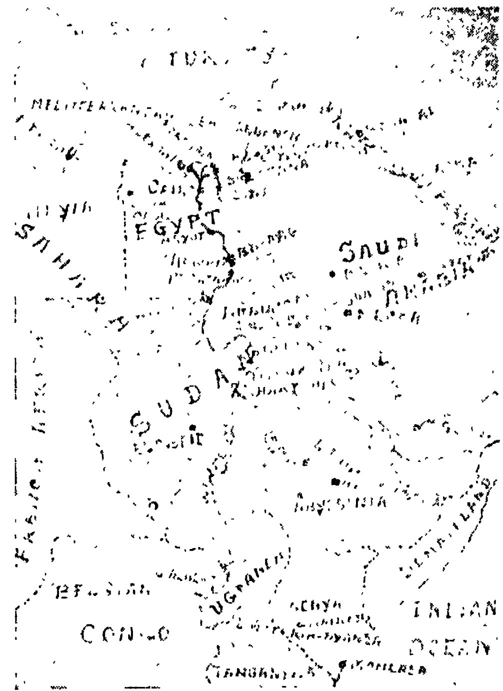
and Near East. Further, behind the Arab League is ranged Muslim opinion in other countries. The League's anti-Zionist and anti-French feeling has been taken into account by Britain in determining her policy in the Levant and Palestine.

The Arab States have recognised the leadership of Egypt in the League they have formed and Egyptians themselves know full well that considerable prestige would accrue to them for taking this interest in their common future. Even King Ibn Saud, the powerful and august ruler of Saudi Arabia, in which are situated the holy places of Mecca and Medina, responds to the call of Arab brotherhood and is one of the greatest champions of the Arab federation. The necessity for such a federation is obvious, for the Arab States situated as they are in the fertile oil-lands of the Near and Middle East are a prey to the conflicting ambitions of rival Powers and jealous imperialists who are always on the look-out for oil concessions, special privileges, spheres of influence and extra-territorial rights, by whatever name we may call it. Economic values take precedence over political values and therefore progressive Arab politicians devote much thought on the economic and cultural aspects of the Arab federation, like removal of customs barriers and passport restrictions, the establishment of a uniform educational system and type of learning. It is only after such an economic and cultural basement has been laid, will it be possible to guage the prospects of an enduring Arab federation or confederation. The coping stone of the scheme of Arab unity includes military alliances between Arab States.

The concept of Arab unity is not a new thing and was always on the horizon ever since the Holy Prophet Muhammad united the Arabic-speaking peoples with the message of Islam, and was imperfectly realised under the Ottoman Empire. In spite of serious obstacles, internal and external, the Arab dream and goal of unity have persisted through the centuries and have been partially achieved by the establishment of the Arab League during the last War, though seemingly under British inspiration. The process, however, has been accelerated in recent years by force of circumstances and dread of possible dangers like the Axis threat to the Middle East in the last war, etc. Nevertheless the League is a triumph of Arab diplomacy, foresight and solidarity. It will be a still greater triumph for the Arab people's genius for organisation, united endeavour and statesmenship if their defensive union becomes a reality in fact and can endure all possible trials and tribulations which it may have to face in the difficult times ahead.

Historical Background

Though Egypt was a prey to European intrigue and suffered from the dreadful effects and hampering influence of the vile 'Capitulations'* and the most galling fetters of internationalism, from which she suffers even today, she now stands as a united and compact state, politically wide awake and fully alive to her past glory and future greatness. After various vicissitudes of fortune under the Pharaohs, Ptolemies, Romans, Saracens, Mamelukes and Ottomans she entered upon the nineteenth century exhausted and spent, with her learning and culture nearly extinguished. The foundations of the Khedivial dynasty was laid by an able Turk, Mohammed Ali who ruled from 1805-1849 and after his death Egypt again plunged into a hotbed of misrule and corruption, intrigue and financial chaos, which paved the way for the beginnings of European control. The Napoleonic occupation of Egypt, though shortlived, had sowed the seeds of French influence in Egypt and the Middle East. The Suez Canal was opened in 1869 due to French enterprise.



Egypt and the Sudan

The purchase of the Khedive's shares in the Suez Canal Co., by the astute 'Jew' Benjamin Disraeli, the famous Earl of Beaconsfield, was a master-stroke. Ismail the Khedive is reported to have said, "This is the best investment for England and the worst one for us." As a result of this transaction Britain came to have a controlling interest in Egypt which further gave her the excuse for actively interfering in Egyptian politics. For a time co-operation between France and Britain was tried in Egypt, but compromise between the two rival powers was found to be difficult and the dual control, which incidentally was ruining the country, cracked beneath the weight of a variety of reasons especially financial instability and misrule, the Arabi rebellion and the fanatical Mahdist revolt in the Sudan. The people were discontended and Colonel Ahmed Arabi became their leader and virtual ruler of the country with the army at his back. The Arabi rebellion having been ruthlessly suppressed British ascendancy became an established fact in Egypt and ignoring the nominal suzerainty of the Turkish Sultan a virtual British protectorate was instituted over Egypt, and

* Concessions and privileges granted by the Khedive to Europeans wishing to reside and trade in the country. They were grossly abused, and they seriously retarded Egyptian progress.

Cromer and others did the rest by ruling her with an iron hand beneath the velvet glove. Peace and order was restored by the British, "the race against bankruptcy" was intensified and irrigation received attention, though "education remained the Cinderella of the State," miserably neglected. Other reforms introduced by the British include the suppression of the "three C's", corruption, the notorious corvee and the dreaded 'courbash'. In spite of plenty of room for criticism, the fact remains that the British did something for the economic and social regeneration of Egypt. The Sudan was reconquerred from the Mahdi and by the treaty of 1899 France made her exit from the Nile Valley for good and an Anglo-Egyptian condominium was declared over the Sudan with Britain as the predominant power.

The Protectorate which was formally established over Egypt only in 1914 was abolished after the termination of the War in 1922. A new Egyptian constitution with a King, bicameral Parliament and Cabinet of Ministers was promulgated and Egypt was declared an 'independent' country. An Egyptian kingdom thus came into being under British tutelage in which the monarch exercised absolute powers and the theory that the power vests in the King and Parliament was found to be a constitutional fiction. This constitutional advance did not satisfy the Egyptian nationalists in the least and the lot of the 'fellaheen', as the bulk of the hardworking agricultural population of Egypt are called, remained as pitiable as ever with little hope of emancipation. Agitation therefore grew apace and it was after many years of ceaseless struggle, confusion and tension that the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was signed, which while recognising Egypt's independence provided for the retention of British forces in Egypt ostensibly for strategic purposes and to ensure imperial interests and conveniently left the Condominium Agreement of 1899 over the Sudan severely alone and undisturbed. But by the treaty Egypt secured a measure of independence, integrity, international status and recognition. Her foreign policy and defence still continued to be controlled by an alien power and the treaty was obviously a onesided affair.

Ever since the Wafdists, the premier nationalist party in Egypt under its leader Mustapha Nahas Pasha, the successor of the famous Zaghlul, concluded this treaty there has been continuous agitation for its revision on the basis of equality and reciprocity and the recognition of Egypt's predominant interest in the Sudan which controls the headwaters of the Nile, the life-giving river of Egypt. The Egyptians want to annul this onesided treaty and do away with the special privileges of Britain and the establishment of a fully-sovereign Egyptian State. They are, therefore, clamouring for the withdrawal of British troops from their soil. The British now seem to be and have been balancing the king, the vested interests and the so-called 'liberals,' of whom Ismail Sidky the strong man is typical, against the forces of Egyptian nationalism which is ardently desirous of coming to a peaceful and honourable settlement with Britain.

Irrigation in Egypt

The importance of irrigation to the prosperity of a country like Egypt where "the struggle for water" is so keen cannot be over-emphasised. It is one of the major concerns of the State, for the whole of Egypt except the Nile Valley and Delta and a few oases forms part of the vast and rainless Sahara. The very life of Egypt depends on its irrigation. Irrigation is also most important in India where it is an insurance against drought and famine. The desert soil is intrinsically fertile and only needs water for sustenance of life and farming purposes. This is as true of Egypt as of extensive areas in Sind and even of vast arid tracts in eastern Australia, notably in Queensland, where a marvellous transformation has been wrought by the construction of what are called Artesian wells. Under Mussolini the Italian colonists dug bore wells on the coast of Libya and the result was that excellent orchards and farms came into existence. It is common knowledge that where there is sufficient supply of water in a desert either by natural springs or otherwise, fertile spots humming with activity occur which are called oases. There are a few such oases in Egypt like Siwa, Farafara, etc. The camel caravan rests under the shade of the date palm in the oasis after an arduous and fatiguing journey under the burning sun and while quenching their thirst heartily thanks Allah for being at least so much kind and bountiful to them. The desert caravan sighs with immense relief and high glee at the sight of a genuine water spot, as most often they are sadly disillusioned and cruelly disappointed by phantom lakes and ponds which lure them on and on to the unreal haze of the mirage—an interesting phenomenon frequently seen in the desert.

In the case of Sind and Egypt huge irrigation projects, the famous Sukkur barrage in the former and the great Aswan barrage and other barrages, notably the one just below Cairo, in the latter have transformed tens of thousands of acres of arid waste into flourishing agricultural land. The control of the flood waters of the Nile was really a stupendous problem. But modern engineering skill came to the rescue and by means of reservoirs especially the one at Aswan, opened in 1902, one of the greatest of the world's irrigation enterprises, the turbulent and colossal waters of the Nile have been controlled and diverted by means of channels and water-courses to irrigate the scorched wastes of Egypt. No wonder smiling wheatlands and cotton-fields came into existence in place of the barren desert. Father Nile has showered his bounties on Egypt liberally and without its life-giving waters Egypt would have been a parched desert like the rest of the Sahara. Lord Milner once said, "Egypt as a geographical expression is two things—the desert and the Nile." It is in fact the gift of the great river.

The Nile Valley and Delta

Though the area of Egypt is over 3,50,000 square miles the inhabited portion and the economically important part is the valley of the Nile and its delta. The Nile valley stretches like a narrow ribbon a few miles wide on the average, from Khartoum in the Sudan to the delta. The delta is more spacious and is more than 150 miles wide at the river's mouth. The fertile and developed area of Egypt is only about 14,000 sq. miles. Beyond a few miles on either side of the river, except where the land receives the benefits of irrigation, it is all a chaos of sand dunes, bare rocks and barren hills, with its cactus and mimosa thorn, over which the 'Khamsin' exhibits its wild and boisterous fury. The Nile valley is so very fertile that in ancient times it was considered as one of the granaries of Imperial Rome and rival powers had fought for the corn of Egypt.

The Economy of Egypt

The economic significance of the Nile valley and delta and the importance of irrigation in Egyptian national economy has already been alluded to and stressed. Egypt is essentially an agricultural country and the Egyptians have always been great agriculturists. The country is potentially rich and prosperous. Agriculture is gaining more and more in importance with the expansion of irrigation and settled cultivation. The 'basin system' of irrigation in vogue in Egypt a few decades ago has now been supplanted by 'perennial' irrigation, thanks to modern engineering skill. The rich alluvial deposits and mineral matter brought down by the Nile from the Abyssinian highlands and equatorial Africa have ensured the fertility and wealth of Egypt. Wheat and barley are the main winter crops. Rice, sugarcane, maize, millets and fruits, chiefly dates are extensively cultivated. But the pivot round which the economy of Egypt turns is cotton. A great cotton crop is raised and Egyptian cotton is reputed to be of good quality being second only to that of Sea Island cotton and far superior to the Indian variety and is in great demand.

Egypt is deficient in her mineral wealth. She possesses a little iron, oil, salt, etc., but only a statewide mineral survey can reveal her actual resources. There is great scope for the development of water power from the huge irrigation projects which will be essential in any scheme for the development of manufacturing industries. Small industries especially in textiles, sugar refining, tobacco, leather-tanning, etc., have grown up in recent years. The Egyptian pottery industry is one of the most important. There is great scope for the development of industries especially in textiles in the future.

The resources of Egypt as yet unexploited include tens of thousands of acres of arid but potentially fertile tracts still awaiting irrigation and development. Another obvious potentiality is the Suez Canal, now controlled by a private Company in which the British Government holds the largest number of shares bringing in a fat yearly dividend to the British Exchequer. The Company's concession terminates in 1968 and if it is not extended then the canal will become the property of Egypt. It will be a welcome windfall but it may also bring in its train heavy responsibilities and complications. The maritime powers of Europe especially Great Britain would, no doubt, press for the reduction of the heavy transit duties now in force and would insist on substantial guarantees providing for the defence and neutrality of the canal. From the strictly economic point of view the unity of the Nile valley would seem to be necessary to Egypt as her lack of raw materials, minerals, etc., can be made up to a considerable extent by the incorporation of the intrinsically rich Sudan. This aspect of the question is discussed elsewhere in this article.

The People and Their Occupations

The population of Egypt is about fourteen million of which about twelve million are Muhammedans, about a million Egyptian Christians, generally called Copts and under a million Jews, Sudanese, Bedouins and other races of whom the vast majority are illiterate. The population is congregated in the Nile valley and delta with which the whole economic life of the country is inseparably linked. If the desert regions be excluded the population of Egypt is very dense. The Muslim and the Copt live side by side in peace and the savage intolerance of the past has departed. The Muslim invokes the name of the Almighty in the Mosque, the Copt in the Church, otherwise the two are hardly distinguishable. In the villages especially "the Crescent and the Cross, the Mosque and the Monastery have stood peacefully side by side for many a long year." The thin and wiry Bedouins, "the people of the tent," a nomadic race, dwell on the outskirts of the valley and in the oasis of the desert to the west and east of the Nile, eking out a bare existence on their camels and dates.

Life in the village is simple and almost primitive, though in the big cities of Cairo, the capital, Alexandria, the chief port, Port Said, a great coaling station and other places, the standard of living of the inhabitants is far higher. Houses except in the big cities are mostly made of sun-dried bricks. The condition of the 'fellaheen', who are the true descendants of the ancient Egyptians, though unenviable is slowly but steadily improving. The Pashas and Sheiks or reactionary landlords, the same type as the Zemindars in India, retard the economic emancipation of this down-trodden and much exploited people through the centuries. Nevertheless in spite of the conservatism of the Egyptian, Egypt is, not stationary but changing, and those who think otherwise deceive themselves.

The chief occupation of the people is agriculture. A good number are engaged in trade and commerce. Industries are slowly developing and are likely to become more and more important in the future. Egypt has a good railway system connecting Wadi Haifa and Assuan (Aswan) in the South with the busy ports and cities of the delta. A brisk trade is carried on between the Sudan and Egypt by the Nile steamer and by railway.

II

The Sudan and the Nile

The Sudan or the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as it is called is of special significance to Egypt and the Egyptian. The Sudan and Egypt lie contiguous to each other and are conterminous and indivisible from the point of view of the Egyptian. Above all the life-giving river of Egypt, the Nile, flows through the Sudan. Egyptian politicians miss no opportunity to emphasize the essential unity of the Nile valley. They assert that Egypt needs the Sudan and Sudan needs Egypt. Their concern is chiefly with the Nile waters, with their security and control in all circumstances.

The Nile is one of the greatest and longest rivers in the world, which takes its rise from some of the fascinating lakes of equatorial Africa, especially the Victoria-Nyanza, the great African inland sea and the picturesque lake Tsana perched amongst the lofty Abyssinian highlands, over which Emperor Haile Selassie, the erstwhile refugee potentate in London, claims dominion. The Blue and White Niles fed by other tributaries join together near Khartoum and flowing through the Sudan and Egypt empty into the Mediterranean Sea. The Nile is navigable except at a few points where there are 'cataracts' or rapids and here transhipment of cargoes is necessary, though of late this hindrance has been largely overcome by means of canals, etc. It is a great artery of inland communication in Egypt and the Sudan and in spite of the competing railways, it remains the more economical

means of transport and numerous steamers ply on its waters day in and day out, carrying produce to and from the different towns on its banks.

The Nile is the only source of pure water for rainless Egypt. Virtually it is the jugular vein of Egypt, its sole means of existence. The Nile quenches the thirst of the parched sands of Egypt. Egypt without the Nile is inconceivable and once this only source of fresh water supply is cut she will soon be transformed into a veritable desert in spite of herself, and even the vestiges of life will disappear from its soil. Father Nile is, therefore, dearest to the Egyptian : it is the live-heart of Egypt. Control of the Sudan would give Egypt control over the waters of the Nile. If a hostile power in control of the Sudan diverts or prevents the free flow of the waters of this great river, it would have calamitous repurcussions on Egypt immediately. Though such a contingency can never reasonably be presumed to occur, its possibility cannot be ruled out for all time, and, in any case the natural apprehension and desire of the Egyptians as regards security of the Nile waters would seem to deserve sympathy and consideration. This factor must be borne in mind in any discussion and determination of the status of the Sudan.

Economic and Other Aspects of Unity

The acquisition of the potentially rich Sudan, which may for all practical purposes be considered as the *hinterland of Egypt,* would go a long way in strengthening the economy and in the making of the future industrial structure of Egypt. The industrial and economic development of Egypt would only be a matter of time if the Sudan is added on to her. From this rich region with its wealth of raw materials and natural resources Egypt would be vastly benefited. The expanding needs of an industrial society can be met by a developed Sudan. It is clear, therefore, that the cry for the unity of the Nile valley is based on economic considerations as well though, it is often asserted that only the anxiety to ensure the safety of the Nile waters is the sole and compelling factor.

It is obvious that economic, political and military considerations all play an important part in the shaping of this demand. *The unity of the Nile valley or control over the Nile waters means in effect the union of the Sudan with Egypt.* Such a union would give great political prestige and importance to Egypt as she would then become one of the biggest States of the world. Her dominions would be so enormously extended as to make it a problem in the matter of defence. It may well prove a liability and strain on the Egyptian State and Exchequer at this stage. But Egypt would become one of the largest countries of the world and her economic resources are bound to be augmented immensely, sooner or later. It will further unite the Arabs of the Nile valley and the dense population of the Nile delta will have ample scope for expansion and development. One would sometimes pause and wonder if the Egyptians are not really ambitious in claiming such a vast and rich territory like the Sudan on the pretext of the security of the Nile waters. But nevertheless, it is equally obvious that Egypt has a better right to the Sudan than any other Power except the Sudanese themselves.

Sudan—A Promising Region

The most striking feature about the Sudan is that it offers a variety of climate, scenery and natural vegetation. It is rich in natural resources and raw materials, especially in her forest wealth in the equatorial forests of the south, with its ebony, acacia, mahogany, bamboo, etc. The rich Savanna region of the central Sudan contains enormous tracts of fertile arable land and excellent pasture land. The great north African Savanna or tropical grassland region which lies south of the hot desert of the Sahara and north of the equatorial region and extending from the Abyssinian highlands in the east to Gambia and Senegal in the west, is generally referred to in Geography books as the 'Sudan.' But here we are concerned only with the political entity called the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan or simply with the Sudan. With the development of irrigation and with an industrious and larger population the Sudan can become a great producer of food-stuffs and raw materials especially cotton, rubber, etc. Though much of northern Sudan is arid desert and a large area in southern Sudan marshy and covered with tropical jungle, the vast stretches of fertile savanna lying between the two and well-suited to agriculture and stock raising is really a region of great promise. The chief commercial crop is cotton and it is grown extensively. Millets, dates, maize, groundnuts and other food crops are also produced. There are thousands of acres that yield and thousands of acres more that will, when properly irrigated, yield valuable crops especially cotton. The Sudan possesses large numbers of domestic animals, namely, sheep and cattle and there is an abundance of wild game, such as the elephant, antelope, giraffe, etc., in the parklands of the savanna and in the tropical forests. In the semi-arid regions of northern and central Sudan sheep and cattle rearing are profitable occupations. Sudan supplies much of the beef cattle needed by Egypt. She is also a great producer of gum arabic, ivory, hides and skins, ostrich feathers, etc. Copper, gold, salt and other minerals are utilised.

The Sudan is at present mainly a pastoral country while Egypt is primarily an agricultural country. The most fertile and well-watered area in the Sudan is the region lying between the White and Blue Niles, thanks to the facilities afforded by the Sennar Dam across the Blue Nile. Cotton and food crops are produced by a more or less settled African population who have come to appreciate the benefits of settled agriculture. Khartoum, the capital of the Sudan, has direct communications with Cairo and Alexandria, a distance of about 1,400 miles, by rail and river. Many railway lines have been built lately in the Sudan in order to open up and exploit the country.

The Sudan is governed by a British Governor-General with his headquarters at Khartoum. The country is divided into fourteen provinces and each is administered by a British Commissioner who "has practically a free hand" within his sphere of authority. The Sudan which was the happy hunting ground of Arab slave traders in the nineteenth century, first came under British influence in the second half of the nineteenth century ; but was temporarily lost as a result of the Mahdi rebellion. Mahdism triumphed and the fanatics killed Gordon, the Governor-General of the Sudan, and Egypt herself was seriously threatened. In 1898 Lord Kitchener retrieved British prestige by defeating the Mahdi's successor in the decisive battle of Omdurman. It was a memorable battle for the Dervish army was a magnificent force—superb in its courage, devotion to duty and contempt of death. Even the heroic, almost reckless bravery of the Dervishes in the

face of a rain of shot and shell from British rifles and guns was of no avail and Omdurman, the greatest native city in Africa and capital of Mahdism fell to the victors and with it fell the short-lived Mahdi Empire. Khartoum was entered and soon the Sudan lay prostrate. In this reconquest of the Sudan Egyptian soldiers played a prominent part. Cromer himself says, "It is true that the Egyptian treasury had borne the greater portion of the cost of the campaign and Egyptian troops, officered, however, by Englishmen, had taken a very honourable part in the campaign." It was really a composite army which did the job and the part played by Egypt has been urged as one of the grounds for her claims over the Sudan. "Further, it has been proved especially in the last century that the affairs of the Sudan exercised a very important influence on the course of events in Egypt." Without doubt a disturbed and hostile Sudan would be a menace to Egypt in more ways than one. The British stamped out slave traffic in the Sudan and gave her some sort of Government and did a little to promote irrigation and communications. This huge region, which is as large as British India and potentially rich, and blessed with its wealth of natural resources, is one of the most promising regions of the world but only if it is properly developed.

The Sudanese and Union With Egypt

A considerable number of the Sudanese are Arabs and profess Islam. This is especially so in the northern Sudan, where the Muslims form the bulk of the population. It is understandable that Egyptians should desire union with their Arabicized brethren in the northern Sudan. Yet union with the northern Sudan alone is not likely to satisfy Egyptian aspirations, for they would then raise the plea that the headwaters of the Nile are in the southern Sudan. Cromer says that "the effective control of the waters of the Nile from the equatorial lakes to the sea is essential to the existence of Egypt." Nevertheless the unity of the entire Nile valley here and now does not seem to be feasible and it has to come necessarily by stages. In the central and southern Sudan the vast majority of the people are Negroes. They do not profess Muhammadanism and are mostly heathen. They comprise many tribes like the Shilluks, Dinkas, etc., and are very backward and lazy, though in recent years, a few of them have taken to settled agriculture with the facilities afforded by the Sennar Dam and other irrigation enterprises sponsored by the British rulers with a view to exploit the country. "In contrast with the Egyptians, a most industrious race, the Sudanese tribes, both Arab and Negro, are as a general rule indolent." The chief occupations of the Negroes are cattle rearing, hunting and collecting. Further, the Arabs from the north and south had in the last century carried on slave traffic in the southern Sudan and this had redered them odious to the Negro inhabitants. It is, therefore, debatable whether the Sudanese would willingly acquiesce in the demand for the unity of the Nile valley at present and that they really desire to merge with their far advanced neighbours.

The Sudan and Egyptian Questions Discussed

The Sudan is a very vast territory about a million square miles in area but having only a population of six millions, which is sparse when compared to Egypt. The defence and speedy development of so vast and backward a territory would be well-nigh impossible for the Egyptian state for some time to come with its present population, economic resources, technical skill and military prowess. Further, the Africans in the central and southern Sudan are in a low stage of development so as to make it extremely improbable whether the Negroes will benefit in any substantial measure by political union or fusion with Egypt at this stage. When the Sudanese Negro too becomes at least moderately civilized and advanced the option of becoming citizens of a Greater Egypt may be left to them to decide, especially since they are non-Muslims and belong to an entirely different race, having little or nothing in common with the Egyptians. At present it would neither be just nor sufficiently advantageous to hand over these utterly backward people to the tender mercies of the far-advanced Egyptians. The duty of Britain in the circumstances would seem to be the speedy development of the country and the advancement of the Sudanese economically, educationally and politically so as to make them fit for enjoying a political partnership and union with Egypt, which is visualised as the final and ultimate goal. But any Egyptian demand for the northern Sudan especially north of Khartoum, and the scrapping of the artificial boundary, would be more weighty and feasible. Further, Egypt's paramount interests in the Sudan must be recognised and she must be admitted as an active partner in the governance of the Sudan, which alone would give her an opportunity of vindicating her oft-repeated protestations for the welfare of the Sudanese. The Condominium Agreement of 1899 should be ended as early as possible or within a fixed time limit. This coupled with the withdrawal of British forces to the Canal zone or the Sinai peninsula, as the case may be and the recognition of the complete sovereignty of Egypt both in internal and external affairs, would seem to satisfy the legitimate national aspirations of the Egyptian people. It is more than probable that Britain would assume to herself the responsibility for the defence and security of the Canal in partnership with Egypt or alone, in the former case as the predominant power. The British barracks in Cairo and Alexandria would be shifted to the Canal zone or Sinai where Egypt may be approached to grant bases to her.

The vulnerability and strategic importance of the Canal from a military point of view was demonstrated by the Axis threat to Egypt in the last war. It was a stupendous task indeed to roll back the "Afrika Corps" under its indomitable General, Rommel, beyond the borders of Egypt, but El Alamien sealed the fate of Hitler's dream of a Middle East Empire and the battle proved decisive. The Italian and Axis menace to her security, though over, had made Egyptians realise the necessity for a strong and sovereign Egypt to ward off all future attacks and assure her security. This coupled with the fact that neutral Egypt was transformed into a great military base in the last war without her consent have accelerated the Egyptian clamour for the withdrawal of British troops from her territory. The disposition of strong military units in the Canal zone or Sinai with military and air bases in Palestine, which has been turned into a virtual military arsenal, due to the ill-advised Jewish immigration agitation and Arab resistance, to fall back upon in the event of emergency, would sound a safe strategy for Britain in the Near and Middle East. But nobody knows for how long Palestine will remain a British mandate, torn by internal *hara kiri* and communal strike. Nevertheless this

may well prove an acceptable *via media* in the circumstances, especially in view of the clash of the very vital interests of both powers, Britain and Egypt. Such an amicable settlement of the Egyptian question can be followed up by a mutual friendly alliance between Egypt and Britain. A British Mission headed by no less a personality than Earnest Bevin with a full compliment of notable Service Chiefs including Lord Stansgate, the Secretary of State for Air, as members have gone to Egypt to explore the possibilities of settling the Egyptian question satisfactorily.

From all appearances it does not seem to be likely that Britain would allow her paramount interests in the Canal zone to be waived or minimised or divest herself of the responsibility for the defence and safety of the Canal in favour of Egypt or any other Power. Imperialist Britain will not allow the Canal being put under international control as in the case of Tangier, where the recent entry of Russia as a partner has very much intrigued her. Her foremost concern would be to safeguard her vital imperial communications to the Far East and Australia, etc., and the security of Egypt and the Middle East from extraneous influences. Neither is it possible that John Bull intends to walk straightway from the Sudan, which is likely to remain a thorny problem. Her policy would seem to be the development and exploitation of the Sudan, while at the same time maintaining friendly relations with Egypt, reconciling herself as much as possible with the Egyptian demand for the unity of the Nile valley or the fusion of the Sudan with Egypt.

The question of the Unity of the Nile Valley or the Sudan Question ranks with the problem of the strategic defence of the Suez Canal as burning issues in which Egyptian national interests, prestige and ambition are equally involved. The British and Egyptian points of view will be one of great divergence. But with sufficient goodwill, tolerance and earnestness on both sides there is no reason why the crucial questions should not be satisfactorily and amicably settled and Anglo-Egyptian co-operation established on a friendly and lasting basis, which will be in the common interests of both Egypt and Britain.

(1) *Modern Egypt* by the Earl of Cromer.
(2) *Egypt* by P. G. Elgood.
(3) *King George VI and his Empire* (in three volumes) Volume III, Ed. Charles W. Domville Fife.
(4) *The Oxford Survey of the British Empire*, Volume III, Ed. Herbertson & Howarth.
(5) *Economic Geography of the British Empire* by C. B. Thurston.
(6) *Encyclopaedia Britannica.*

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THE PRESENT PLIGHT OF PHILOSOPHY IN INDIA

By Prof. RASVIHARY DAS, M.A., Ph.D.

It is sometimes said that India is a land of philosophers. The statement is not certainly literally true, if it means that every individual Indian is a philosopher or even that a majority of Indians are greatly interested in abstract philosophical questions. But I believe there is a sense in which India may be rightly called a land of philosophers—a sense in which it cannot be called a land of scientists or artists. If we consider the cultural activities of educated Indians throughout their recorded history, even up to the end of the Mahommedan rule, we find unmistakable evidence of their singular concentration on philosophical problems, and we cannot fail to be struck by the massive output of their work in this field, distinguished alike by the wealth and variety of their ideas and by the metaphysical depth and logical rigour of their thoughts. There have been so many thinkers of diverse schools, having really first-class work to their credit. Some of them have left us systems of thought which even today appear very remarkable for the boldness of their conceptions. Whatever else India may or may not have achieved in the past, the record of its philosophical work is glorious indeed. It is not too much to say that the whole of our cultural life was distinguished by a strong and robust philosophic vein. It is not true that there were no scientists or artists in India, but it is certainly true that they were not as numerous or as prominent as the philosophers.

But all this was in the past. What is our present record? I am ashamed to confess that it is extremely depressing.

We continued our philosophic activities right up to the last days of the Mahommedan rule. True, much of it latterly tended to become merely scholastic in character. But still many highly intelligent people took lively interest in abstract logical and philosophical questions, and were greatly concerned about their philosophical ideas. But do we really care for any philosophical ideas now? I doubt very much.

When, with the coming of the English into India, the Western culture made contact with our mind, we felt for a time dizzy. When the state of confusion passed away, we found that we were faced with something which we could not easily accept or reject. We had something of our own which would not easily fuse with the alien thing that pressed against our soul with the conquering might of our rulers at its back. Some of us then disowned their ancient heritage and went wholly over to the other side. They became completely Westernised in their thoughts and ideas. As our culture had some vitality in it, this could not happen to any very large extent. Many, as a reaction against Western ideas, clung ever more tenaciously to our old-time notions. But as English education made steady progress in the country, some compromise seemed inevitable between old India and modern Europe and, as a result, we have now a steady flow of spiritual hybrids coming out of our schools and colleges every year. No synthesis is effected between our old social and religious ideas and the ideas derived from our study of Western science, history and literature, between our old tradition and modern instruction. Our religious, social and domestic life is dominated by ideas derived from our ancient past and we also carry about notions with us which originated with the Renaissance and the Reformation in Western Europe. Just as we go in boots and trousers to work in an office and on our return home again slip into our old Indian costume, so we profess Western ideas in our class-rooms and lecture-halls, but are content to regulate our social and domestic life in

our old Indian way. There is no question here as to which of the ideas, Indian or European, are truer or more valuable. We merely point to a division in our mental life which no careful observer can easily miss. It can be safely asserted that nothing great or valuable can come out of a mind which is thus divided against itself. No wonder then that the Indian mind now is so singularly sterile in the field of ideas.

Our activity, of late, in the field of literature has no doubt been very much stimulated ; but I do not know if we have in the modern period achieved anything which will last through time.

We are probably doing better in science. But science is a highly specialised activity of the human mind, and although the great cultural value of scientific work in its highest form can never be denied,—of science pursued for its own sake, for the knowledge and understanding of the reality which surrounds us on all sides,—yet science, when it is cultivated purely with a view to obtaining some material advantage out of it, science which makes such irresistible appeal to industrialists and militarists cannot surely rank very high in the scale of cultural values. At all events, scientific work does not engage our whole mind or personality; we pursue it with our intellect alone, and our volitions and emotions have scarcely any part to play in it. We do not react to a scientific problem with our whole being, but only with our intellect. It is otherwise with any artistic, literary or philosophic work, in which all the resources of our mind have to be engaged if we are to achieve anything effective and satisfactory. In this kind of work the wholeness of the mind that goes into operation is a necessary condition of success, in a sense in which it is not so necessary in purely scientific work. It is probably because of this that we have been able to do something in science even with a divided mind, with a spiritual division in our inner being, while we have remained so far absolutely barren in the field of philosophy.

During the time we have been having the benefit of Western education, no new theory or fruitful idea in philosophy can be laid to the credit of the Indian mind. Even in America, which no one will claim to be a land of philosophers and which is not particularly noted for any cultural innovations, we have seen the rise (and, probably, fall) of such novel theories as Pragmatism, Behaviourism, etc In a country of common sense like England, there is no lack of evidence for bold and powerful speculation in the higher regions of metaphysics. Italy and France have made their valuable contributions. It is not necessary here to refer to Germany which since Kant's time has more than maintained its claim to leadership in European thought. There seems no end to the new and fruitful ideas—to the systems and schools of thought—that are ever cropping up in this fateful land. But what is the record of India in this period, of the so-called land of philosophers? As far as one can see, it is perfectly clean, being absolutely blank.

Philosophy is born of a self conscious activity of the spirit ; it represents the reaction of our whole personality to the great problems of life and the world. But when there is a spiritual discord within our own self, when really we are not of one mind, we can but weakly react to the great spiritual problems which face us in life, and the result of our spiritual activity is bound to be very disappointing. It seems we are not now possessed of our own self and we seem utterly incapacitated for the kind of spiritual activity which produces living philosophy.

There are any number of professors of philosophy in this country, but there are, with one or two notable exceptions, no philosophers. It is no exaggeration to say that real philosophical thinking has become very rare indeed. With the best of our efforts we succeed merely in echoing faintly some philosophical thoughts that have once been actually thought at Berlin or Oxford. We seem merely to learn laboriously some words and phrases current in western philosophical literature and repeat them to our students. We do not think for ourselves and do not teach our students how to think, and the result has been disastrous.

Even our students seem to have seen through the sham thing we offer in the name of philosophy. They do not, therefore, come to our classes, with the result that many colleges, even Government colleges, *e.g.*, in Bombay and Madras Presidencies, have ceased to teach philosophy as a college subject. We sometimes hear of certain universities contemplating to close down their departments of philosophy Such indifference to philosophy, to the great problems of life and conduct, cannot bespeak, in my opinion, any very sane or healthy state of our national mind.

However, I believe this indifference is only apparent and not real. If we could offer real philosophy, there would be no dearth of students to take it up in this country at least. In the present state of affairs, our professors of philosophy do not, as a rule, discuss in the class any real problems which have seriously troubled them in their life nor do they offer in their lectures any solution to the problems which assail the minds of their students. The inevitable result is that our professors, not being themselves seriously interested in the problems which they discuss in the class, cannot bring any earnestness or enthusiasm to bear on their work and thus they naturally fail to interest their students.

With our political enslavement our mind also seems to have become very weak. We do not dare to think on our own account. If we had the courage of our own thought, we should discuss our own problems and also give our own solutions ; and the present unhappy condition, in which in our classes we merely reproduce timidly the problems and solutions given in a text-book, imported from England or America, would soon come to an end. How are we, then, to get out of this quandary ?

The first thing necessary is to acquire the firm belief that we can really think for ourselves, that however dependent we may be in physical existence on other persons and powers, for our philosophy at least we need not lean upon any, that though our bodies may be in bondage, our spirit is ever free, that not only we can, but we must, form our own view of life and the world in absolute freedom. If we confess our incapacity there, we cease to count as human spirit and deserve no better life than that of lower animals. No, I do not think we have sunk to that level yet. We seem to be bound by an illusion and that illusion has to go. We have to realise that we are not doing any philosophy worth the name, when we simply repeat or reproduce what Plato has taught or Bradley has said. In fact by our words we express no thought at all, when what we say has not been clearly realised in the intimacy of our own personal thinking. Close systematic thinking is not of course an easy matter, but it can be acquired by a constant exercise of our thinking power which is a divine

gift to a rational mind. To neglect or deny this gift is to neglect or deny our rational or spiritual nature.

The above requirement relates to a change of mental attitude ; it does not suggest any further practical step. As a practical measure, I would suggest that our students should be introduced to philosophy through consideration of views and ideas derived from Indian philosophy. They may study European philosophy as much as they like, but their minds should first be well informed of the ideas which have actually shaped the life of the community in which they live. This will give their minds a firm foot-hold in the concrete spiritual reality from which they draw their sustenance and which they can ultimately modify and enlarge to the enrichment of their own life and of the life of the world at large.

In the present state of things, a student by being initiated into philosophy through Western ideas, is lifted up, as it were, in the mid-air from his actual spiritual moorings and is left there alone, unable to derive any proper nourishment for his philosophic self from his social environment, with which he is no longer in tune. No wonder that he cannot react powerfully to his surrounding world and he cannot produce anything substantial of his own.

My suggestion is that our students should begin with a study of Indian philosophy under the guidance of teachers who have themselves studied the subject in original Sanskrit. It is not desired that the students should tie themselves to the various dogmas of Indian philosophy. They should also study the critical works of European thinkers, and their ultimate aim should be to rise above Indian and European philosophy to pure philosophy which recognises no provincial, sectarian or any other barrier.

Thirdly, our students should learn philosophy through the medium of the vernacular. I have the impression that philosophical ideas conveyed through the medium of English do not enter deep into our mind. The exact significance of many philosophical ideas is not clearly realised because of the linguistic barrier. The language remains a barrier even when we have learned to use it grammatically. Because of our early preoccupation with the structure and sound of this difficult foreign tongue, our mind acquires a sort of hyper-sensitiveness to its verbal form to the neglect of its intellectual content. It has thus come about that even when we are ostensibly engaged in learning philosophy, our attention is constantly directed to the niceties of language rather than to the exact significance of the ideas meant to be conveyed. And the result is that our so-called philosophical education gives us merely a verbal dexterity in the use of certain words and phrases. In the examinations too, the candidate who has a greater facility with the English language is usually found to fare better ; and since our teachers of philosophy are generally chosen mainly on the result of university examinations, it is almost always the case that one, who can talk glibly or wields a facile pen, has a better chance of getting the charge of teaching philosophy than another candidate who, even with a halting tongue or pen, may have a real gift for exact thinking. The result is seen reflected even at the top. People, who are supposed to be in the front rank in the field of philosophy in this country, are noted rather for their fine eloquence than for any depth or soundness of their ideas. It seems that the distinction between a talker and a thinker is not often marked. I am sure this state of things will be modified, at least partially, if we choose the vernacular as the medium of our philosophic discourse.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

SATYAGRAHA : ITS TECHNIQUE AND HISTORY : *By R. R. Diwakar. Foreword by Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Prefatory observation by Kishorlal Mashruwala. Hind Kitabs, 107, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Bombay. 1946. Pp. xxiii + 202. Price Rs. 6-12.*

The last World War has taught humanity, at least this lesson that although war is undertaken to bring about great decisions, to reshuffle the relations between human communities, yet the price which men have to pay for it is often much more than what they actually gain by it. New forces are raked up by the violence employed, which sometimes defeat the very purpose for which war was undertaken. Under these circumstances, it is natural that more and more attention should be paid to methods of social change which do not suffer from the shortcomings of war. The experiments in nonviolent organization, which have been carried on in India during the last thirty years for the redress of economic, social and political wrongs, have naturally drawn the attention of every serious student of human affairs.

Shri Diwakar's present publication on the technique and history of Satyagraha is, therefore, a very timely one. He has devoted fifteen out of twenty-five chapters to a theoretical treatment of the subject. The principles underlying Satyagraha have been discussed with care, and its organizational aspect described in detail. Shri Diwakar then gives us a historical account of the more important Satyagraha campaigns undertaken in India. This is followed by a chapter on similar experiments outside India. An appendix containing pledges taken by Satyagrahis on different occasions, a bibliography and a glossary of certain terms used in the book, come at the end.

The treatment of the theoretical aspect is fairly exhaustive, although it may fail to satisfy the more serious student who wishes to go deeper into the psychological bearings of Satyagraha. Similarly, the

chapters devoted to history would perhaps have gained by a less narrative and more critical treatment. But as the first systematic account of Satyagraha in India, the book deserves to be warmly welcomed. Shri Mashruwala has contributed a very valuable chapter by way of introduction.

SWARAJYA-SASTRA (The principles of a non-violent political order.) : *By Vinoba Bhave. Translated in English by Bharatan Kumarappa. Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay. 1945. Pp. 68. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book is a collection of notes made of talks given by Shri Bhave while he was in prison : they consequently lack the fulness which one usually expects in a treatise of the present kind. The questions dealt with are of a fundamental nature, and deal with subjects like the function of a state in a people's life ; the political and economic implications of non-violence; non-violence as a means of self-protection available to the common man, and so on. Shri Bhave has something original to say with regard to each of these questions ; for he is not only a philosopher by temperament, but has also had the advantage of an unbroken series of experiments in the organization of non-violence extending over nearly a quarter of a century or more.

One may find the discussion on the historical role of the state unsatisfying here and there ; but this is amply made up by what the author has to say with regard to the structure of a non-violent society, which forms the major portion of the small book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE MILLAT OF ISLAM AND THE MENACE OF 'INDIANISM' and THE MILLAT AND THE MISSION : *By Choudhury Rahmat Ali.*

THE FOUNDER OF PAKISTAN : *By Khan A. Ahmad. 16, Montague Road, Cambridge.*

It is a patent trick of Imperialism to try to divide their colonies and subject countries when the inevitable forces of history compel them to quit. Ireland had the bitter taste of this trick. Palestine has been suffering on this account. The old maxim of *divide et impera* has now been turned to Divide and Quit. That patent device is now being applied to India and experiments at partition and division of a subject country are being carried on on a scale so vast as the world has never seen before. What is now being represented as the deep urge of a particular community will, after careful historical analysis, be found to be nothing but the artificial demand of reactionary elements fostered carefully by British Imperialism. It seems strange today that Sir Syed Ahmad said : "Just as the Aryan people are called Hindus, even so are the Musalmans—Hindus, that is to say, inhabitants of Hindusthan." He further said : "The word nation (Qaum) applies to people who inhabit a country . . . Remember that Hindu and Musalman are religious words ; otherwise, Hindus, Musalmans and even Christians who inhabit this country—all constitute, on this account, one nation. When all these groups are one nation, then whatever benefits the country, which is the country of all of them, should benefit them all . . . Now the time is gone when only on account of difference in religion the inhabitants of a country should be regarded as of two different nations." (*Vide*, Dr. Rajendra Prasad's *India Divided*, p. 94). Such sanity of logic has been unfortunately lost in the mad welter of communal politics.

The pamphlets under review are supposed to contain the first Pakistan plan and were published long before the Muslim League resolution on Pakistan. This idea of independent sovereign Muslim states was put forward by the author, Mr. Ali as a protest against the betrayal by the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference of the cause of the Millat by accepting a Federal Constitution. A fierce protagonist of the two-nations theory, or rather of a number of Muslim states all over India, he has seven commandments, *viz.*, (1) Avoid Minorityism, (2) Avow Nationalism, (3) Aquire proportional territory, (4) Consolidate the individual nations, (5) Co-ordinate them under the 'Pak Commonwealth of Nations', (6) Convert India into 'Dinia', (7) Organize Dinia and its dependencies into 'Pakasia'. Thus he will not only have two Muslim zones but many. He would have Pakistan in the west, Bangistan in Bengal and Assam, Usmanistan in Hyderabad, Siddiqistan, Faruqistan, Hindustan, Moministan. Moplaistan, Safistan and Nasiristan. There will thus be not only three independent states of Pakistan, Bangistan and Usmanistan, but there will also be seven Muslim nations settled in the Hindu region in their own territory proportionate to their population and all these will make up the Pak commonwealth.

Ordinarily such a plan, which implies the entire negation of history, would have been dismissed as sheer lunacy or ravings of a distorted mind, but nothing seems to be impossible today. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, in reviewing this scheme in his book *India Divided*, has commented : "Who knows that in course of time the other parts of his scheme already published and yet to be published will also be not accepted by the League and thus Indians must be prepared to look forward for the day when the very name India will have disappeared." The sooner such schemes are buried and buried once for all, never to be resurrected, the better for all the communities living in India and for the world.

MAKING THE MOST OF YOUR INCOME : *By R. E. M. Beale. D. B. Taraporevala and Sons and Co., 210, Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is based on the methods of the best known efficiency experts with practical examples from the lives of J. D. Rockefeller, Mahatma Gandhi, Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, etc. The financial education of the individual has been neglected in our country and it should be directed toward a true appreciation of the value of money. In more ways than one saving can make a man poorer and spending can make a person richer. The best investment that young people can make is in themselves. If the reader agrees, he should buy this book which is one of the most interesting and useful volumes on self-improvement.

J. M. DATTA

POEMS FROM INDIA : *By Members of the Forces. Chosen by R. N. Currey and R. V. Gibson. Oxford University Press. Pp. 94. Price Rs. 3.*

This anthology of verses includes entries for H. E. the Viceroy's first verse competition and other poems collected through private channels.

It represents a group of young but promising poets who were on active services in India, including a few Indian writers. Among the women writers Muriel Wasi displays a delicate sensibility in her *To India*, and Tara Ali Baig gives a touching description of the Bengal Famine.

The first effect of War on man is not poetry. Yet one must agree with the writers of the Preface that poets today require poetry to do far more for them than their grandfather did. The urge for poetry is undeniable and in this volume, it has called forth a varied and delicate harvest from these hardy men of the war. The tender nostalgia from an alien field, the simple, the natural and human interest in the expressions of beauty, and above all, the undying human heart, "aching for the immense and tremulous coming of dawn's light," (Stuart Piggot),—these refuse to be crushed by war, and live unvanquished on the pages of this book. To Keith Watson "the gates of heaven are but the cliffs

of Dover." To Barry Amiel death is a matter of mathematics. Alun Lewis sings beautifully, in the manner of Hardy, of the peasants outwatching the course of history. Paul Widdows' Minutiae are beautiful little moth-like things. H. E. the Viceroy contributes a nice little poem to this volume. Clive Branson, of *British Soldier in India* fame, contributes an interesting verse. and I. N. Bartley's *The Sickle Moon*, based upon the Bengali of Bishnu De, deserves mention.

According to the writers of the Preface "the book aims at increasing understanding between British and Indian." It would however be difficult to say that it has completely succeeded in this particular mission. For, the poets, except a few of them, do not give any evidence of an appreciation of India's traditions, her political ills and aspirations. Writing physically in India, the poets are mentally far away from her deeper existence. That however does not take away from its sheer poetic merit which deserves to be appreciated. The volume offers a rich banquet, and while Brooke and Owen relive in many of the poems, it explores far other sentiments than only the "pity and horrors of War."

THE CRIMSON THORN : *By John Gasworth. Published by Susil Gupta, 1 Wellesley Street, Calcutta. Pages 64. Price Rs. 3.*

The essence of poetry is timeless. Poets are our contemporaries, because they are extra-contemporaneous, they are super-temporal singers of unchanging values. The essential world of poetry has made a resplendent appearance in the poems of Mr Gasworth, of which the present volume is a representative collection. Mr. Gasworth has already acquired an outstanding position in English poetry, and these poems, representing as he himself says, his "preliminary efforts," can claim a delicate mastery of art. The poems centre round the age-old theme of love but are rendered reviviscent with refreshing varieties of experience.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

INDIA SPEAKS—Inauguration Volume, May 1946 : *Edited by Krishna Hutheesingh and Amyo Chakravarty. Published by A. Banerjee, 2 Commercial Buildings, Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.*

The ninety pages of this volume are replete with poems, short stories and articles from the pens of the best writers and thought-leaders of the land. Among its contributors are such great names as Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, Abanindranath Tagore, C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, C. Rajagopalachari, Saratchandra Chatterji, Pramatha Chaudhury, Indira Debi Chaudhurani, G. L. Mehta, K. T. Shah, Yusuf Meherally, M. R. Masani, Annada Sankar Ray, Asoka Mehta and others. Saratchandra's unique story "Mahesh" has been rendered into English by John D. Burtt. Pramatha Chaudhuri's "Binabai," one of a remarkable series of Ghosal stories, is a brilliant piece of fantasy. In his article entitled "The International Mind" Amiya Chakravarty gives us a survey of Rabindranath's educational work. In her notes Krishna Hatheesing observes, "India has contributed much to the civilization of the world and she will continue to do so even in the future. India speaks for freedom and peace." The editors of the journal are to be congratulated upon their success in securing the co-operation of a host of able litterateurs. The printing and get-up are excellent.

S. L.

LIFE BEYOND DEATH : *Pp. 292. Price Rs. 6-8.*
OUR RELATION TO THE ABSOLUTE : *Pp. 208. Price Rs. 6.*

Both these books are from the pen of Swami Abhedananda and published by Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19-B, Raja Raj Krishna Street, Calcutta. Both the books treat of subjects, which, though not exactly identical, are closely allied and, therefore, permit a joint review.

We shall first of all point out some of the defects of the publications for which the publishers, and not the author, are responsible. The spirit of advertisement rampant in the books, is somewhat distasteful to us. A list of distinguished men with whom the author was acquainted during his life, is irrelevant to the valuation of his work as author. And newspaper reports of his speeches and his movements appear rather undignified in books of this kind.

There are many Sanskrit quotations in Roman character in the books. But diacritical marks have been seldom used and the international system of transliteration also has not been followed. This makes them difficult reading.

Use of hyperboles is of tactical advantage in public oratory but somewhat out of place in sober writing. In *Life Beyond Death* (p. 48 ; *cf.* also p. 63), our author says, "The question what becomes of the human soul after death is as old as the first appearance of man on earth." Did the first man really ask this question as soon as the ape-mother brought him into existence? It is an ancient question no doubt, but certainly not as old as man himself. Again, on page 64, we have "Motion produces nothing but motion." Is not this a somewhat loose statement? In *Our Relation to the Absolute* (p. 15), we have : "True psychology has not been taught in the West. It has been taught in the East." It is self-laudation, but is it correct? We should not expect such statements from our learned author.

Ignoring these and similar small defects some at any rate of which the publishers could have easily avoided, the books before us can be regarded as presenting interesting reading. We have a happy combination of the preacher and the philosopher in the author ; and his reputation is a guarantee of the worth of his work. The conclusions of the books have been arrived at by sober philosophy and preached with the ardour and eloquence of one who believes in them. Let us add that the philosophy in these books is mingled with accounts of clair-voyance and clair-audience, telepathy, television and tele-kinesis and ordinary hypnotism and higher spiritualism and mediumship. By some this will certainly be regarded as an added lustre to the ratiocinations of the books.

The printing and get-up leave little to be desired

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY : *By Sitanath Tattvabhusan. Published by the Brahmo Mission Press, 211, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 127. Price eight annas.*

Pandit Sitanath was a veteran missionary of the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, an outstanding scholar of Vedanta and a popular author of a number of religious books in English and Bengali. The interesting story of his long life, extending for about nine decades, is told by himself in the 26 short, simple chapters of this book. His autobiography reads like a drama, and is, in a sense, a chapter of the eventful history of the great Brahmo movement. He was the dynamic philosopher of the Brahmo Samaj and his treatise on the Philosophy of Brahmoism is a masterly work on Indian theism.

The twelfth chapter of the book, under review, is especially instructive. In this chapter, entitled "Brahmaism and Vedantism," the author gives out his mature experiences. Therein he says that Brahmaism is not different from the Brahmavada of the Upanishads. "The Brahmavada of the principal Upanishads," aptly observes the author, "which constitutes the Vedanta in a primary sense, is fundamentally identical with what I understand and accept as Brahmaism . . . Maharshi Devendranath made a mistake, in the period of his ascendency of the Brahmo Samaj, in discarding Vedantism, which was up to that time, recognised as the religion of the

Brahmo Samaj . . . Raja Ram Mohan professed and preached Vedantism. His Vedantism consisted in the acceptance of the fundamental teachings of the Upanishads" (pp. 105). The thoughtful author rightly believes that the discarding of Vedantism by the Brahmo Samaj under the Maharshi was a great mistake, one which has, in his opinion, done and is doing a great deal of harm to the Brahmo Samaj. "It had led," he remarks, "to a neglect, on the part of the Brahmos, of our ancient scriptures and was thus discouraging scholarship and causing spiritual sterility. It had also created an unnecessary gulf between the old and new society, leading many Brahmos to call themselves non-Hindus and cease from taking a just pride in the glorious literary and the spiritual achievements of the Hindu race" (p. 106).

What he believed, Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhusan practised and preached. He confesses that a part of his life work was to popularise the chief works of Vedantism by way of cheap editions, lucid expositions and annotated translations in English and Bengali. The prophetic observations of this great Brahmo thinker, made at the close of his missionary career of about sixty years, should be received by the members of the Brahmo Samaj as sincere and sound warnings.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

WOMEN AND SOCIETY IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES: *By Mr. K. C. Banerjee. Published by the author from Garia, 24-Parganas. Pages 102. Price Rs. 2.*

The author of this book is a world-tourist, who returned to his country just before the second world war began. He started only with a few rupees in his pocket and went round the world and returned with a wealth of experience and first-hand knowledge about men and things which his countrymen very much appreciated as the popularity of books published by him in English and in Bengali shows. In the present book, the author writes about the women of Japan, China, Burma, Indonesia, Persia, and Near East. Although everything Japanese is now decried, the author has everything good for Japanese women. Although modern in every sense, the Japanese woman is true to her national culture and ancient civilization. Although of the same Mongolian stock the Chinese woman is quite unlike her Japanese sister. She is more like her Indian sister in manners, modesty and conservatism. Burma gives a different picture altogether. Here is the truest woman of the world—of the East and the West taken together. In Burma men depend upon women, and not vise versa as everywhere else. The women of Malay, Java, Bali and other East Indian Islands are Indians in a new garb. The women of Iran and Turkey are no longer oriental but western in every sense, thanks to Bahai movement and Reza Shah in the former and Kamal Pasha in the latter country.

Freedom and progress of women mean progress of the country concerned. It is no longer tenable that freedom means moral degradation of the fair sex. Women are women in every country as sisters, wives and mothers of the nation and in their progress, lies the progress of mankind. This is the lesson our author has drawn from his travel experience and we fully agree with him.

A. B. DATTA

BENGALI

GO-DAN: *Prem Chand. Translated by Sri Priyaranjan Sen and Sri Swarnaprabha Sen. Saraswati Press, Benares. Price Rs. 6-8.*

It is high time that Indians should get rid of their provincial narrowness. Efforts are being made through social and political work to bring us closer to one another. But few of us still realise what a tremendous force literature can exert towards the achievement of that ideal. The people of India from one end to the other are nourished by the same tradition, saturated with the same ideals and living under the same social conditions. Only ignorance keeps them apart. The literary works of our master-minds have revealed to us our profound kinship and inspired us with a new vision. In the portrayal of our present-day social life, there is no one to compare with Prem Chand in Hindi literature. Critics have often compared him to Bankim and Sarat Chandra. By rendering this exceptional novel of peasant-life into Bengali, the translators have not only enriched our language but done a real national service.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

MAHANAGARI: *By Rampada Mukherji. General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dharamtola Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

The novel has been named *Mahanagari*, because the story is set in the background of the Great City, the capital city of Calcutta, which is always full of colour and life with its wide streets resounding with the ever-busy roar of traffic, with its gaudy array of palaces and parks, with its dazzling cinemas and restaurants, with its multifarious clubs and associations and with its many-sided activities dealing with the various problems of life ever changing with the course of events of the world. How this colourful and kaleidoscopic life of the great city reacted upon Supriya, a young man coming fresh from his native village to earn his livelihood in the great city, forms the subject-matter of the novel.

Supriya, the hero of the novel, though born and bred in a village and educated in a moffusil town, is a talented young man with literary aptitudes and poetic susceptibilities. He finds himself ingrafted in the capacity of a private tutor in the wealthy and aristocratic family of Nitish Das, who, though born in affluence, has devoted his life to the cause of his motherland by being an active member of the Congress and other national institutions. His youngest son Smarajit and granddaughter Ila have got a circle of friends, Reba, Rini, Anu, Ranjit and others who have their rendezvous both in the residence of Nitish Babu in North Calcutta and in the palatial quarters of Mr. Ranjit in Ballygunge, the well-known quarter in South Calcutta of fashionable and aristocratic society enjoying freely the superfluous amenities of life.

The story is full of charming episodes and brilliant dialogues and the copious but complex life of the great city is portrayed with an admirable skill. Supriya in the end is engaged to Anu, a modest and fair girl, while Smarajit and Reba are a romantic and interesting pair who, however, meet a tragic end for the service of the motherland.

The author has in this novel omitted to look upon the dark side of the great city. He has ostensibly shut his eyes to the dreary and cheerless life of deprivation led by the lower-middle class and the proletariat, which he has reserved for his numerous stories appearing in periodicals. This appears to be both the strength and the weakness of this masterpiece of a novel, which is otherwise a finished work of literary excellence.

B. K. SEAL

KRISHAK ANDOLAN O MADHYABITTA: *By Sushil Kumar Basu. Published by S. K. Mitra, Panjia, Jessore. Pages 86. Price twelve annas.*

This is a book in which the writer advocates the immediate abolition of the Permanent Settlement in Bengal but it is not clear whether he wants it with or without compensation to the zemindars. He wants ownership of land for the tillers of the soil. He expects that industries will revive after the abolition of the

present zemindary system as its abolition will set free a huge amount of capital for investment in industries. The author is a believer in large-scale state industries, but it is not easy to follow him when he wants to do away with the middle class hold of the current Indian politics and economy. According to him, the middle class, particularly the lower middle class is helping the capitalists and the zemindars in the matter of their exploitation of the lower classes and workers. But he forgets that the middle classes are exploited as well by the capitalists. His advocacy for the cause of the down-trodden toilers of the soil is deserving of serious attention by authorities of the country who controls the public opinion and the state for the simple reason that the progress of the country means the uplift of rural India. The solution lies in India determining her own destiny.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

SADHANA KE PATH PAR: *By Haribhau Upadhyaya, Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 237. Price Rs. 3.*

MANAN: *By Haribhau Upadhyaya. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 113. Price Re. 1-4.*

VISHVA KI VIBHUTIAN: *By Haribhau Upadhyaya and Chandragupta Varshaneya. Hindi Mandir, Allahabad. Pp. 149. Price Re. 1-8.*

The first is an unusual sort of an autobiography. It is a record of a number of experiences and events to which the writer has reacted in the spirit of an earnest adherent of the ideal of non-violence in thought, word and deed. It is marked by rare honesty and humanity, something similar to those which have characterized Gandhiji's classic story of his own life. And if, as they say, one ounce of eloquent actuality is more than a hundredweight of hair-splitting theory, then Shri Haribhau Upadhyaya's life is bound to be a convincing sermon on the sovereign human virtue of love and its sure ultimate victory under all circumstances. *Sadhana Ke Path Par*, thus, will be a source of abiding inspiration.

Manan is a miscellany of Shri Upadhyaya's meditations on the True, the Good and the Beautiful, the Inner Light and such other outstanding values and verities of life. They are pin-points of profound philosophical reflections.

The third book, *Vishva Ki Vibhutian*, is a collection of sixteen sketches of the world's great prophets and poets and philosophers, and singers and scientists, of past as well as present, of both East and West, like Gandhiji, Joan of Arc, Socrates, Rabindranath, Edison and Jagadish Chandra Bose. The publication is primarily intended for the students of schools so that they may be imbued with an attitude of obeisance to those who have achieved greatness in any of the many fields of human idealism and endeavour.

G. M.

MARATHI

JATYAVARCHYA OVYAN: *By S. L. Karandikar, M.L.A. Published by Mrs. Sita Karandikar, 399/1 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2. Price Re. 1-8.*

This booklet comprises of 17 skits written by Mr. S. L. Karandikar as Editor of *Trikal*, whenever he felt the necessity or urge for writing something spicy and humorous. Some of these skits remind one of the master of Marathi sarcasm, irony and banter, the late Prof. S. M. Paranjpye. All of them have one or other moral, implicit in them, by reason of the treatment given to the subject-matter of his short essays by Mr. Karandikar. His earlier works, *viz.*, biographies of Savarkar and Tilak, as well as "The Menace of Pakistan" were quite serious and well documented. Those who know their Karandikar from only such works will be agreeably surprised to discover the hidden talent of Mr. Karandikar for grim, sometimes sardonic humour.

T. V. Parvate

GUJARATI

RANG TARANG, Part V: *By Jyotindra N. Dave, M.A. Printed at the Gandiva Press, Surat. 1944. Paper-bound. Pp. 158. Price Re. 1-4.*

Jyotindra Dave, at present oriental translator to the Government of Bombay, is spare of body, thin to the extreme of spindleshanks. No one would suspect that this spare body and unproportionably big head carries within it the quintessence of wit and humour, both at his desk and on the platform. He has been awarded a Gold Medal for this, his singular characteristic, always in demand in Gujarati. His study of the subject, *i.e.*, Hasya-rasa is deep and intimate. This collection of thirty pieces would provoke laughter in any man, quiet, not side-splitting. Dave can make others laugh, himself remaining silent, solemn, quiet, even glum. He has written largely in this vein and is still at it. We welcome all his efforts as attempts to relieve the dullness and drabness of our lives and literature.

GRAM CHITRO: *By Ishwar Petalikar. Printed at the Charotar Printing Press, Anand. 1944. Cloth-bound. Pp. 187 + 14. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Each village has its headman, saucar, sweeper, carpenter, school-master and various other functionaries and characters. As to what sort of persons they are, and as to how they carry out their duties and fulfil their functions, is set out in this delightful little book of *vignettes* with a realistic touch by the young author. We have nothing but admiration for the pen of this rising writer.

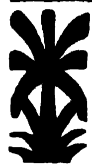
RAS RAMANAM: *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Paper cover, pp. 93. Price Re. 1-4.*

This first part of a collection of 59 Ras (Lyrics and Lovesongs), bearing on Krishna Jivan (21), Rama Jivan (7), Beautiful scenes of Nature (5), Erotics (9), Life of women villagers (6), Pangs of separation in case of a Beloved (6), Virrasa (epics) (2), Life of Children (1), Home Life (1), and relating to the Life of the Poet Prince Kalapi, into whose footsteps Raj Hans has stepped. The variety of subjects related by the writer is arresting and he has done equal justice to all, in a style which tolerably correctly follows the vogue in which such songs are written. He has fully entered into the spirit of this branch of Gujarati poetry.

RUP LALSA: *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1943. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 202. Price Rs. 3.*

In this story the author depicts events which remind one of the eternal triangle between the four main characters, Shodhan and Rajendra, Sharda and Lata. Interesting complex situations arise, which test the standard of the morality of each of them. Lata in order to placate him whom she loves is prepared to remain unmarried for her whole life, while Sharda although wedded to the ideal of a Sati, suffers a moral lapse. These complexities are woven into an attractive whole and very well serve to show the Red Lamp which means thus far and no further.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



First Thoughts of India

Dunis Gray Stoll writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

My first contact with India was, in the neat Bengali phrase, *mone mone* (through the mind). Necessarily it was based on second-hand knowledge through books and personal intuition. But it was a genuine experience that set me vibrating within, revealing much to me of a great people and a great country.

Before I came to India, my reading and the many good Indian friends I had made in England, had shown me a vigorous pattern of life, a culture warm and fertile with the genius of the human spirit and Mother Earth. It was a society very acceptable to me though different from my own.

Early this year I arrived in Bengal to see this pattern of the mind take shape in fact, turning in living facets of humanity like a variegated kaleidoscope. Ever since my five senses have been busy confirming and correcting preconceived ideas. Much of Bengal has come to meet me like an old friend ; but there are other things, of course, that have proved unexpected and strange.

The villages are exactly as I had imagined them Clusters of fan-spread palms, scarlet splashed simul trees and dark shady pools. Little bamboo, mud, matting and thatch homes rising from the soil, hidden within each a peasant woman's busy world of family, kitchens and motherhood. Every village has its problems of growth out of a primitive life of pitiful frugality. Yet every village is potentially rich, with its heritage of cultural simplicity to treasure with pride, with its power to conjure its sustenance from the earth. The peasant stock of Bengal has proved again and again its admirable capacity to endure reverses with patient gentleness. They have stubborn strength like the persistent drone of Indian sunlight. They are the meek who will one day inherit their own earth.

On my second day in Bengal, by a happy chance, I was privileged to meet Mahatma Gandhi. This gave me a definite introduction to India. One has to open a conversation with a nation somewhere, and I was indeed fortunate to begin with a revered figure so close to the people's heart. Later on, I looked forward to meeting other leaders of thought, representing the many varied aspects of their country's aspirations.

With thousands of reverent humble people in a mood of quietness, I joined Gandhiji's prayer meeting at Sodepur. Our voices rose and fell to the lilt of the Bhajan responses, pulsing with beautiful and simple expressions of faith, accompanied by the rhythmic purl of instruments and clapping of hands. It seemed to me that the congregation was united in the corporate feeling of human souls together, sons and diughters of Mother India reaching out their hands in worship of the World Mother.

Gandhiji impressed me as a true peasant son, his feet firmly planted on the earth's immediate issues, his eyes fixed on the ideal and distant stars of God. His sensitive and expressive eyes beamed on me through his steel-rimmed spectacles glistening in the sun.

He opened our conversation with the shrewd good-humoured comment : "I hear you are a lover of peace. Of course, there are pacifists *and* pacifists."

His concise English was clear and straight to the point. He struck me as being purposeful in argument, his mind steady on its course like the needle of a compass.

A worldwide reputation for saintliness has not prevented him from being more practical and sensible than most politicians. He has a perfect focus of what is wrong with India's 700 000 villages, and advocates co-operative schemes for restoring them to health. He recognises that peasants are the roots and sap of the country. Unhealthy roots produce poor crops.

Obviously the god of mass-production has not persuaded him to bow down to the dialectical dogmas of a swift Industrial Revolution. Gandhiji has the modesty to learn from the mistakes as well as the successes of the West. Almost alone among the paper planners for India's future he has faced up to the fact that food cannot be grown in tins. A city factory may turn out millions of tin cans a day, but the cans will go empty if the village dies of neglect.

Gandhiji believes that the preservation of village India is a spiritual as well as an economic necessity. The big industrialised city unit drains the country of of its rivers of peace and everyday stability. The peasant, compelled by poverty to work in a slum area, is a restless and unsatisfied man. He is lost in the teeming chaos of an alien urban environment. He is helpless in the festering squalor which facile imitation of some less desirable aspects of the Industrial Revolution has imposed upon him. He turns in despair to vulgar artificialities and ways of life that are substitutes for his real spiritual back-ground and social traditions.

Through the pitiful darkness of the city slum, the rustic common sense of Mahatma Gandhi's message shines like clear sharp stars.

I am not one of those who credit Gandhiji with a monopoly of God's truth and wisdom. But I do think that he is a shrewd far-sighted patriotic son of India His conception of the country's agriculturists and craftsmen progressively adopting machinery at a pace strictly conditioned by the basic needs of the home consumer is highly sane. He is all for self-sufficiency and putting first things first. He would provide the Indian housewife with necessities before luxuries, with good clothes and food for her family before lipsticks

and outings to the cinema. She would have electric light and cookers in the kitchen, if Gandhiji had his way, long before a car appeared in the garage.

Gandhism and science are popularly misrepresented as being incompatible. As I see it, the reverse is the case. I would go so far as to suggest that neither can survive without the other. The main difference between Gandhism and science is a matter of stress on essentials and emphasis on values.

"Machinery has its place," the Mahatma declared. "It has come to stay."

One of the most curious and unexpected things that have struck me about India, is that it is not the saint who refuses to meet the great man of science half way, but the great man of science who refuses to meet the saint. A leading Indian scientist told me: "Gandhi's ideas are all bunk." Some of their clashes of opinion are quaintly paradoxical. For instance, the Mahatma advocates the spreading of India's crafts and industries widely over the land, because this policy seems to him conducive of social happiness and health. The scientist, on the other hand, favours the concentration of industry in large city areas. This appears to me a suicidal policy in an age menaced by atomic bombs. Again the saint is surely the more practical man?

It has been a shock to find modern Indian scientists taking the dust off the feet of the Swami called *What was good enough for Europe yesterday, is good enough for India tomorrow*. I envisage India tomorrow as a country not content blindly to copy the past, whether of East or West. I see old Mother India as a peasant mother in Renaissance, a country rooted in her own mature traditions, but spilling over with youth's life and fresh ideas. It is in this faith that I am continuing my conversation with India, passing on from my first thoughts to wider revealment, I trust, and deeper understanding.

Retrograde Outlook

The New Review observes:

In our view what is most unsatisfactory in the constitution recommended by the Cabinet Mission is that it is at best accommodated to medieval conditions of life. Space-time relations have so altered, solidarity has become so complex and binding, scientific progress is so rapid that modern economies have to be on a scale which was unthinkable in former ages. As we have repeated time and again, the only countries of sufficient dimensions to allow full play to solidarity and progress are the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., and, under certain reserves, the British Empire. In other words, centralisation has become so necessary and at the same time so easy that most departments of public life must cover the national territory, and the larger the territory, the more efficient and beneficent centralization becomes. It is only in the matter of personal development and individual life that local autonomy does justice to civic requirements.

Only befogged medievalists can contemplate that currency, customs, tariffs, etc., be not attributed to the central administration of future India. The Bengal Famine of 1943 and the present scarcity should have shown that even so individualist a profession as farming profits by national solidarity. The retrograde outlook and the illogism of the Union plan are equally apparent in the matter of residuary powers. The Congress itself has on that point regrettably renounced the views of C. R. Das and seems to take it for granted, as all other parties to the proposals do, that, after a few subjects have been reserved for the centre, all remaining powers should be best left with the provinces. Such a measure is a rash challenge to the accelerated tempo of India's industrial, commercial and social life and is a gamble on the future. Where is the logic of centralising communications, (including bicycle-paths and bullockcart-roads), and leaving to the provinces 'residues' like television, industrial atomic power, and the unsuspected scientific inventions and discoveries of the coming decades?

Measured in the life-dimensions of the present day, India is a middle-size overcrowded land which can hardly live and progress unless mass-welfare is secured on a national scale, and its cultures are so many and so varied that they demand a large measure of autonomy. The principle that should command the distribution of powers between centre and provinces should be: one national economy and several autonomous cultures.

Pakistan Showing Through

The same *Review* observes:

Lord Pethick Lawrence called the White Paper, 'not an award but a recommendation.' Yet on two leading points it is distinctly an award: the composition of the Constituent Assembly, and the unity of India. Pakistan (whether the large-size variety with its two areas, in the north-west and the north-east, or the small-size type with its three districts, north, north-west, and north-east) was definitely rejected. It offered no acceptable solution; it failed to give protection and security to the Muslim minorities in Hindu majority regions or to Hindu minorities in Muslim majority districts. Moreover administrative, economic, and military considerations ruled it out. Transportation, postal and telegraph systems would be disintegrated; the Indian armed forces would have to be broken into two with a consequent loss of efficiency for national defence, and in any case strategy demanded a deeper hinterland than Pakistan could possibly provide. Finally, the Indian

States would feel little inclined to join a divided India, and a Pakistan State made of provinces seven hundred miles apart with its essential communications across the Hindu State would be no attractive or even workable proposition.

Consequently, and here is a sample of political artistry, Pakistan which was unthinkable on the international plane, was calked down on a national plane. Within the Union of India, in charge of a minimum number of national interests, there was envisaged the formation of three 'Groups' of provinces. These groups correspond to the three Sections which will separately discuss their regional structure before they coalesce with the States Section to form the All-India Constituent Assembly, and which will be elected by the provincial Assemblies on a communal basis. Section A comprizing Madras, Bombay, the United Provinces, Bihar, the Central Provinces and Orissa, will have 167 non-Muslim and 20 Muslim representatives. Section B (the North-West Frontier Province, Punjab and Sind) will number 22 Muslims, 4 Sikhs and 9 non-Muslim non-Sikhs. Section C (Bengal and Assam) will have 36 Muslim and 34 non-Muslim representatives.

From the text of the White Paper and Lord Pethick Lawrence's explanation, these sections (Hindustan, Pakistan A and Pakistan B) would be empowered to frame the constitution of each of their provinces. Such a provision ill accords with the 'residuary powers' left to each province; the Premiers of Hindu Assam and Muhammedan N-W. Frontier province have protested and the Congress has taken up their case.

There are many other posers arising out of the White Paper. The Cabinet Mission could not and had not to foresee every possible loophole. Their sincerity and their perseverance have been duly appreciated by all parties. But their political structure, a weak Centre, three Groups potentially strong and mediatized Provinces, looks like a futuristic picture drawn in an obsession for a compromise between the major communities.

The Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri

In an article in *The Indian Review* G. A. Natesan pays tributes to the memory of Srinivasa Sastri. In the concluding portion of his article he observes :

Sastri was essentially a man of courage. The story is told and we have it on the authority of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayaya who wrote about it in his *Janmabhumi*, that on the Poona railway station platform years ago, as they were returning from a Congress Session, a number of people were squatting, some lying with their luggage, waiting for the train to arrive. Two or three soldiers were strolling up and down. Sastri found one of them kicking an Indian who was sleeping, using his luggage as his pillow. Sastri's rage knew no bounds ; he rushed up and accosted the soldier with words like these : "You scoundrel, how dare you kick that poor Indian ?" The soldier was dumb-founded, and his comrades quietly pulled him away from the scene.

In all his public career, Mr. Sastri displayed independence of a high order. His speeches were bold and pointed. In exposing the faults of the bureaucracy, he did not mince his words. Though he was often known as a Moderate, yet those who knew him intimately could say without contradiction that he was really an extremist at heart. If in the course of some of his great speeches and orations, he weighed his words and spoke with deliberate caution, it was due to the scrupulous care which he always took not to offend the susceptibilities of any one or in the slightest degree damage the cause which he had been asked to represent. He was ever bold, but never reckless in the use of his language. He could never stoop to play to the gallery.

No temptation would ever make him deviate from the path of duty. Here is another incident to which I can bear testimony, and that happened in Lord Chelmsford's regime :

The story of the Jallianwallah Bagh massacre and the atrocities of the Martial Law Administration in those days had plunged the whole country into deep indignation. And so at the Amritsar Session of the Indian National Congress a resolution for the recall of Lord Chelmsford had been tabled. On his way to Amritsar, at one of the railway stations near it, Mr. Sastri found an important member of the Viceroy's Council entering his compartment ; and in the course of conversation, the visitor suggested and later implored Mr. Sastri to raise his powerful voice against the contemplated censure on Lord Chelmsford. But Mr. Sastri had only one answer to give, and that was "No." It is well-known that on account of this refusal, Mr. Sastri was passed over when a vacancy next occurred in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

Indeed it is the way with the foreign bureaucracy to pass over patriotic men who cannot easily fit into their scheme of things.

At the First Round Table Conference held in London, Sastri expressed himself strongly in favour of giving India what was long overdue—Home Rule, full Dominion Status. It is wellknown that he advocated the right of secession also. Mr. Churchill in his great campaign against India addressing his party meetings mentioned this as one of the grounds for opposing Home Rule to India.

Sir Samuel Hoare who felt that Sastri had been so troublesome to him would not think of having him again for the subsequent Round Table Conference. The reason publicly given was solicitude for Sastri's health. But everybody knew, it was merely an attempt to eliminate inconvenient men. About the same time the Presidentship of the Council of State was offered to him, which he had no hesitation in declining.

During the last two years Mr. Sastri was agitated over the question of Pakistan, and he wrote and spoke strongly against any attempt to break up the fundamental unity of India. He did not like C. R.'s scheme to appease Mr. Jinnah and the intransigents and he made no secret of his attitude. Nor did he approve of Gandhiji's agreement with C.R.'s proposal. He took a definite stand against disruption of the country in any fashion. But Sastri was habitually tolerant, and though he differed from Mr. Rajagopalachariar on the point he expressed his conviction that C.R. should be brought back as the leader of the Province.

Sastri was indeed so consumed with thoughts of the country and so anxious about its future that one could say that even during his prolonged illness, he was ever musing by day and dreaming by night of the freedom of India and its unity.

I should like in conclusion to stress what I consider the essential greatness of the man from my long and close friendship with him. His spirit of independence and his desire to act up to his convictions, in spite of protests and entreaties even from those near and dear to him have been the outstanding features of Mr. Sastri's life. Mr. Sastri never hesitated to give expression to what he felt as the right thing to do even on occasions when public feeling ran high and passions were roused to an undesirable degree.

We do not often come across in our public life many men of Mr. Sastri's calibre so sincere and upright. He leaves behind him, as Trevelyan said of Macaulay, "a great and honourable name and the memory of a life every action of which was as clear and transparent as his own sentences."

The Ancient Wisdom

The Theosophist writes editorially :

The three words, so significant to all Theosophists, "The Ancient Wisdom," suddenly appeared lately one morning in England as the title of a leading article in the London *Times*. Little wonder that one at once read the leader to know what miracle had happened in insular Britain. The miracle was, however, very simple. The forty-fifth President of the Classical Association gave an address, once more emphasizing the value to the modern mind of an acquaintance with the leading minds of Greece and Rome.

It is true that a good acquaintance with "classical" thought does help to clear one's mind from the fog created by the modern novel, the detective story and the cinema. All this, however, is an academic discussion. But the important fact is that the *Times*, the best representative of the best British mentality, never dreamt that there are other civilizations than Greece and Rome that have the "Ancient Wisdom." Two older civilizations, far older than either Greece and Rome, are completely ignored, as if they just did not exist for England. They are India and China.

In this ignoring the value of Oriental thought, British universities, and I presume on the whole American universities, are unique. They are unique because there have been European minds which have tried to incorporate into their philosophy what other countries, especially India, had to give. When over a century ago the first German translation of a few of the Upanishads fell into the hands of Schopenhauer, whose influence is profound on Western philosophical thinkers, he wrote as follows in his *Parerga* II :

"From every sentence deep, original and sublime thoughts arise, and the whole is pervaded by a high and holy and earnest spirit. Indian air surrounds us, and original thoughts of kindred spirits. And oh, how thoroughly is the mind here washed clean of all early engrafted Jewish superstitions, and of all philosophy that cringes before those superstitions! In the whole world there is no study, except that of the originals, so beneficial and so elevating as that of the Upanishads. It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death!"

There fell into Goethe's hands a German translation of Kalidasa's famous drama *Sakuntala*. (It has lately been atrociously vulgarized in an Indian film). But this is what Goethe wrote in 1787 :

"How often has the cursory reading of a book, which irresistibly carries one with it, exercised the greatest influence on a man's whole life, and produced at once a decisive effort, which neither a second perusal nor earnest reflection can either strengthen or modify. This I experienced in the case of *Sakuntala* ; and do not great men affect us somewhat in the same way?"

More famous still is Goethe's verse in four lines about Sakuntala, thus translated by E. B. Eastwick :

Would'st thou the young year's blossoms, and the fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed,
Would'st thou the earth and heaven itself in one sole name combine?
I name thee, O Sakuntala, and all at once is said.

What of China—of Confucius and Lao-Tze? When a civilization has persisted, strong and rooted in its soil in spite of every calamity, flood, famine and invasion, for four thousand years, and is "still there, going strong," is it not time to ask if there is not some "classical" quality that should be incorporated into the thinking of a modern man and woman who considers that he or she is a representative of the "best" thinking of the people? But who reads Confucius' *Analects* today or Lao-Tze's *Tao Teh King?* If ever there was a thinker who can give us the principles for which we are groping in the dark to define to us what is true 'Democracy,' it is Confucius, the man who threw open all careers to all, especially in municipal and provincial and central administration, by stating clearly what is a "gentleman." When one is the Confucian 'gentleman" he is fitted for all careers in the State, while retaining his own unbending integrity as a "gentleman."

And the "old Boy", Lao-Tze? How refreshing in these days when one has to fill up forms and be indexed and classified, to come across his saying : "You must govern a state as you cook a small fish ; don't overdo it." Certainly Greece greatly, and Rome in a minor manner, had the Ancient Wisdom ; but not less two older civilisations, India and China.

Proto-Historic Indian Pottery

Ancient pottery is always fascinating, and in a sense it is more so than even ancient sculpture or painting. P. Joseph observes in *The New Review*:

This is perhaps because pots are so much interwoven into the very life of a people that they are the most representative remains. Yet another reason, that may conduce to the fascination, is that pottery gives us an insignt into the artistic notions and the character of the makers.

The study of the pottery of several countries like Egypt and Mesopotamia, has been so thorough that it has become an almost exact science. In India conditions have not been so very favourable for want of materials. Nevertheless Indian ceramic study is interesting.

. The most ancient Indian pottery has been unearthed from the Indus valley.

The innumerable pieces, mostly broken, give us the impression that the Indus people did almost nothing else besides making pots. Such vast quantities can have only one meaning; that the people used mud pots almost to the exclusion of metal vases. The material was evidently the alluvium from the Indus banks, for we find many particles of sand in the pottery. Most of it was made on the wheel and fired in circular kilns possessing heating arrangements beneath a floor provided with flues. The superiority of technique is seen in the fact that almost all the vessels are very well baked.

First comes a class of pottery called bichrome.

Leaving out of consideration the miniature pots, less than half an inch in height, which have excited the admiration of all, we may take the larger ones. Speaking chronologically the most ancient kind of pottery discovered so far was thinly painted and called bichrome because decorated with two colours. The body itself is coated with a thin layer, called a slip, of a pale substance, probably ochre. It is finely polished with a burnisher, and this leaves a smooth surface. The pale pink or buff slip is painted in two colours, black or chocolate and red. The black or chocolate is used for the designs, which are purely geometric, and the red for thick horizontal bands to separate the registers containing the designs. Among the patterns may be easily recognized lozenges in row, either solid or filled in with hatches, chevrons, rectangles and sigmas. Three shapes are usually found among the pale ware; the straight-sided beaker, the hemispherical bowl and the squat pot, all of them rimless.

Following the above class comes a thick ware, called monochrome.

The body is invariably dark red, which is the shade of the slip of red ochre. On the red background are painted patterns in black. Most of the designs are still geometrical, but curvilinear rather than rectilinear. Together with geometrical patterns appear those of animals birds, and plants, which are true to naturalistic detail. The shape of the vessels are mostly different from those of the bichrome ware. They show many variations. Among the common types are pointed-bottom vases, high-footed dishes, tumblers with flat base, goblets, longish jars with flared mouth or narrow-mounted jars with a tapering stem. Most of the pots are rimmed.

Next to the monochrome ware is the plain red ware.

This ware contains the dark red slip we have already referred to. As a matter of fact, the monochrome and the plain wares are so similar in make and shapes that it seems the same people fabricated both.

A kind of bichrome ware seems to have been displaced by plain red pottery; but this two-coloured pottery is quite different from the earlier bichrome ware. The later ware introduces new types and is very coarse in make and design. While the earlier is wholly geometric in pattern, the later contains more plant forms. The geometric designs in the later pottery are extremely limited. All the painted motifs possess none of the fineness of execution seen in the earlier ware.

Finally appears a kind of black pottery with incised patterns.

Just like its immediate ancestor this ware too characterises an era of deterioration It would appear that the stages, marked by the last two kinds of pottery were in vogue in the declining days of the Indus civilization.

Besides these common types of ware, which we have described in chronological order, there are others. Some of them are stray ones, while others belong to a class, whose chronolgical position is not yet clear. The most characteristic of the stray ones is the kind of pot with knobs on its body. This knobbed pottery, not found in large numbers, has defied the ceramic experts as to its specific use. Another rare type of pot is cylinder-shaped with perforations all over the body. It seems to have been intended as a heater or brazier. One more uncommon kind of vessel is the one called 'Reserved slip' ware. Its technique consists in covering the whole pot with a thin fine slip, and then wiping it away partly so as to expose the body, thus making by contrast of colour and texture an unobstrusive but not ineffective ornament. The slip applied to this ware is as in most of Indus pottery, dark red.

The class of pottery, whose place is not yet fixed in the sequence is known as polychrome. It is so called because more than two colours are used. The usual slip is there, on which green or white is employed together with the red and black pigments. The decorations are mostly geometric in design; rarely are introduced animals and birds, (bull and peacock).

Pottery gives us an insight into the artistic notions and the character of the makers. Pottery embodies the artistic standards of a people.

From the purely geometric motifs on a certain kind of pots we can deduce that those who drew them were yet in a rudimentary stage. They certainly were adepts at painting inanimate objetcs, and were not yet confident at reproducing the dynamism of the animate world, say of animals. We observe the progress made in the pottery with animal designs. In this stage the painters felt they could rise confidently above the easy world of squares, triangles and circles to the more difficult one of bulls ibexes, fowls and peacocks. What is more, they could not only outline animals, but at the same time bring out the inner being of the animals. We find in the monochrome painted ware not merely illustrations that suggest the presence of bulls and ibexes. We do not merely feel that the animals are there; we actually see them. There is a very important point to note with regard to the artistic standards of the monochrome post-painters. They drew their animals giving them all the dynamism that a very thick brush could possibly impart. They showed what an ibex or a bull really was like. If we are to use a label we should say that their art was realistic.

This realistic standard of art seems to account for a trait in their character, which is in evidence in their pottery. Realism tended to make them practical. As time progressed they curtailed their practice of vase-painting. This is borne out by the fact that from the

use of two colours they went to the use of one. It is more clearly borne out by this that the shape of the monochrome ware and the plain one that followed it are absolutely alike. We are thus forced to the only conclusion that the vase-painters in a fit of utilitarianism seem to have decided to give up painting altogether in favour of plainness. It is true there was a revival of painting later on; but it was so degenerate and decadent that it only proves that painting vases did not accord well with the change in the nature of the people.

Cost of Planning

J. C. Kumarappa writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika* :

There have been ideas and blue prints as to how to organise the life of the people but there were two obstacles that kept the flood in check. The funds calculated to be essential to execute these nebulous schemes were so enormous that people were dubious as to whether such investments will make them richer or poorer, even granting that the fabulous capital could be found. The second difficulty was the lack of political power which would be needed to put through schemes of such magnitude.

With the dim light of the dawn of a National Government we may be pardoned for hoping that the second of these difficulties will vanish as the morning mist. Furthermore, if the schemes are such as to be within the capacity of the average citizen to execute them and if the wisdom of the plans is made so plain that the man in the street can comprehend it, they would not call for much Governmental backing to put them into practice. Therefore, one essential factor is that the plans should be simple and also inexpensive.

As regards the cost, plans that call for the investment of thousands of crores in a country, where getting one square meal a day is an achievement with the majority, are destined to be largely left on paper. If we wish to be practical, the cost must be capable of being distributed amongst the people in such small amounts as to fall within their meagre means. The conception itself should be such as to catch their imagination. If this can be done then the people's co-operation can be obtained without any coercion.

To adjust our schemes accordingly it is of the first importance to remember that ours is an agricultural country where over 70 per cent are occupied on the exploitation of the earth and an additional 18 per cent on industries connected with it. Hence it would be foolish to ignore this section of the public in our plans. Indeed, any plan worth the name, should start by planning the life of this section first. That means we have to initiate a systematic and an efficient production through a careful reorganisation of village industries.

In the nature of things, these will not call for much capital, and if the people concerned are convinced they would take to working the schemes on their own. Of course, certain functions of Government, ancillary to these occupations, such as irrigation, land and forest conservation, etc., will need funds but these would be modest in comparison with the demands of the schemes put forward to "Industrialise" the country.

In tackling this end first we would have arranged for the gainful occupation of nearly 90 per cent of the population without much difficulty. Having done that the Government may turn its attention to public utilities, key industries and communications. It ought not to be a herculean task to find the capital needed for this part of the work if the first step taken to arrange for the 90 per cent of the population had resulted in their increased productivity.

We trust that the Government that will now assume power will put first things first and go about their work in such a systematic manner as to reduce both the money cost and human cost of ushering in a planned economy.

The Co-operative Movement of China

Kuang-mien Lu, Director, North-West Headquarters, Chinese Industrial Co-operatives, writes a short historical sketch of the co-operative movement in China in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1946 :

According to the latest data, up to June, 1944, there were 173,328 co-operative societies in China, with a total membership of 15 191 823 and an accumulated share capital of CN $501,517,152. The co-operatives are roughly divided into four kinds—credit, consumers, marketing and producers. Many of our existing co-operatives are credit societies, about 50 per cent. These are then followed by marketing or agricultural societies, about 31 per cent, consumers' societies, about 11 per cent, and producers' societies, about 5 per cent.

The development of the co-operative movement in China is only a matter of twenty-five years. The first co-operative, the People's Co-operative and Savings Bank, was organized in Shanghai in 1919 by Professor Hsueh Hsien-Chow, together with a number of his colleagues and students of the Futan University. Professor Hsueh studied for many years in Germany and was much impressed with the German co-operative credit movement, which was started in Germany around the sixties of the nineteenth century, ten years after the Rochdale Pioneers, and later became a very strong movement spreading over cities and countryside. However, Professor Hsueh's Co-operative Bank in China was not able to last very long and closed with his death a few years later. Hsueh wrote many books and also published a paper called the *People's Weekly*, expounding co-operative principles and reporting co-operative achievements abroad. Though Professor Hsueh was not able to accomplish much himself, the co-operative seed was sown for later development and growth.

In 1924 farmers' co-operative credit societies were organized in Hopei, a Province of North China, with the help and direction of the China International Famine Relief Commission. The Commission is a combination of a number of relief organizations in North China which helped to tackle the most serious famine of 1920, resulting from drought for two succeeding years in the Provinces of Hopei, Shansi and Suiyuan. In 1921 there was a good harvest and the relief organizations joined together and formed a permanent relief body, the CIFRC, with the object of devising ways and means of preventing any further repetition of famines. One of the first steps taken by the new Commission was the promotion of the co-operative organization among the farmers. In granting small loans at a very low interest rate to the farmers for productive purposes through the co-operative credit societies the Commission was aiming on one side at freeing the farmers from the exploitation of the moneylenders and on the other side at re-equipping the farmers with the cattle, tools, seeds and fertilizers necessary for their farm work. The number of co-operative credit societies increased steadily after 1922 and by 1930 there were established altogether over 900 societies, mostly located in the Province of Hopei, with a total membership of 25,000.

Meanwhile co-operative organizations were spreading far and wide in Central China, principally in the two Provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang in the years after 1928, when the Nationalist Government was established in Nanking. Two farmers' banks were established in Kiangsu and Chekiang in 1929 with the sole object of financing the co-operative credit societies. In 1934, after five years of promotional work under the Provincial authorities of these two Provinces, over 3,000 societies came into being with a total membership of 90,000. Later a National Farmers' Bank was established, and co-operative works were extended to nearly all the Provinces under the National Government. In 1935 a National Co-operative Conference was called by the Executive Yuan, and resulted in the promulgation of the Co-operative Law. A Central Co-operative Bureau was established under the Ministry of Industry for the registration and promotion of the co-operative organizations throughout the whole country, with branch offices attached to the Provincial Governments. Later the Bureau was reorganized into the present Central Co-operative Administration and placed under the direction of another Ministry, the Ministry of Social Affairs.

A number of educational and social institutions, such as the Mass Education Movement, the University of Nanking, the Nankai Institute, the Rural College in Chefoo, the National Christian Council, the North China Farm Products Marketing and Research Committee, together with a number of private and commercial banks, were all taking an increasing interest in the promotion and financing of the co-operative movements. Some of them were making most valuable experiments, and were carrying on a great deal of educational work such as the training of co-operative students and organizers. So far the co-operative movement in China up to 1937 had not been able to extend further to any considerable extent beyond the scope of credit and agricultural marketing. The consumers' and producers' movements had not been able to take root in China until after the war started with Japan in 1937. They were only a growth of the last seven or eight years. The statistics in 1937 show that there were altogether 16,983 co-operatives of various kinds in the whole of China, and the total membership was well over two million.

During the last few years of war the co-operative movement in the occupied territories must have suffered greatly, but statistical data show that the war gave new impetus to the development of the co-operatives in China. A great number of consumers' co-operatives were established in the cities. They were attached mostly to Government offices and public organizations, and were entrusted sometimes by the Government with the distribution of controlled goods such as sugar, cloth, salt and various other articles. Many of these co-operatives were not real co-operatives owing to the fact that the members were usually not taking a very active part in the running of the co-operative businesses. The managements were often in charge of people directly appointed by the administrative heads of the organizations concerned. However, these co-operatives sometimes rendered very useful service to members in obtaining for them a fair share of daily necessaries at controlled prices, which otherwise would be rather difficult to get. Of course, there are exceptionally good and really democratically controlled consumers' societies such as the Sa Ping Pa Society in Chungking. They are, however, few in number, and the bulk of the consumers' movement in China reveals a general lack of understanding of co-operative principles.

Another line of co-operative achievement during the war was the organization of the Chinese Industrial Co-operatives. The Association for the Advancement of the Industrial Co-operatives was established in Hankow in 1938. It was a semi-governmental organization under the leadership of the chairman of the Executive Yuan

with four regional headquarters situated at strategical points at the various Provincial cities undertaking the promotion and financing of the industrial co-operatives. Owing to the shortage of all kinds of manufactured goods in the interior of China, and with the active participation of hundreds and thousands of refugee labour and skilled workers as the result of the evacuation of the coastal Provinces, the movement grew very rapidly during the first four years after 1938. According to the data of the CIC Association, the number of industrial co-operatives in 1942 was a little below 2,000, with a total membership of around 30,000. The actual number of industrial co-operatives must be more than this, as a great number of these industrial co-operatives were established spontaneously by the workers themselves following the examples of the workings of other co-operatives in the neighbourhood, and they were not necessarily receiving any financial help from the CIC Association. In 1944 there were well over 5,000 industrial co-operatives registered under the Ministry of Social Affairs. These industrial co-operatives have done a great deal during these years of war in the mobilization of all available man-power and natural resources manufacturing innumerable articles to meet civilian and military needs. The co-operatives were owned and run by the workers themselves, and they have been able to form a number of federations through which joint business and educational activities were carried on with very successful results. Indeed these industrial co-operatives have achieved something more than just helping the national cause. They have been able to demonstrate to the ordinary working-class people a new form of life by which they get practical lessons in the workings of democracy and learn to become masters of their own destiny.

Is America Fair to Islam ?

Under the above caption John Earle Uhler discusses the much-vexed problem of Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine in *The Catholic World*, February, 1946 :

The General Assembly of the United Nations has just convened to consider, among other serious problems, the Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine. President Truman has already expressed himself in favor of the Jews, thus throwing the influence of America to that side. In November he made public a letter he wrote on last August 31st to Prime Minister Attlee, in which he urged that 100.000 Jews be admitted to Palestine at once. In December, both the United States Senate and the House passed a resolution to the effect that the American government should use its good offices with Great Britain to permit unrestricted entry of Jews into Palestine for the purpose of establishing a national home.

These are the latest of the many such efforts made by American politicians in answer to England's White Paper of 1939. In this document London announced that immigration of Jews into Palestine would be banned after March 31, 1944. It stirred many Jews of America to make an appeal to the President of the United States—then Franklin D. Roosevelt According to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, the President agreed to intervene on behalf of the Jews (although later, after a conference with Ibn Saud, head of Saudi Arabia, he appeared to have grown cool to the project). On March 27, 1941, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency announced the establishment of the American Palestine Committee, with the purpose of preparing Palestine for "large-scale" Jewish immigration. It was a committee of no mean political influence. Senator Wagner accepted the chairmanship, saying that he was "looking forward to the day when the Jewish Commonwealth will take its rightful place among the free nations of a peaceful world."

So vigorously had the American government thus encouraged this movement that the Zionists have been heartened to make rugged statements about their plans. Doctor Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist emergency council, at a hearing of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, said, "The Jewish people must be permitted and helped to develop their homeland in Palestine in such a way as to be able to drain off, in a relatively short time, two or three million Jews from the crowded and economically tensioned centers of central and eastern Europe. Doctor Chaim Weizmann, the leading spirit of the Jewish Agency, wrote, "The Arabs must be clearly told that the Jews will be encouraged to settle in Palestine, where they will establish "a state of their own." He added, "If any Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish state, every facility will be given them to transfer to one of the many and vast Arab countries."

American sympathy with the movement headed by such able and fervent leaders as these was given impetus during the war by the persecution of the Jews at the hands of the Nazis. But the movement itself has an ancient origin. It goes back—dimly—to Moses, who led the "children of Israel' from their persecution in Egypt to the lend of their ancestry. This was the birth of a nation. After many vicissitudes, including, on the one hand, the construction of the first Temple at Jerusalem by David and Solomon, and, on the other hand, the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, many of them were again rescued to "the promised land" under the headship of Zorobabel. They began the reconstruction of the Temple, which had been destroyed by the Babylonians fifty years before. It again fell into ruins and was again restored, this time by Nehemias under Persian benevolence. Still another such cycle of decay opened, and was closed by Esdras, who revived the old glories of the Temple. Then began the domination of the West Under Hellenic rule, the dispersion of the Jews was expanded. Antiochus Epiphanes, a political off-shoot of Alexander the Great, was partly responsible. He set up a statue of Jupiter in the Temple, commanded the sacrifice of swine on the altar, destroyed the sacred books, and drove the faithful to the mountains. And yet again the Jews fought their way back under the leadership of the Machabees, who cleansed the temple and guided their people, until the invasions of the Romans These new enemies killed thousands of Jews and sold other thousands into slavery. They plundered the Temple, but still once more a chief arose from Zion—Herod the Great—who conciliated the Romans, was made king, and rebuilt the Temple into a magnificent structure Then came the crash of the finale The Jews rebelled against the Romans and were defeated Jerusalem fell The Temple was destroyed, A.D 70

The Jewish state vanished and has never again been restored. Soon afterward, Jews were forbidden even to enter the Holy City. Then, almost two thousand years passed, and there were only fifty thousand Jews in all of Palestine.

During these two millenniums, however, the dream of a Jewish state remained vivid. In the early centuries of the Christian era, the Talmud was completed. It has no immediate bearing on a political state of the kind now being contemplated, but it gave to the scattered Jews a common point of contact. With the Old Testament, it was their spiritual capital and emphasized the antiquity of their traditions. For about a thousand years of the Christian era, they even had an Exilarch—Prince of the Exiles—the glories of whose office are described by Disraeli in his novel *Alroy*. Their restoration to Zion was sung by poets like Juda Halevi and Solomon ibn Gabirol. It was promised by claimants to the Messiahship, like Sabbatai Zevi. And the credulity of thousands of followers attests to their nostalgia.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the dream seemed to be coming true when England was vying with France for the control of the Levant. English statesmen, including Disraeli, envisioned a Jewish state in Palestine under the influence of London as a means of defending the route to India. The vision enlarged with the building of the Suez Canal. It was brought into clear focus when the first international Zionist congress convened at Basle in 1897. In appreciable numbers, Jews began to immigrate into Palestine. They bought property through the Jewish National Fund. In America, they were aided by an organization led by Mr. L. D. Brandeis, later Justice of the United States Supreme Court. And then, after the first World War began, their dreams seemed to break into reality when, in 1917, the British foreign secretary Lord Balfour, wrote to Lord Rothschild, that the Cabinet had approved "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Britain's allies agreed, Woodrow Wilson expressing emphatic approval. In 1919, the Supreme Council of the Allies made Palestine a mandate of Great Britain, with the understanding that the Balfour Declaration should be put into effect.

The Jews took all this at face value. Thousands of them, specially from Europe, poured into the Holy Land, their population there increasing about a thousand per cent, from 50,000 to a half million. Land that they purchased had increased, since 1918, from 180 square miles to more than a thousand, or over one-third the arable land of all Palestine. Many of them congregated in the cities, chiefly Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa. They virtually founded the all-Jewish town of Tel Aviv. They opened towns and factories. With Jewish capital and under Jewish management, they established almost a thousand large industries—among them, the Palestine Electric Corporation, which furnishes light and power to an extended district. For the education of their children, they built a number of schools. They organized technical and agricultural institutions. In 1925 they opened the doors—Balfour himself honoring the inauguration—of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. They encouraged the use of Hebrew as the national language. The children of Israel were once more shaking off their bondage and prospering in the Promised Land.

With this history in view—stressed a thousand-fold by the recent persecution of the Jews in Europe—it is with reluctance and trepidation that a denial of Jewish aspirations can be expressed.

The Arabs, however, have their side—a side that is not being heard in America.

For the first time in their history, the various and far-scattered Arab peoples were united, thirteen centuries ago, by a common bond—Islam. At that time Palestine was part of the Byzantine empire. It was Christian, not Jewish. It was taken from Christians by Mohammedans.

Under Omar, the Arabs besieged Jerusalem, 627 A.D. The Christian commander, Sophronius, surrendered. At the suggestion of the conqueror, the two leaders then made a search for the ruins of what Omar called "the Mosque of David," the Temple that had so often been destroyed and rebuilt—and last razed by the Romans in A.D. 70.

And thus they entered. It was a place from which all traces of the Jew had been so wiped out that nothing but a rubbish heap remained. To Omar and all other Mohammedans it was a place of special adoration. There lies the Holy Rock. There, so the Prophet Mohammed declared, one prayer is better than a thousand elsewhere. He prayed there. He ascended from there to heaven on the back of El Burak, the sacred steed, which left the imprint of its hoof. An angel kept the rock from following the Prophet to heaven, and the mark of the angel's hand is there. At the last day, the holy Kaaba of Mecca will come there, and there Gabriel will blow his triumpet. Allah's throne will be there, and there the Faithful will assemble.

After Omar's conquest, a mosque arose near the spot and bore his name. Since his day—except for a short time during the Crusades when Christians re-possessed the land—this Holy Place has been in the hands of Arabs.

To them, the glory of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and of all the Prophets of the Old Testament means as much as to the Jews. They differ under this head upon but one point. Islam looks upon Jesus Christ as the greatest of the Prophets, with the exception of Mohammed. It, therefore, sees in everything connected with the life and death of the Savior a heritage of Mohammedanism. So the Moslem regards all of Palestine as sacred soil In worship, the knee not only of millions of Jews but also of fifteen times as many Mohammedans bends to this shrine.

In spite of differences in religion and even in view of the increasing pressure of population, the Mohammedans have always been tolerant of the Jews—that is, until 1920.

The peace of this conjunction was broken by the militancy of modern Zionism. Three years after the Balfour Declaration, or by the time of the Easter Sunday riots of 1920, the Mohammedans were growing alarmed at the steady increase of Jewish immigration. When Balfour wrote his famous letter, there were about 50,000 Jews in Palestine. This number swelled to 85,000 by 1922. In 1932 alone, 10,000 Jews moved in. In 1933—30,000. In 1934—40,000. In 1935—over 60,000. Later, when the British government cut the quota down, they were smuggled into the country in numbers that are not known. The Arab saw that the streets of the cities were being crowded with Jews. In the market, he began to feel the pressure of increasing Jewish competition. He awoke to the fact that mile after mile of cultivable land was going into Jewish hands. He found himself elbowed from his *mihrab* by thousands of foreigners performing rites different from his own.

Against further encroachment, the Ulema, or the spiritual leaders of the Mohammedan world, took their stand. The Ulema of Al Azhar at Cairo, the leading Mohammedan theological institution of the world, appealed to leaders in all Moslem countries to protect Arab Palestine. And their word has gone out to the millions of the Faithful.

The Arab-Jewish problem is represented in an impressive drama on Friday evenings in Jerusalem. Outside the pale of the Haram esh Sherif (the Place of the Temple), the Jews gather at the Wailing Wall. Their leader chants, "For the palace that lies desolate," and the response sounds from the congregation, "We sit in solitude and mourn."

But Americans do not hear the Moslem muezzins who mount to the top of the minarets inside the walls and chant their calls to prayer. And if Zionism imposes a political state on their Holy Land, a cataclysm of blood will begin again to drench the earth.

Democracy and Nature

W. S. Taylor observes in *Unity* about the Essence of Democracy :

Many people seem to think that democracy derives from a supernatural world, and that democracy is therefore contrary to nature. From that point of view "justice for all" is democratic, while "dog eats dog" is wholly unrelated to the democratic.

When, however, we contrast democracy with anarchy and despotism, and see what democracy essentially is, we find that democracy is a natural and superior development.

Democracy is primarily a defense against despotism. This appears in many traditional statements of democracy. For example : "Freedom has a thousand charms to show, That slaves, howe'er contented, never know." "A free multitude is guided more by hope than fear ; a conquered one, more by fear than hope ; inasmuch as the former aims at making use of life, the latter but at escaping death." "Liberty, equality, fraternity." "The worth and dignity and creative capacity of the individual." "All for each and each for all." "Government of the people, by the people, for the people."

Apparently every genuine democracy attempts to realize the following practices : maximal freedom for each individual, considering all individuals ; free competition of ideas ; essential education for all ; majority control of laws and governors, including, ultimately, majority choice of any constitution, bill of rights, or "law above the laws"; government by law ; individual equality before the law ; recognition of individual differences in capacities ; individual responsibility according to capacity ; reward, in satisfaction at least, according to use of capacity ; fellow feeling ; advancement of truth, beauty, and goodness ; and achievement of harmonious happiness.

From the individual point of view, democracy is the way for every person to live as fully and richly, to have as much individual power, perfection, and happiness, to be as well-developed a person, as possible. Thus democracy is *the way for every person to be his best.*

The immature person tries to be his best through satisfying, by his own efforts, his selfish interests. He learns, however, that to be one's best requires help both from and to others. Accordingly, from the social point of view, democracy is *co-operative self-realization.*

Co-operative self-realization means sharing in constructive enterprise. Such enterprise may be primarily religious, as in the early Congregational churches ; political, as in the early United States ; economic, as in the mutual insurance companies and the co-operative societies ; educational as in certain adult study groups ; recreational, as in various sports organizations ; or a combination of interests, as in the later democratic nations. Whatever the enterprise or the combination of enterprises, in so far as it is constructive, it is a part, and a most creative part, of evolution. Accordingly, from the cosmic point of view, democracy is *sharing in creative evolution.*

These three definitions of democracy are really synonymous : broadly considered, the way for every person to be his best is through co-operative self-realization, which means sharing in creative evolution ; and sharing in creative evolution means co-operative self-realization, the way for every person to be his best. Moreover, each of the definitions formulates living, living most abundantly. It follows that the three definitions can be reduced to one, namely : *Democracy is the most progressive living.*

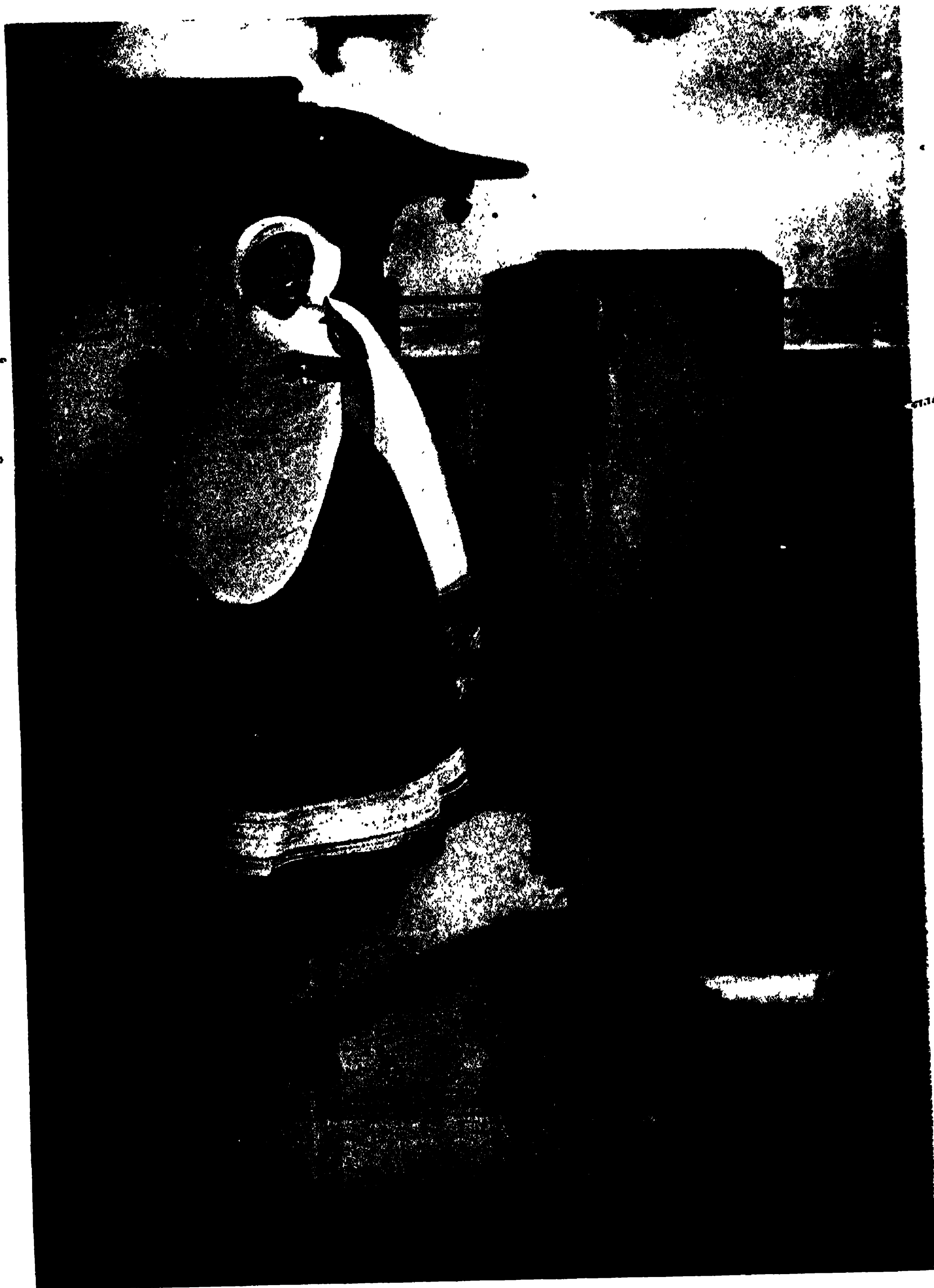
Democracy makes for survival because it makes individuals and groups most fit to survive. More than any other system, democracy makes self-directing men, men who develop and defend themselves, their group, and their larger interests, steadfastly and intelligently. Also, more than any other system, democracy makes an enlightened group, a group in which each individual enjoys a place, understands the group needs, and works together with his fellows in common interests.



"Dido and Aeneas leaving Carthage on the Morning of the Chase"
The large oil-painting in the Tate Gallery by J. W. Turner (1775-1851)



The massive Ionic portico of the entrance to the British museum with its great classical colonnaded structure



THE CAPTIVE BIRD

By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

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NOTES

The Task Ahead

It is not desirable from the point of view of the Western Nations that India should ever develop into a first-class Power. The idea itself seems Utopian at the first glance, judging from the pass this country has been brought to after two centuries of foreign intrigue and rule, but there is no reason on earth why it should not be so within the next twenty years, if we could but overcome the three main handicaps imposed on us by foreign vested interests. These handicaps are, in order of their importance, ignorance, indiscipline and inefficiency. And chapter and verse can be given in support of the statement that all these have been imposed on us by the foreign interests whose imperial aims and objectives are best furthered so long as these disqualifications hang round our necks as our badges of inferiority. But merely blaming the British will not get us anywhere. For, indeed, the longer we are content with merely blaming them—or their henchmen—the longer would this foreign dominance continue. We have to set about in getting up a fighting programme, to fight political intrigues and opposition and to get rid of our main disabilities.

Our geographical position is eminently suited for the leadership of all Asia. Our resources of strategic materials are superior to that of any other nation on earth, specially if we take into account our means of easy access to that of our neighbours. In man-power, hydro-electric potential, communications and economic possibilities we are second to none. And what is more, forty years of sustained struggle has brought us on the threshold of self-determination. Once that is firmly in our hands it is only the lack of leadership and initiative that can prevent us marching forward to the place in the comity of Nations that is our birthright.

Are the handicaps too heavy? Are the barriers erected through the intrigues of foreign vested interests, as for example, the intransigence of the Muslim League insurmountable? Are we in reality a third-class race, ignorant and inefficient to the core as the propaganda of our enemies would make out?

We are of the same race that led the world for a millennium in arts, sciences and in the philosophy of living. Indian Industry of the present-day shows clearly that in spite of all handicaps we can hold our own against the European. And the anti-Indian campaign in Africa is, in fact, an admission that the European settler is no match for the Indian in any sphere even though he has unlimited aid from his motherland and the Indian has every possible obstruction raised in his path. As for the opposition from the Minority groups—or rather the Muslim League—it is but a new shape of the opposition of British vested interests. India is filled with the monuments to the success of the intrigues of the East India Company, during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, in the form of certain Native States ruled by the descendants of those who furthered the interests of John Company through traitorous and mercenary action against the nationals of the Fatherland. If, the Muslim League chooses that path, knowingly or in blind ignorance, it will have to be fought with all weapons, stratagem with stratagem, force with force. It must be remembered that the ultimate gain will go to the British, the Muslim League is but a pawn in their hands. Even the latest sign, received at the time of writing, of the rescinding of their acceptance of the Long-term and Interim plans, only clearly indicates another move by the British vested interests. We have not the slightest doubt that the League has taken this sudden turn after being assured, by the reactionary British officialdom in India and their supporters in the ranks of Mr. Churchill's group, that they would receive all possible aid from them. The giving of jobs galore, regardless of qualification or fitness, by British bureaucrats and of contracts and agencies with all possible loopholes for profiteering and black-marketing has provided the reactionary with the sinews of war and enabled him to entrench himself in all walks of public life. British-owned newspapers and the British-controlled radio has been his most powerful means of publicity and the Tory Last-Ditcher in Britain his last hope. And conversely Mr. Jinnah is the blue-eyed boy of Winston Churchill and his gang! So, the British Die-hard with his ill-gotten interests in India, every farthing of which has been filched from us, is our enemy and whoever is in league with him must be treated as an enemy as well.

British vested interests are counting on the Congress either listening to counsels of despair or else being outmanoeuvred into handing the balance of power—that is the control of reins—to British officialdom. The Police in most places are rotten to the core and largely officered by reactionaries, *the Congress in its folly has not made any intimate contact with the army, despite all historical precedents and all opportunities presented by the circumstances of two great World Wars,* and the executive is dominated by that autocratic remnant of medievalism, the "Indian Civil Service" which, in parallel with the Holy Roman Empire, is neither "Indian" in structure, nor "Civil" in its attitude and nor yet has it any concept of "Service." The Congress has, indeed, a formidable task ahead of it, and it is on that that our opponents, at home and abroad, are banking. But the country is, in the vast majority, solidly behind the National movement for Liberty and given the correct lead will march forward unflichingly, overcoming all handicaps and surmounting all barriers.

Let us then get rid of our complexes and go on with the making of a definite plan of campaign, cutting ut any further metaphysical discussions and dissertations and avoiding all minor issues that tend to side-track the main objective. False values in nationalism must be at once dropped. They constitute, with their attendant shibboleths, the greatest obstacles to the formation of new projects and the reform of old ones. We cannot look for aid from any quarter at this juncture for, as we said at the beginning, it is to nobody's interest, excepting our own, that the nationals of this country should attain self-sufficiency, efficiency and mastery over their own destiny. But once we definitely march forward we shall find allies, and so let us maintain the closest of contracts with our friends and get on with the job.

A.-I. C. C. Ratifies Delhi Resolution

The All-India Congress Committee, at its Bombay session held on July 6 and 7, passed by an overwhelming majority Maulana Azad's resolution of the Working Committee, deciding to enter the Constituent Assembly, 204 members voting in favour and 51 against. Maulana Azad moved the resolution and Sardar Patel supported it. Nineteen speakers spoke on the resolution, of whom nine supported and ten opposed it. The most outstanding event was Gandhiji's address on the second day. In his concluding remarks Pandit Nehru emphasised that it was wrong to think that the Congress had accepted this plan or that plan. Nothing had been accepted. The Congress had only decided to enter the Constituent Assembly to frame a new constitution for a free and independent India. He made it quite clear that there was no other commitment of any kind. If the Congress found after going to the Constituent Assembly that it could not be worked, there was nothing to prevent the Congress from walking out of it.

Moving the resolution, Maulana Azad said that for many years the Congress had been pressing for India's right to decide her own future and to frame her own constitution. In accepting the long-term proposals there had been no compromise whatsoever on the fundamental ideals of the Congress—complete independence and unity of the country. In the negotiations carried on with the Cabinet Mission he had been given the assurance that the independence of India was no longer in dispute. Explaining the position that the Cabinet Mission's proposals gave us the right to summon a Constituent Assembly to frame our own constitution, Maulana Azad said :

> This is what we have been demanding all these years. What will be our position if we refuse that offer? If we refused the offer, then there would be no meaning to our demands. The things that we have been asking for years has been accepted and we have now to work our own way. Therefore, the Committee had no choice. It had to accept the offer so long as the Committee felt convinced that it would lead the country to the end the Congress had before it.

The plan envisaged by the Cabinet Mission in their White Paper of May 16, consists of two aspects, political and communal. As far as the political implications of the proposals are concerned, the proposals make it clear that the Constituent Assembly will have the fullest rights to frame a constitution for a free and independent India and such a constitution will be accepted by the British Government. We have been given the freedom to decide whether we wish to remain within the British Empire or be completely independent. It is for us to decide this vital question and the British Government does not wish to dictate to us in this respect as they have hitherto been doing.

In my first interview with the Cabinet Mission, I made it absolutely clear to the delegation that the Constituent Assembly we wished to summon should have unfettered freedom to frame a constitution for a free and independent India. The British Government has accepted this demand and has made it clear that the freedom of India is not under question and it has been granted without any question. Why then should we raise doubts in the face of such unequivocal declarations by the British Government?

The Cabinet Mission's proposals also have once and for all time cleared all doubts about the question of the division of India. These proposals have made it clear beyond a shadow of doubt that India shall remain an undivided single unit with a strong Central Government composed of the federating units.

Our main demands having thus been accepted by the Cabinet Mission, you will agree the Working Committee had to accept the proposals after pointing out the defects in them. This is what the Working Committee has done by its resolution of June 26. My answer to those critics who say that we should not have accepted this proposal is that if we rejected this proposal now, it may not be possible at a later date in the future to secure a proposal acceptable to us.

For some time now the Congress had been convinced that a completely unitary form of Central Government was unsuited for India as it is impracticable. The Congress had also felt convinced that a division of India as demanded by the Muslim League would prove disastrous to the country. The Congress had, therefore, decided to pursue a middle course. That is the reason the Congress recommended a federal form at the Centre, with maximum autonomy to the federating units including residuary powers. This helps to keep India undivided, at the same time ensuring utmost autonomy to the units to develop themselves individually and freely to the maximum extent.

Maulana Sahab said that up to this point, the Mission's plan corresponded with the Congress proposals. The only new feature of the Mission's plan, "to which the Congress had not agreed fully, was the one relating to grouping. The Working Committee has, therefore, made it clear that there should be no compulsion in the matter of grouping. The provinces should be free to decide whether they wish to join a particular group or not." Maulana Azad was confident that the interpretation Congress had put on the grouping clause was the correct interpretation.

Seconding the resolution, Sardar Patel dealt with the question of Provisional Government and said that the Congress had made it clear to the Cabinet Mission that the proposed Constituent Assembly would not prove a success if a responsible representative Provisional Government at the Centre was not established soon. Regarding grouping and the unity of India, the Sardar said :

Consistent with the existing circumstances we have secured the widest franchise possible for the election to the Constituent Assembly. The most dangerous proposal in the Constituent Assembly scheme is the one relating to grouping. Our interpretation of the relevant paragraph in the State Paper is that the provinces are free to decide at the initial stage whether they wish to join a particular group in which they have been placed. No province can be compelled to join any group against its own wishes.

The difficulty about Europeans participating in the voting to the Constituent Assembly election has been practically overcome. We have thus secured a Constituent Assembly almost on the lines we have demanded all these years. Furthermore, under the proposed scheme, the transfer of power from British to Indian hands will be smooth and peaceful. It is, therefore, our conviction that we should take advantage of the scheme and not plunge the country in a struggle.

At the very commencement of our negotiations with the Cabinet Mission we made it clear to them that we could talk to them only on the basis of a free and independent India. The British Mission accepted this and made it clear that their acceptance of our demand was without any reservation. In the face of such assurance it is difficult for us not to believe them.

We have also made sure that there shall be one undivided India with one Central Government. What the shape of that Central Government will be, is a matter for the Constituent Assembly to decide. The Muslim League sees the germ of Pakistan in the scheme. We see a United India. It is for the Constituent Assembly to decide who is right.

Mr. Jaiprakash Narain was the principal opposition speaker. On the second day Gandhiji addressed the A.-I C.C. for an hour. In an impassioned speech he called upon Congressmen to give a full and fair trial to the Constituent Assembly scheme and make the best out of it. He had no doubt that if the task was properly approached, they could produce a Swadeshi constitution for India. Some people talked of the British deceiving the people of India and the Congress. He, as a true Satyagrahi did not believe that any one, not even the British, could deceive true Satyagrahis. He said :

The proposed Constituent Assembly, I know, is not a free Assembly. There are many defects in the scheme, but since we have been fighting for the last so many years, why should we be afraid of the defects in the Constituent Assembly scheme. We can fight the Constituent Assembly itself if we find the defects are unremediable.

As true Satyagrahis and fighters we have no right to be afraid of any hardships or difficulties in our way. I was, therefore, surprised when I heard Mr. Jaiprakash Narain saying yesterday that it is dangerous and useless to go into the Constituent Assembly. Supposing we go into the Constituent Assembly and lose, why should we be afraid ? A true Satyagrahi never thinks in terms of losing. No one can defeat him. He can never be deceived or cheated by anyone.

As Satyagrahis we have no right to say that the British are dishonest. How can we say that ? There are good and bad people in all countries. We quarrelled among ourselves in the past and, therefore, the British who came as traders to this country established themselves as our rulers. We have been fighting them as our rulers, not because the British people are dishonest or bad, but because they have no right to rule over us. They have now told us that they are ready to quit. Our task now is to see how their quitting can be smooth and peaceful.

Summing up his speech, Gandhiji finally said, "I am sure we are still capable of going through difficulties, and, therefore, I do not see any reason why we should be afraid of going into the Constituent Assembly. I know there are many defects in the Constituent Assembly scheme, but then it is in your power to improve it or to bury it. The Constituent Assembly scheme looks like iron ore. We can convert it into pure gold by our own efforts. Whatever loopholes there are can be remedied. My advice to you is to accept the scheme even in spite of its defects, for as Satyagrahis, we have no reason to be afraid of anything. I feel that the scheme is capable of improvement and therefore my urge is in favour of its acceptance. We have asked the British to quit India. This does not mean that we wish to ill-treat them. We want the British to quit honourably and smoothly. The Constituent Assembly proposal is to enable us to make the British quit India. I, therefore, feel that we should accept the Constituent Assembly scheme in spite of its defects, as we are competent to remedy the defects. I know it is a British sponsored scheme, but have not the British openly stated that they have done this with an open mind and without any reservation to enable Indians to frame their own constitution for a free and independent India ?"

The speeches of the members who opposed the resolution betrayed their deep suspicion of the British motives. The burden of their contention was that the State Paper was nothing but a trap, it would weaken the Congress organisation if the proposals were accepted. Replying to these criticisms, Maulana Azad said, "I am unable to agree with those who say that by going to the Constituent Assembly we shall be weakening the Congress organisation. Whatever difficulties may stand in our way, we will overcome them as we are determined to reach our final goal. We will not in any event sacrifice any of our fundamental principles. If unfortunately any insuperable difficulties crop up in direct conflict with our fundamental principles, we shall not

hesitate to kill the Constituent Assembly, We have won our struggle for freedom through sheer sacrifices and suffering and I will ask you now not to falter and fritter away the fruits of victory by adopting a gloomy outlook and fear complex. Statesmanship demands that we should be practical in our approach to problems. We must utilise opportunities as they present themselves to further our own ends. I want to emphasise that by accepting the Constituent Assembly proposal we shall lay at rest one of the longest standing communal problems. The Muslim League has been demanding all these years the division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan and two separate Constituent Assemblies to draw up separate constitutions. Both these things have been abandoned by the Muslim League through its acceptance of the Cabinet Missions proposals of May 16. The result of this proposal is that there shall be one United India and one Constituent Assembly with one Central Government. The door to the Constituent Assembly is open to enable us to draw up our own constitution. Victory has come into our hands and please do not turn it into a defeat."

Problem of Grouping

Of all provisions in the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the one relating to grouping has come in for the largest amount of criticism. Two diametrically opposed views have been advanced in relation to it. The Congress says that it is optional at the initial stage for the provinces to decide whether they would like to join the group or not. The League holds that joining the groups is compulsory, the provinces have the right to opt out only after elections are held under the new constitution. The provisions in the State Paper and their explanations by the Ministers are vague and open to variable interpretation. Three days after the conclusion of the A.-I. C. C. session, Pandit Nehru, at a press conference, said, "The big probability is that from any approach to the question, there will be no grouping. Obviously Section A will decide against grouping. Speaking in betting language, there is a four-to-one chance of the North-Western Frontier Province deciding against grouping. Then, Group B collapses. It is highly likely that Assam will decide against grouping with Bengal." In fact, a resolution passed in the Assam Legislature has made it mandatory for the Assam M.C.A.'s to vote against grouping.

Referring to grouping, Mr. Jinnah said in the League council meeting, "Pandit Nehru has stated that the Congress was not bound by paragraph 19 of the State Paper which regulates grouping and which also regulates the functions of the Constituent Assembly. The essential part of the scheme, from the Muslim League point of view, is grouping in B and C and it is that part of the scheme which has been unequivocally repudiated by the Congress which asserts that provinces in Groups B and C are free to opt out from the very beginning and not as is provided until the Group constitution and provincial constitutions are framed and elections are held under the new provincial constitutions." Sir Ghulam Hosain Hidayetullah revealed in his speech how grouping plan in Section B was also foundering. He said, "The Congress had already begun to work against the proposed grouping of provinces. In Assam, the members elected to the Constituent Assembly had been given a mandate to vote against grouping. A similar resolution would probably be moved in Sind where there were some quislings amongst Muslims." Frontier is also against grouping. Frontier Province and Sind fear that their separate cultures would be killed once they agreed to grouping in which the Punjab would naturally dominate. Frontier Pathans and the Sindhis have developed separate cultures of their own, and they do not want to be submerged into the Punjabi culture once again.

In paragraph 15 of the State Paper where the Mission recommends the basic forms that the constitution should take, it has been provided in sub-paragraph 5 :

> Provinces should be free to *form* Groups with Executives and Legislatures and each group could determine the provincial subjects to be taken in common.

This clause may certainly be interpreted as providing that entry into the groups at the initial stage is voluntary and that the provinces as provinces will decide whether to enter into the Groups or not. In paragaph 19(5), it is provided that

> These sections shall proceed to settle the Provincial Constitutions for the provinces included in each section, and shall also decide whether any group constitution shall be set up for those provinces and if so with what provincial subjects the group should deal. Provinces shall have the power to opt out of the groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause 8 below.
>
> (8) As soon as the new constitutional arrangements have come into operation, it shall be open to any province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new legislature of the province after the first general election under the new constitution.

The main points of difference between paragraphs 15 and 19 are that while the former enables the provinces to decide whether to join the group or not, the second one bestows this important power on the members forming a section. In his press conference of May 17, Lord Pethick Lawrence gave the following opinion on Grouping : "The provinces automatically come into the Sections A, B and C which are set out in the statement. Initially they are in the particular sections to which they are allocated in the statement and that particular section will decide whether a group shall be formed and what should be the constitution. The right to opt out of the group formed by that section arises after the constitution has been framed and the first election to the legislature has taken place under that constitution. It does not arise before that."

It will be seen that the meaning of the two paragraphs have not been made sufficiently clear. In the light of the Secretary of State's clarification they can be construed so as to mean that entry into the Group is voluntary but once the decision to join the Group has been taken no province can opt out before the first general elections, and that the right to decide whether to join the Group or not rests on the members of the Sections and not on the provinces separately. The position has been made still more vague in the Parliamentary speech of the Secretary of State on July 18, where he said, "The three-tier basis is nothing more than our recommendation to the Indian peoples, but on the basis of these proposals we were asking the parties to join in the formation of a Constituent

Assembly. It was necessary, however, to stipulate that the provisions should not be altered without a majority of the two major communities."

India in the Houses of Parliament

Now that the Muslim League has rescinded its acceptance of the Long-term and Interim proposals of the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy, there seems to be little point in reviewing the speeches made in the Houses of Parliament on the 18th of July. Everything now seems to proceed according to well-laid plans to torpedo the British Labour Cabinet's endeavours to honour the pledges given to India during the War and previously. Breaking pledges is nothing new to British last-ditchers nor is that dishonourable act of any consequence to reactionary British officialdom and their patrons, the *Pucca Sahibs* of India, and so there is nothing far-fetched in the idea that the whole thing might be engineered from behind. Of course, there is nothing new in this move, for the Muslim League has always shifted its position whenever it thought some more advantages might be gained thereby. Mr. Churchill in his speech on July 18th gave ample indications that his party would back the League if they rescinded their acceptance of the proposals. He said, with his usual disregard for truth :

> Then there are the Moslems who number about *99,000,000*, and who make up *so large a majority* of the martial races of India. There is no doubt that there is complete lack of agreement at the present time between the two principal communities.
>
> The Mission have laboured hard and they have dealt particularly with those two communities allowing many other valuable and gallant forces who have a right to live also to fall back into the background.
>
> The gulf between these two communities was never more wide than it is at the present moment. The outlook is very grave.
>
> Acceptance by the martial races of the final settlement which we make before we leave India is indispensable to future peace.
>
> If all minorities are added together they constitute among them much more than half of the inhabitants of India. I am glad to say that so far as I understand the position, the British Government have not renounced the principle of their discharge of their responsibility towards the minorities in India which aggregate at least 225,000,000 out of 400,000,000.
>
> All arrangements which are being made by the Constituent Assembly and any treaties which may subsequently be brought into existence between the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain and a new sovereign, independent Government of India, must be subject to the fulfilment of our honourable discharge of our obligations.
>
> I hope that we all agree with that. A bill or perhaps several bills will have to be presented to Parliament and they will have to pass through all their stages and that is the time when the final decision will have to be taken. *Nothing must be agreed to by us at the moment on the transference of sovereignty which will be any abrogation of our solemn undertakings.*
>
> A great part of the Mission's work in India was devoted to a vain attempt to form a Coalition Cabinet acceptable alike to Moslems and Caste Hindus. The failure of the Mission in this respect had led to temporary reversion to the Government of well-tried and experienced officials. For the moment, Indian affairs have turned the full circle and we are back again at the start.

Mr. Churchill quoted the terms of paragraph 8 and continued,

> The Moslem League agreed to enter this (Coalition Government) and when the Hindu Congress members refused and it broke down on a point of procedure, I understand the Moslem League made a violent complaint.

Sir Stafford Cripps interjecting said :

> As to the timing, Mr. Churchill had said that the Moslem League had accepted and that the Congress had refused. The Congress had refused before the Moslems arrived at any decisions, and they knew that before they arrived at a decision that it was useless arriving at a decision because already the scheme had gone.

Mr. Churchill continuing said :

> I am not making accusations against the Government. The General Secretary of the Moslem League has gone so far as to say that unless the situation is clarified, it would be suicidal for the League to enter the Constituent Assembly.
>
> All this raises the most formidable issue. Those who have been to India know well that agreement of the Moslems to the new system will affect the whole foundation of the problem.
>
> One cannot contemplate British troops being used to crush the Moslems in the interests of the Caste Hindus. Whatever our responsibilities may be and whatever may be the appointed day when we will quit India, we must not make ourselves the agents of a Caste Government or a particular sectional Government in order to crush by armed force and modern weapons another community which, although not so numerous, is numbered at 90 millions.

It is to be noted that 90 millions become 99 millions easily when Mr. Churchill deals with Indian Moslems and 36 per cent (the percentage given by Sir Jogendra Singh as that of Moslems in the Indian army) becomes "so large a majority." Similarly the minorities *add up to 225 millions*, the Indian States account for 95 millions, leaving only 80 millions as the following of the Congress in India !

Leaving this great friend of India, and of human rights and liberties, to shed his crocodile tears, let us turn to other friends nearer at home. We find the reaction of the *Statesman* of Calcutta (*with which the Friend of India is incorporated*) is a veiled expression of joy at the League's latest move. The main editorial of its issue of 31st July—there was no issue on the 30th —contains an open attack on the Cabinet Mission and the Congress. This mouth-piece of British vested interests has all along championed the League and, boosted up all reactionaries. But this last editorial is a marvel even for the *Statesman* and goes far to show which way lie the interests of Imperialism. The Muslim League, according to the *Statesman*, "hitherto this year has been commendably accommodating, positive, statesmanlike." Further, according to the same authority, it is not surprising that it "should have chosen this lamentable new path." For, "during the last five weeks there has been provocation." "Many besides Leaguers—*including this newspaper*—were shocked by the Mission's and the Viceroy's interpretation on June 26, of under-

takings publicly given only ten days before." The aforesaid interpretation was "a deliberate lawyerist lowering of the Mission's previously very high ethical standards in negotiation." Mr. Jinnah's allegations before the League Council on the 20th of July "need answer." Regarding provocation it remarks that "Provocation came soon afterwards—worse provocation, because reiterated and *manifestly deliberate*—on behalf of the Congress Party, from the *impetuous Pandit* who on July 6 became its President."

After justifying the League's action and some further verbiage the editorial proceeds to say that it attached *greater importance to the short-term aspect of the Mission's work*. And therein lies the key to the whole situation ! For, if the Mission had not laid its cards on the table in an honourable and straightforward manner by formulating the long-term plans, but had proceeded in the time-honoured "Perfidious Albion" fashion by placing progressively difficult hurdles in the path of India's problems through the working of the short-term plans galore, then the "Pucca Sahib's" interests would have been assured for ever—at least till the next World War. The Congress would have been driven into jails again and the helm of the ship of state would have been given to the League, the Captain being, of course, the aforesaid *Pucca Sahib*.

The League's action has many implications, however, which the Congress would do well to consider very carefully. It must not commit itself by word or by action, without sufficient deliberation. It must weigh all possible consequences and deliberate over its own course of action. It is plain that the League's action is part of a concerted move and as such the Congress must not rush into any traps.

The Jail Qualification

Mahatma Gandhi has brought forward in his article, "The Real Danger" in the *Harijan* of July 14, the question of imprisonment as qualification for office-seeking Congressmen. Of all false values now obtaining in the Congress this is perhaps the most vicious and degrading. Mahatmaji's pointer comes rather late in the day, if we might say so, and the condemnation does not go far enough. All the same it is of immense value in disabusing the public mind, which has been confused deliberately in the respect of elections and appointments, of incorrect and dangerous assumptions. Gandhiji writes :

> My purpose here is merely to point out the danger from within. The first in importance is laziness of mind and body. *This comes out of the smug satisfaction that Congressmen having suffered imprisonment have nothing more to do to win freedom and that a grateful organization should reward their service by giving them first preference in the matter of elections and offices. And so, there is an unseemly and vulgar competition for gaining what are described as prize posts.* Here there is a double fallacy. Nothing should be considered a prize in the Congress dictionary and imprisonment is its own reward. It is the preliminary examination of a Satyagrahi. Its goal is the slaughter house even as that of the spotless lamb. Jail going is, instead, being used as a passport to every office accessible to the Congress. *Hence there is every prospect of Satyagrahi imprisonment becoming a degrading occupation like that of professional thieves and robbers.* No wonder my friends of the underground variety avoid imprisonment as being comparatively a bed of roses. This is a pointer to the pass the Congress is coming to. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M.R.*)

We have deliberately said Mahatmaji's pointer does not go far enough. "Satyagraha and Sacrifice" has already been converted into a business proposition by some groups of careerist Congressmen in certain provinces, notably in Bengal. Needless to say the careerist, like the mosquito in Chanakya's *sloka*, is more adept at flattery and more pushing, where the leaders are concerned. And he is the most vociferous in howling down any constructive or critical move. "Leaders" in certain provinces are in danger of degenerating into being "The Led by the Nose" through the action of such persons. The greatest danger, however, lies in the fact that this "Bachelor of Jail" qualification is acting as a barrier preventing any new ideas or new blood from coming into the field of nationalism.

The Leaders have to make up their minds. Is the initiative, in all matters of public interest or weal, going to be taken by them or are they here merely to follow up any movement initiated by others and to accelerate, applaud or orientate the same as time and opportunity might indicate ? Leadership cannot be totally divorced from opportunism we know, but leaders without any plan, without any sense of values and *without any idea about the comparative importance of realities*, cannot but bring disaster and chaos to the national life. The country is being torn up by factions, strikes, labour movements, student disturbances and the like. They are all needed for the betterment of a nation in the long run, no doubt. But is it not a fact that most undesirable elements are jockeying for power through all these just now ? The public is confused and confounded and distress is mounting up all round. Who should take the initiative and guide all these movements into the nation-building channels ?

The Congress has the titanic weight of public sanctions behind it. It has vast dormant powers, of which the August '42 movements were but a mere fraction. Given correct leadership, nothing on earth can prevent us from attaining our goal.

Dr. Ambedkar in the Constituent Assembly

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar has entered the Constituent Assembly from Bengal. He has very little connection with the depressed classes in Bengal, as barring a few educated people nobody knows him in this province. His entry augurs ill for Section C of the Constituent Assembly.

Dr. Ambedkar's scheduled caste movement may be boiled down to two demands,—the claim for the recognition that the depressed classes are not Hindus and the demand for a separate electorate for them. During the last general elections, Dr. Ambedkar's party had been swept out and he could not get a foot-hold even in his home province. Taking advantage of the small quota of general seats in Bengal in the Constituent Assembly elections, he has succeeded in squeezing himself in.

The worthlessness of his claim to represent the depressed classes of India has now been admitted even by the spokesmen of the British Government. In the India debate, the Secretary of State declared that the interests of the scheduled castes are safe in Congress hands and it is the Congress that really represents them.

"The scheduled castes have now rallied under the banner of the All-India Depressed Classes League. Mr. Jagjiwan Ram, President of this League, in a recent press conference said, the problem of the Scheduled Castes, contrary to Dr. Ambedkar's views, was not religious but economic. He held that the proposition that the scheduled castes were not Hindus, and were entitled to special minority rights, was not correct. The Depressed Classes League had always regarded the depressed classes as part of the Hindu community and it wanted only special protection. He visualised a future when untouchability would completely vanish and the gulf between Caste Hindus and Scheduled Castes bridged. Asked about the demand for the abrogation of the Poona Pact, Mr. Jagjiwan Ram said that he favoured the scrapping of it not for the introduction of separate electorates, but for joint electorates. He added, "We will have to hit on some formula which will give protection to scheduled castes along with joint electorates."

The Postal Strike

The Postal Strike is passing through its third week. In the meantime the Adjudicator's Award has been published and accepted by the Government. About two months ago, when the Postal Federation gave the first strike notice, Mr. Justice Rajadhyaksha was appointed Adjudicator and the notice was called off. The Federation accepted Mr. Rajadhyaksha as adjudicator. In addition to the employment of the Adjudicator to go into grievances and suggest interim as well as long-term remedies, a Pay Commission was also appointed to revise the scales of pay of all employees under the Government of India. The Lower Grade Postal Employees became impatient and without waiting for either the Adjudicator's Award or the report of the Pay Commission, they called a strike. When the Adjudicator's Award was known, it failed to satisfy them.

The strike has been received with mixed feelings. Among the labourers it found enthusiastic support. Madras, Bombay and Calcutta had one day's sympathetic strike each. The Congress leaders were approached but not for mediation. Pandit Nehru, in a statement on July 24, stated, "The demands of the strikers have an important effect, for inevitably they produce their reactions on other services and on the national budget. The burden must fall on the community. So it is essential that the problem be viewed in its entirety and not isolated from this wider context. Most of us sympathise with the desires of the lower paid members of the essential public services to raise their standards of living. They are hard worked and deserve well of the community. Indeed, higher standards of pay and living will mean greater efficiency also. At the same time, it has always to be remembered that one essential service should not hold up the nation's work or profit by virtue of its strategic position at the cost of other services or the people at large. If this happens, there will be a reaction against that service and the sympathy that exists today will vanish."

Even after this outspoken statement no improvement is visible in the strike situation. The Government and the strikers both seem to be equally adamant. Sir Eric Conran-Smith has announced Government of India's firm decision to give P and T employees no more relief than that recommended by the Adjudicator. He said, "Government consider that they have done the right and proper thing in accepting as it stood the award of the Adjudicator. A halt must be called somewhere to the expenditure of the tax-payers' money on what is intended to be interim relief pending the report of the Pay Commission."

A Postal or a Railway strike must be viewed from a totally different angle of vision. Such strikes cannot be classed with ordinary industrial strikes. In their case, the employer is the State and the tax-payer must find money for them. They have a forum at the Legislature to ventilate their grievances. In this, they have a great advantage over the industrial labour of the country. We believe that where tax-payers' money is concerned and a national question is involved, the proper step for the Postal Employees would have been to ventilate their grievances before the budget session of the Central Legislature opened and not *after* it. We are afraid that the strikers have been ill-advised and in case the consequences of the strike are not up to their expectation, it would be their leaders, responsible for precipitating the crisis, on whom the blame should rest.

The latest strike situation has revealed an increasing rivalry between the Federation of Posts and Telegraph Unions and the All-India Postmen and Lower Grade Staff Union. The Federation is continuing negotiations with the Government. An *A. P.* and *U. P.* message states that all postal, telegraph, telephone, and R.M.S. employees who are members of the Unions affiliated to the Federation but went on strike, have joined their duties in all stations. On the other hand, the President of the Council of Action of the Striking Unions has warned the Government that the negotiations that Dewan Chamanlal is carrying on with the Government as President of the P. and T. Federation are "unauthorised and the Council of Action will not be bound by the terms of any settlement he may conclude with the Government" This rivalry between the two organisations has been an unhappy feature in this struggle and there is no doubt that it has harmed the cause which led the men to stop work. Names of Maulana Azad and Pandit Nehru have been raised in connection with mediation and a report was circulated that Maulana Azad had offered to mediate and that he was calling a conference in Delhi for the purpose. Maulana Saheb in a statement has stated that he has made no such offer. The only thing that he told certain representatives of the Federation was that if he or any of his colleagues could do anything to ease the situation, they would not deny to do so. Regarding Delhi Conference, Maulana Saheb says, "A conference would not be of much help in the present circumstances."

Labour in India

In all democratic countries, Labour has the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing and is free (or at least has the right to be free) from interference, restraint or coercion of employers of labour, or their agents, in the designation of such representatives. It is equally free, in democratic countries, from all hindrance in self-organisation or in other concerted activities for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection. In all such countries the maximum hours of labour, minimum rates of pay and other conditions of employment are settled between the Chief Executive of the State, or his nominee, and the accredited representatives of Labour. In Totalitarian States, Labour has no such right, it has either to carry out the orders

of the Dictator, on whatever terms he might approve or else it has to face dire consequences—even death or "liquidation."

We have had enough of slave-driving in India and so no right-thinking person can think of depriving a worker of his rights. And there can be no denial of the fact that labour in this country is badly in need of amelioration of the conditions of living and all-round raising of standards. When we say labour, we mean labour in every sphere, agricultural, industrial and that in Public Utility services. But at the same time it must be admitted that this amelioration should be attained uniformly all over the field, so that there be a steady rise in the standard of living all round. There must be no attempt by any individual group to gain advantages for itself at the cost of others. Labour should at the same time keep a keen eye on the rise in efficiency with each step in the rise of wages and the conditions of living as otherwise there can be no progress. Leaving aside all controversial topics, in these days of mass-hysteria, we think it will be admitted that a rise in the standard of living *has to be worked for and that this rise can be maintained in a steady upward curve only if the production or output increases steadily with it.* Nowhere in this world has labour thrived merely by refusing to work. We are not trying to justify low wages, we are only asking that Labour in India should learn the lessons that British Labour has to give. Mass-unemployment will be the only result if that lesson be not learnt, and the Labour movement be not guided by cool, hard-headed and hard-working executives instead of irresponsible mob-orators jockeying for power.

British Labour is the most experienced body of workers in the democratic world and it has attained its present dominant position in the State through having learnt its lessons the hard way, through the collapse of British industries and the consequent mass-unemployment of millions. Let us see how it is planning for the Post-War period. We append extracts from an American's report on the labour conditions in Post-War Britain :*

> To get British industry going again full blast, new wage and hour settlements have been voluntarily negotiated in coal, agriculture, cotton, the building trades and in many smaller industries. Cherished trade union practices have been modified.
>
> The consequence that means most—more than Marx on the Left or Capitalism on the Right—is a higher British standard of living. There is one way to get that, says British trade unionism. Shake the backwardness and inefficiencies out of British industry : by the best and shortest route, put it into maximum peacetime production.
>
> A leader in the Trades Union Congress recently said : "A considerable amount of satisfaction can be derived from 'beating the bosses.' But it is very bad for industry and it is very bad for production. In meeting post-war demands we shall all require a united pull. I suggest that an honorable partnership is the best way of securing it."
>
> The end of the war did not blow off the lid. Instead, from January 1 to October 1, 1945, the total of man-hours lost by strikes was only one-third as high as between January 1 and October 1, 1944.
>
> This does not mean that labor has ceased seeking better wages and working conditions. It means that labor is accepting its share of responsibility for the productive well-being of the industrial goose from which it expects to get many golden eggs.
>
> In Great Britain, organised labor has now reached a more powerful position than in any other large industrial nation.
>
> No law compels British trade unions to make annual reports to the government of receipts and expenditures. But virtually all of them do.
>
> In a plant I visited near Manchester, the chief shop steward, co-chairman with the plant manager of the JPC, pointed to certain machines. "Formerly," he said, "it was a man to each machine in this department. In the old days, we, on the labor side, would have insisted on keeping it that way. But here the men worked out their own labor-saving method. Now, instead of operating only one machine each worker operates three."
>
> The organized workers in this plant lodged complaints against three supervisors—union members—on the ground that they were inefficient and slowed up production. They got the men fired.

Labour in India must agitate for its rights. It must agitate and work and work and agitate, all according to a definite plan. And, it must learn to choose leaders who know that in the cutting of the coat allowance has to be made for the cloth to go all round, else there would be no coats, only scraps.

* Stanley High in the *Reader's Digest* for February, 1946.

Anti-Corruption Move in Bengal

The Congress Ministries in different provinces have begun to take drastic steps for eradicating corruption and black-marketing. In Bengal, a Committee was set up to enquire, amongst others, into the causes of corruption and suggest remedies. It is a long time since this Committee, the Rowlands Committee, has submitted its report but no action has yet been taken. The findings of the Committee are no doubt damaging for the Administration, but it has failed to suggest remedies which would be effective for the eradication of bribery, jobbery and corruption which have sent roots deep down the social, economic and administrative spheres in Bengal. A shrewd suggestion in this respect has been made by Mr. T. S. Pillai in the *India* monthly. Urging the appointment of District Corruption Enquiry Committees, he suggests that such a Committee should be given plenary powers to investigate and prepare a statement of income of every man within a district, suspected of having made a sudden accretion of wealth. An account of his landed properties, houses, bank deposits, jewelleries and stocks and shares held by him should be prepared. It will find out the total assets of each individual in 1938-39 and 1944-45. The difference between the value of his properties between these years would give the net addition to his wealth. If this difference shows an abnormal increase than is natural under the circumstances for the person to accumulate, the onus of proving that the money was not ill-gotten should lie on him. This method of detecting corruption has been suggested by the Rowlands Committee in respect of Government servants. Such drastic action, specially against highly placed Government servants, is certainly called for. If they fail to give satisfactory explanation for the accrued wealth, the whole of it should at once be forfeited and the person criminally prosecuted.

"Second Phase" of Indo-British Relations

Discussion of the future Indo-British relations at a meeting of the East India Association, London, gave many members an opportunity to express the hope that India will forget unhappy memories of the past and choose to remain within the Empire. Confidence was also voiced that "British ideas" and "British way of life" would continue to influence India long after the severence of political links with Britain.

The discussion was opened by Dr. Percival Spear, late of the Delhi University, who read a paper, in which he argued that the "present crisis should not mark the end of British connection with India, but the completion of one phase and the opening of another in the history of Indo-British relations."

In order to preserve and develop this connection, Dr. Spear suggested that a "British Institute" on the model of the Rhodes Trust and Leverhulme Fellowships should be set up with centres at Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, in order to arrange cultural contacts and exchange between the two countries. In this connection, Dr. Spear said that Oxford and Cambridge could make a most valuable contribution for giving research fellowships to Indian scholars. "Many Indians know college life from the under-graduate angle but practically none from the high table, and such experience carried back to India could not but be productive of good. Without planned effort along such lines, British culture would not be cast aside indeed but would likely, like other cultures before it, slowly fossilise and in 50 years' time 'English-knowing' man would be as remote from current realities as 'Persian-knowing' or 'Sanskrit-knowing' man of today." Britain's mission in the present-day world is a moral mission, concluded Dr. Spear and she must by methods of persuasion seek other peoples to adopt the British way of life.

Dr. Spear also said that two types of English businessmen are likely to go to India in future—the individual adventurer, hoping to make a fortune in the service of Indian firms as in the days of John Company, and the employees of big British Corporations. "For the sake of British name—remembering their eighteenth century prototypes—I hope that representatives of the first type will be few," said Dr. Spear.

Sir Henry Sharp, however, took exception to this view, saying he hoped "adventurers" would play a useful part not only in business but in the administrative services, Army and other fields. "There will be a period of rough and tumble," Sir Henry added, "I hope the rough won't be too rough and the tumble too severe. We have plenty of fine young people here—let them loose. British tough guys will do better than any other tough guys from any other country."

Declaring that English ideas and ways would persist in India for generations, Lord Erskine said, "I have no personal knowledge of the north but in the south we have been there far too long and our language has permeated far too widely for anything else to happen."

"We have a great future in India," he added, "Independence and Dominion Status—it is a distinction without a difference. I hope India will decide to remain within the Empire and carry on the system of law and justice which is so famous and which we have introduced into India."

Sir Lancelot Graham, contributing to the discussion, deplored the continued habit of talking of British India and Indian States. "I hope the distinction will pass altogether and there will be no British India at all." "We of all people," continued Sir Lancelot, "must not blame Indians for being suspicious of the gifts we bring. When they realise the extent of those gifts the old feeling of dislike and distrust will die out. I only hope that we shall not have to say of Indians that their memories are as long as those of the Irish."

Dr. Ruth Young expressed anxiety about the position of Indian women in the future. Indian women in professions have had "scarcity value," he said. "Would this privileged position continue? I wonder if they would have to come back to us to learn how to struggle for their rights and privileges." Referring to the value of the services rendered by the missionaries, she said that they must in future "go as friends and if necessary subordinates without trying to boss the show."

Sir Frederick Whyte, who presided, deprecated the use of the word "abdication" to describe the present phase of Indo-British relations. "Fulfilment" is the right word, he said. "Some of us may regret the disappearance of the steel frame," he continued, "but we cannot but rejoice if Indians win their freedom—although it may be premature to rejoice." Referring to the strength of Indian admiration for British ideas and institutions, Sir Frederick said that the late Pandit Motilal Nehru was so impressed with the judicial wisdom and impartiality of the Privy Council that he once expressed the hope that at least the judicial link between Britain and India would continue when all others had gone.

Anti-Indian Bill in East Africa

After South Africa comes disquieting news from East Africa. For ages past Indians have been established on the coast of East Africa. Indian settlers played a very important part in establishing peaceful outposts in the farthest corners of East African territories. The opening up of the vital lines of communications between the Eastern and Southern parts of Africa was achieved primarily through the efforts of the Indian emigrants. Indians played a conspicuous part in the gradual and progressive development of the trade relations of Africa with the external world. Indian blood and Indian money flowed freely there when the defence, conquest and consolidation of the African continent was needed. Once this purpose is achieved, the South and East African whites have come out in their true colours with anti-Indian Bills which aim at a total extinction of the Indian settlers. Time has proved that the European settlers are no match for the Indians in intelligence, education and enterprise. Political power is, therefore, utilised for ousting the Indians from the African soil.

Mr. P. D. Master, Honorary General Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress, has given a vivid account of the position of Indian settlers in East Africa. In an article contributed to the *Leader*, he writes:

> As long back as 1875, Lord Salisbury, the Secretary of State for India, advocated the emigration and settlement of Indians, accompanied by sufficient assurance of profitable employment and fair treatment, on grounds of humanity and also from an imperial point of view. One of the chief reasons advanced for granting a Royal Charter to the Imperial British East Africa Company was that it

'would be advantageous to the commercial and other interests of our subjects in the Indian Ocean who would otherwise be compelled to reside and trade under the government or protection of alien powers.'

Even Mr. Winston Churchill was in favour of encouraging Indian immigration into East Africa, but the presence of the Boers from South Africa and the World War I altered the situation. While Indian soldiers were shedding their blood on the battlefields, the European settlers in East Africa were manoeuvring to eliminate Indians from East African territories. South Africa had successfully closed the door to Indian immigration. The South African agitation spread to East Africa and European settlers in Kenya (formerly British East Africa Protectorate) demanded, 'South Africa has shut the back door to Indians in Durban, we must shut the front door in Mombasa.' Then there arose a struggle between the European and Indian communities in Kenya which resulted in the notorious settlement contained in that preposterous document known as the White Paper of July, 1923, which Indians in Kenya never accepted. The Government of India reserved its right to re-open the whole question on some further occasion.

It is now an open secret that the settlement was concluded by the European settlers in Kenya under the threat of a rebellion. The relevant paragraph on the question of Indian immigration reads: "It may be stated definitely that only in extreme circumstances could His Majesty's Government contemplate legislation designed to exclude from a British colony immigrants from any other part of the British Empire. *Such racial discrimination in immigration regulations, whether specific or implied, would not be in accord with the general policy of His Majesty's Government and they cannot countenance the introduction of any such legislation in Kenya.*"

Furthtr it went on to say: "The existing Immigration Regulations of the colony are of quite general application. It is clearly as important in the general interests of Kenya to prohibit the entry of undesirable persons from Europe or America as from Asia. The primary duty of the Colonial Government is the advancement of the African, and it is incumbent upon them to protect him from an influx of immigrants from any country that might tend to retard his economic development."

As to the course to be followed thereafter the White Paper stated: "In course of time as the natives progress intellectually, they will no doubt take the place which Africans hold in other parts of British tropical Africa in mechanical and subordinate clerical work and in small trade, and it must be the aim of the British administration to further this development by all possible means. With this object the Colonial Government must weigh, so far as may be practicable, the effect on native interests of the admission to the colony of would-be immigrants of any race. Further, some arrangement must be devised for securing a strictly impartial examination of applications for entry into Kenya, possibly by a board on which the various communities, including the natives, would be represented. It will, therefore, be an instruction to the Governor of Kenya to explore the matter further on his return to the colony and in concert with the Governor of Uganda, to submit proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies for giving effect to that amount of control of immigration which the economic interests of the natives of both dependencies require."

Soon after the publication of the White Paper of 1923 and in accordance with the instructions to the Governor of Kenya referred to in the last paragraph, the Government of Kenya with the consent of the Colonial Office published a bill entitled 'An Ordinance to Consolidate and Regulate Immigration and Employment.' The provisions of that bill made no specific reference to Indians but if it had become law, Indian immigration to East Africa would have ceased in 1923. But fortunately the Government and the people of India went to the rescue of their countrymen in Kenya and the bill was dropped altogether.

Features of the East African Anti-Indian Bill

Explaining the main features and purpose of the Bill, which clearly shows up the malicious intent of its protagonists Mr. Master writes:

> But the efforts of the European settlers in Kenya to oust Indians from East Africa did not cease. During the World War II, they continued to agitate and manoeuvred in order to induce the three Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda to introduce the Defence (Admission of Male Persons) Regulations, 1944. Though ostensibly non-racial, these Regulations were and are calculated and intended to prevent Indian immigration only. The way in which these Regulations have been administered supports that contention.
>
> The Governments of the three East African territories had assured both Indians in East Africa and the Government of India that these Regulations were introduced in view of the food shortage and would be withdrawn after the conclusion of the War. Therefore, the East African Indian National Congress at its session held at Mombassa on 6th October, 1945, passed a resolution requesting the Government to repeal them in fulfilment of the undertaking given by them to the Government of India and to the Indian community and at the same time urged the Government of India to do everything possible to have the Regulations repealed by the Governments concerned in the implementation of their promises. The Executive of the East African Indian National Congress made the necessary representations to the Government of Kenya and the Government of India in their behalf. His Excellency Sir P. B. Mitchell, the Governor of Kenya, informed the Hon. Mr. A. B. Patil, President of the Congress, that the Defence Regulations would be withdrawn after the bill now published had become law.
>
> The bill is to be simultaneously introduced in the legislatures of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda in their sessions to be held in the first week of July this year. Hence, it is necessary that urgent action be taken.
>
> The main features of the bill, of which Indians entertain great fear, are that if it became law in its present form, it would arm the Governor-in-Council of the different territories of East Africa to administer the law on a racial basis. The composition of 'the Board' and 'the Authority' provided for in the bill, is not stated. It is necessary that, there should be

equal representation of Indians. The provisions of clause No. 5 are such that even persons like Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Nehru and Maulana Azad are not eligible to enter East Africa even for a temporary cultural visit. The deposit of £75 or Rs. 1,000 is excessive when compared with £5 provided for in the law at present in force. Clause No. 7 makes it virtually impossible to get a residential certificate if an old resident has left East Africa prior to 31st August, 1939, or has not stayed for five years in the aggregate within the last eight years from the date of application. Those who left under voluntary evacuation during the war, including the students who left for higher studies, will be prevented from re-entering the country.

In short, though the bill is non-racial in character, it has been designed to oust Indians from all walks of economic life in the East African territories. Ordinarily there should have been no permits for inter-territorial movement when attempts are being made to bring the three territories together under the inter-territorial organisation. But it is in keeping with the design of European settlers that Indians should not move from Kenya to Uganda or Tanganyika. When it is remembered that Indian immigration into East African territories is governed by and follows economic factors obtaining there, the present bill would appear to be redundant and uncalled for.

But, as stated in the memorandum of objects and reasons of the bill, it has been designed to carry out 'main matters of policy.' European settlers who demanded prohibition of Indian immigration in the first place stated that it should be done in the interests of Africans. Later on, they stated that it should be done not in the interests of the Africans but in the interests of the Europeans. The policy is, therefore, to serve the interests of European settlers and to help them to exploit the Africans more by removing the Indian settler who has proved a thorn in their side.

As regards the interests and progress of the Africans, there have been innumerable testimonials from high authorities to the effect that Indian settlers have played a useful part. Sir Harry Johnston in his report for 1901, wrote, 'Indian trade, enterprise and emigration require a suitable outlet. East Africa is and should be from every point of view the America of the Hindus (of course, he meant 'Indians' generally). We do not naturally desire to see all the Indian enterprise in Eastern Africa sheltered by a flag that is not British.'

Indians as a Factor in Civilising the African

The Hilton-Young Commission, appointed in 1927, also known as the Closer Union Commission, made recommendations for more effective co-operation between the different East African territories. They admitted in their Report that the Indian had been a potent factor in the process of civilising the African. He at the same time helped the British merchant by carrying this ware into the remote native areas. The Report stated :

> There can be no doubt that the Indian community has played a useful, and in fact an indispensable part in the development of these territories. *The Indian has been a potent factor* in the process of civilising the African. *The Dukanwala or petty shop-keeper has carried his wares far and wide into remote native areas and introduced the products of European industry among the most primitive tribes.* By increasing their wants he has created an incentive to effort and thus sown the first seeds of economic progress. The Indian dealer has performed another useful function in marketing the products of native agriculture. For instance, the greater part of the valuable cotton crop in Uganda is handled by Indian buyers, and their activities have undoubtedly stimulated the spread of cotton cultivation. The middleman generally survives as a necessary link in the chain of distribution and it must be recognised that the Indian middlemen are doing useful work for which no other agency is at present available. The European cannot afford to trade on the small scale and with the small margin on which the Indian subsists, and the African generally is not yet sufficiently advanced to do so.

It may be pointed out that Tanganyika is a quarter of a century behind Kenya and there is no other agency in that territory which can perform the task the Indian has been doing.

The European Settler in East Africa

The case of the European settlers has been explained in the following passage of the Joint Parliamentary Committee Report on the Closer Union Commission of East Africa :

> In the course of the evidence an interesting analysis of the economic basis on which White settlement has hitherto rested was submitted to the committee, the general conclusion of which was that White settlement had not been really self-supporting but only made possible by a very considerable measure of direct and indirect financial assistance, and that the tendency of the future would be to eliminate the farmer settler in favour of the plantation manager. This view and its implications were opposed by a considerable body of evidence. When allowance is made for the severe set-back which the young settler community suffered owing to the war, and for the difficult economic conditions of the post-war period, the progress made so far certainly compares not unfavourably with that of other countries at the same stage in their history. On the other hand, even when the initial stage of taking root has been overcome, the possibilities of any large expansion would seem to be precluded by the limited area of the temperate highlands as well as by the narrowly restricted sphere of occupations which the White man is prepared to take up. *In the meantime the Committee consider that the figures and arguments submitted to them merit serious consideration before any policy of further intensive White settlement is adopted.*

In spite of this, efforts have continued to increase European settlement. Even during World War II, the Kenya Government approved proposals for settling two hundred Europeans in Kenya, while no such scheme has been devised for the settlement of Indians who have played and still continue to play a very important role in the development of Africa.

The present Bill is clearly designed to hit the Indian community. The measure does not only affect the vested interests and self-respect of the Indians in the four East African territories alone, it is an affront to India.

1942 Revolution in Tanganyika

The extension of the Quit India movement to the African continent has recently been revealed. It is, however, a strange paradox that it was left to young Indians in the Government service to hold the Flag salutations and distribute bulletins in 1942 in Tanganyika, East Africa, while Indian leaders there were anxious not to lose Government contracts or incur official displeasure.

The following is the full account of the struggle, written by Sri Oza and published in the *Bharat Jyoti*:

> That the "August Resolution failed to stir the Indian leaders in Tanganyika and exposed the apathy of the Indians in general towards the problems of the Mother land" is a very far-reaching statement. I agree, but nevertheless it sums up general reactions to the movement. Not that Tanganyika Indians could have done anything in a practical way to demonstrate their oneness with India as the Government of the country is entirely different and is in no way connected with India Office nor can the Indians launch a movement against it simultaneously as in India. What they could and should have done was to have rendered financial help to the Congress, held protest meetings, distributed correct literature and above all sent up volunteers to India. That is exactly what they did not do—"they" means the leaders and the mercantile community. Whatever little that was done was by the smaller fry—the official and the clerical section of young Indians inspired by a burning fire of patriotism which prompted them to incur the wrath of the Government on one hand and the Indian leaders on the other. Almost all who were involved were either Government servants or employed by business firms.
>
> The attitude adopted by the Indian Association —the paramount body of the Indians—was that of active co-operation in war efforts and severe exclusion of any action on Indian question which, according to them, was likely to prove detrimental to the Indian settlement and followed this policy even where they should have warned the Government against flooding the country with anti-Indian literature likely to poison the minds of those who showed any sympathy towards Indian aspirations. Not only that, but the Government went on inserting libelous propaganda in African language papers for the consumption of the natives and yet, afraid of losing their seats on Councils and Committees, the so-called leaders raised not so much as a protest against this flagrant violation of the policy. When the Editor of the *Tanganyika Opinion* raised this issue and counteracted the false statements by vigorous and biting articles he was informed that he was *persona-non-grata*. With his departure for India, Tanganyika had nobody worth his name who could raise a protest against this. And so at the time of the movement it was left to us to try to do something to show that no matter where we reside we carry a sense of patriotism and feeling for our country with us.
>
> It had been evident ever since the failure of the Cripps Mission that a flare up in India was certain and a move was already afoot to found an Indian Youth League with a view to cultivate public opinion, enrol members who would go to India and to collect funds for helping those who suffered in the Movement. Preparations were not yet complete when on that memorable day I heard a Jap station announce at 6 a.m. in the morning that, "the respected leaders of the Indian National Movement were arrested in the early hours and are now being removed to an unknown destination." The news came somewhat in the nature of a shock to me as I had not expected so swift an action. At that early hour on Sunday I rushed out and saw the President of the Hindu Volunteer Corps which was Hindu in social work and essentially Indian where political and national questions were involved and which worked in co-operation with other Muslim and Hindu sectional bodies. It was a powerful body of youths and had the courage of celebrating a national occasion like Gandhi Jayanti which the Indian Association was afraid to do.
>
> An emergency meeting of the Working Committee was called at nine in the morning. I put up a resolution condemning the action of the Government of India and requesting the Indian Association to forward it to the Government of India after passing it in a mass meeting, which was to be held the same afternoon to mourn the death of the Hon. Mr. J. B. Pandya of Kenya Legislative Council. The resolution was squashed by the President of the Association who appealed to the people not to be swayed away by events in India and to live as Tanganyikans and not Indians.
>
> Infuriated, we sent up the resolution ourselves. News about atrocities began pouring in through Jap and German stations. Censorship was tightened and all newspapers from India were thoroughly examined before being sent to Tanganyika. I, however, managed to circularise provincial youth leaders and decided to try to smuggle out volunteers. The Indian Assistant Director of Manpower got wind of the move and he stopped granting exit permits to any youth Indian. We managed to send out a couple of chaps on medical grounds. By that time Congress Bulletins and copies of the *Quit India* resolution arrived packed in bales of piecegoods. These were typed and distributed. However, after a few numbers were sent out, the Government was obligingly informed by an Indian Member of the Legislative Council about it. Then it was child's play for the C.I.D. to trace the culprits. They could establish that the bulletins were distributed through a Government Department. The distribution was stopped.

Ceylon Saved Through Indian Help

A long statement setting out in detail the various occasions on which India had helped Ceylon with supplies of foodstuffs has been issued by Mr. M. S. Aney, Government of India's Representative in Ceylon. The statement has been issued in view of the recent Ceylon press reports, as well as allegations by certain speakers from public platforms. Recently Mr. Ananda Tissa De Alwis, Publicity Officer of the Post-War Reconstruction Committee, Board of Ministers, Ceylon, in a broadcast over the Colombo Radio, purporting to refute "mis-

representations" about Ceylon was reported to have stated that not a grain of rice had been coming into the island from India in renent years. It is also reported that at the Kalutar co-operative conference, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, Leader of the State Council, told the audience that India had not sent a grain of rice to Ceylon and Ceylon obtained all her foodstuffs through the good offices of England.

Mr. Aney has done well in flinging this refutal at those false propagandists who evidently wanted to aggravate the anti-Indian temper prevailing in Ceylon at the present moment.

Giving details of supplies of foodstuffs from India, Mr. Aney says that after the fall of Burma, Ceylon turned to India for foodstuffs, particularly rice, to bridge the gap in her import requirements. This was a time when a large deficit in the supply of foodstuffs in India also became apparent. The famine in Bengal which took its toll in loss of life evoked as much sympathy in Ceyon as in India.

Yet during the first six months of 1943, India exported to Ceylon 57,000 tons of rice and a total of about 79,000 tons of foodgrains. After the famine in Bengal began and between July and October 1943, 1242 tons of rice, 20,490 tons of wheat and wheat flour and a total of 31,000 tons of pulses were exported.

On November 1, 1943, the Government of India were compelled to place an embargo on the export of all foodgrains from India but as a result of representations made by the Government of Ceylon 2,000 tons of pulses per month were allotted for export to Ceylon from December, 1943.

During 1944, the food position in India was extremely serious. Only pulses were allowed to be exported to Ceylon and that too in smaller quantities than were originally allotted. During that year 9851 tons of pulses were exported to Ceylon. During 1945, in response to the urgent demand from Ceylon, the Government of India loaned to Ceylon Government 25,000 tons of rice during February and March which His Majesty's Government agreed to replace by equal quantity of rice from Egypt. In response to another request in May 1945, a further loan of 25,000 tons of rice was made, export being completed by the middle of September. In December 1945 arrangements were made to ship at short notice a further loan of 6,500 tons of rice from Travancore. All these loans were made owing to non-fulfilments in the programme of arranged shipments to Ceylon and in order to avert breakdown of the food rationing system in Ceylon. It was admitted in the State Council on February 12, 1946, that during 1945, Ceylon took from India a loan of 55,000 tons of rice on the guarantee of replacement by the Food Ministry in London. Export of pulses were resumed in 1945. Eighteen thousand tons were allotted for the second half of 1945 and greater part hereof had been exported to Ceylon before the present serious situation intervened and compelled the Government of India to prohibit further exports.

In June 1946 on representations made by Ceylon, the Government of India agreed to the diversion of shipment of cereals intended for Bombay to Colombo. In reply to an appeal by the Ceylon Indian Congress President in this behalf, the Government of India replied, they had already agreed to the diversion of one ship on the promise of replacement and could not do more, in view of the present crisis in India.

Mr. Aney says that India remained and remains practically the main supplier to Ceylon from abroad of sheep and goats, curry stuffs, eggs, dried fish, etc. Mr. Aney points out that it is necessary to view all these exports against the background of the situation in India during 1943, 1944 and 1945 and the beginning of 1946.

Mr. Aney says, "Today the people of India would be more than glad for a mere loan of two million tons of foodstuffs to be replaced in 1948 when our granaries are full. The effect of an import of food is to be judged not by considering whether it is loan, gift or sale but from the benefits derived from its immediate arrival. All requests for such loans or sales of food have to pass through Washington and in cases of empire countries through London also. *In June 1946, the Ceylon Commissioner for Food Supplies in Delhi was reported in Ceylon as having stated that the Government of India had always come to Ceylon's assistance in times of extreme necessity and would help again.*

On April 25, 1946, the Ceylon press reported Sir Oliver Gunnetilleke as having acknowledged the support by Indian and South African delegations at the London Food Council for Ceylon's claim for special treatment with regard to rice and flour supplies. He has also acknowledged gratefully the support received by him in presenting his claim at Washington from the Indian delegation.

Independence for the Philippines

The Philippine Republic has been formally inaugurated on July 4. This day is auspicious for America because it was on July 4 that the thirteen colonies had started their own career of independence.

The Philippines were discovered and conquered about four hundred years ago by the Spaniards and named after Philip II. Contact with the outside world soon lifted the natives from the rudimentary phase of civilisation. The islands changed hands, and for two centuries remained under the British but again came back to Spanish hands. Towards the close of the last century, at the conclusion of a war between Spain and America, the islands were ceded to the U.S.A.

The Philippines, no doubt, have come to enjoy formal independence, but is that independence absolute? Pandit Nehru's message to her brings that point into relief. He said :

> We hope that this really signifies independence, for this word has rather become hackneyed and outworn and has been made to mean many things. Some countries, that are called independent, are far from free and are under economic and military domination of some great power. Some so-called independent countries carry on with what might be termed *puppet regime* and are in a way client countries of some great power.

With India in the past, the people of the Philippines, as of all other countries of South-East Asia, have had contact. India would, therefore, be all the more happy if she could feel that this independence were real. The declaration of Manuel Roxas, the first President of the Philippines Republic, made on this occasion, tends to show that the islands will remain a client state of the great Power which has formally made her independent. She remains committed to support the U. S. International programme. American military bases will be there. The economic interests of the islands will also continue to be dominated by American capital. These vital facts will tend to indicate that the *indepen-*

dence that has been granted is a qualified article. The connections between the U.S.A. and Philippines that will obtain from July 4 will be clear from the following portions of President Roxas' statement :

As President of the Philippines, I will so arrange the defence of these islands that it may be intimately co-ordinated with the plans of the United States for the maintenance of defensive bases in the Philippines. We will maintain as large an army as our resources permit and it will co-operate very closely with the armed forces of the United States based in the Philippines.

Also I am committed with reservations in favour of stimulating the influx of American capital into the Philippines. After the destruction we have suffered, due to war, it can be truthfully said that the Philippines constitute an almost complete economic vacuum.

We do not have enough of our own capital to develop the country and, therefore, unless American capital comes to our aid we will have to depend on other foreign capital.

I wish to safeguard against this in order to avoid any future political complications which might prove most dangerous to the independence of the Philippines.

Most of the people in the Philippines, without exception, profess the most profound affection and gratitude to the people of the United States. It is not merely because America has shown us the ways of real democracy and thus inspired us with an even greater love for freedom and equality. It is also because of America's liberation of our country from the hands of a cruel and inhuman enemy.

We have drunk very deeply at the fountain source of America's great history and traditions.

After we receive our independence we will continue to seek and to maintain as close a relationship with the United States as possible. Perhaps not always shall we be able to maintain a close political relationship, but intimate co-operation with American institution will remain and endure.

Madras Government's Cloth Distribution Scheme

Mr. T. Prakasam, Prime Minister of Madras, has submitted a draft proposal for the equitable distribution of mill-cloth through village committees. He does not seem to favour the introduction of a rationing scheme for cloth. The Muslim League members of the Madras Council opposed the Premier's proposals and characterised his scheme as "impracticable and unwarrantable." The League members demanded immediate introduction of mill-cloth rationing and urged that the "ration be fixed according to the requirements of the various classes of consumers in regard to the quality, quantity and variety." One of the League members said that there was nothing in the Premier's proposals to eliminate the possibility of abuse of power by the committees or the autocracy of subordinate special officers. He urged that the representatives of the major political parties should be chosen for the committees. One other objection to the village committees functioning, as distributors of cloth was that it would encourage factions.

The Prime Minister gave a fitting reply to the objections. In his statement made to the House, he had mentioned that there was a widespread complaint that mill-cloth was not reaching the poor class of consumers and that the Government had a scheme for the equitable distribution of the available supplies under which it was proposed to utilise the services of the Village, Taluk and District Committees proposed to be formed for the procurement of foodgrains. The proposals are as follows :

In consultation with the District Committee, the district quota of mill-cloth will be apportioned equitably among the Taluks in the district.

In consultation with the Taluk Committees, quotas will be fixed for each village.

Monthly quotas of mill-cloth will thus be fixed for every village and taluk.

The Textile Control Department will specify the dealers carrying on business in the village, and, if necessary, outside it and as near as possible to the village, who should supply mill-cloth to the village under the instructions of the Village Committee.

With reference to the monthly quota of the village, the village committee will draw up a basic scheme of distribution indicating the yardage of mill-cloth which will be supplied to each family in the village during the year. It is recognised that there can be no guarantee of supplies in terms of varieties.

Having due regard to this basic scheme, the village committee will settle as to how each consignment of cloth received by the dealers allotted to the village should be distributed, that is, it will issue in writing distribution instructions to the dealers concerned specifying the families to whom the consignment should be distributed and the quantity in each of the available varieties to be sold to each such family. All purchasers of cloth will be asked to produce their food ration cards at the time of the purchase, to enable the dealer to satisfy himself that the cloth is being given to the authorised persons.

The full District Committee may, whenever it considers it necessary, meet and discuss matters relating to cloth control in the district. But in order that the Collector may be free to concentrate on his work relating to food control, it is considered desirable that the District Committee should appoint a sub-committee, consisting of all the non-officials elected from the Taluk Committees, two members of the Legislature selected from among the representatives of the Legislature on the District Committee, the three dealer members referred to above, with the Inspecting Assistant Textile Commissioner as Chairman, and that the sub-committee should be made responsible for performing the District Committee's functions in regard to cloth.

Each Village Committee will be asked to appoint a sub-committee from amongst its members consisting of the Chairman, one of the dealer members and one of the other members of the committee who is not engaged in any trade himself. The sub-committees so appointed will be entitled to visit any cloth shop in the village and ask for information regarding the distribution of cloth made by the dealer. It shall be entitled to look into the cash receipts or credit notes, as the case may be, evidencing the sales made by the dealer. These inquiries and the intimations, which will be given to the Committee in advance furnishing full particulars of every consignment of cloth received by every dealer who has been asked to

supply mill-cloth to the village, will enable the sub-committee to see how far the dealer's distribution has been in accordance with the committee's distribution lists.

Proceeding to deal with the Opposition's criticism, Mr. Prakasam said that one main point urged was that the Village Committees could not be trusted and that reliance could not be placed on their competence. It was not for them to say that villagers were incompetent simply because they were uneducated. As for factions and stray assaults, that occurred owing to ignorance, it was their duty to see that those things were stopped. A foreigner might be pardoned for saying that people of this country did not know how to govern themselves : but not their own countrymen. A democratic system of Government was known in this country long before Britain could evolve a democracy of its own. As for factions, were there not factions among educated men ? Were not educated men standing in the way of effecting a settlement of the political problem of the country ? The Indian villager was intelligent. He could understand things if they were properly presented to him. The existing machinery had failed and he had to trust the whole matter into the hand of the people themselves. Let them not think in terms of Hindus and Muslims. Let his Muslim friends come with him and he would show them that in certain villages, *where the Congress had organised spinning, nearly eighty per cent who benefited were Muslims.*

Continuing Mr. Prakasam suggested that under the stress of the present crisis, they might give this opportunity to the people of the villages to restart on their old system of administering their own affairs. He was sure, that it would be an effective means of dealing with the present crisis and in the long run help to reinvigorate village life and restore it to its ancient greatness. He was sure, given full opportunity, the villages could become the basis of an economy of self-sufficiency of the whole country.

Chemical Laboratory for India

A plan for the establishment of a National Chemical Laboratory for India upon a 430-acre tract of land at Poona has been submitted by the Planning Committee of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

Under the proposal, the laboratory would have available Rs. 38,90,000 in the form of cash and equipment. The Government would grant Rs. 25,00,000, the Sir Dorabji Tata Trust Rs. 8,30,000 and the existing chemical laboratory of the Board of Scientific and Industrial Research—which would be absorbed in the National Chemical Laboratory—Rs. 5,60,000 in equipment, chemicals, apparatus and library.

The object of the Laboratory would be "to promote research in industrial chemistry and the chemical utilisation of the raw material resources so as to help the development of the country and its resources."

New processes evolved would be developed up to the pilot plant stage to enable chemical and other industries in need of research in general to derive benefit from the investigations. The main divisions projected are : Inorganic chemistry including analytical chemistry, physical chemistry including electro-chemistry, chemical engineering, survey and intelligence, and organic chemistry.

Among the immediate problems of national importance which the laboratory would study are surveys of raw materials and their industrial potentialities, utilisation of by-products from existing industry and the development of key industries. An Advisory Committee composed of leading chemists, scientists and industrialists would serve to help chalk out the programme and to help co-ordinate the laboratory's work with that of the Universities and other research institutions of the country.

Starvation or Murder ?

Philip Bolsover of the *Daily Worker* makes scathing comments on the Food administration of the United Nations. He says that millions are facing death in Asia. Millions more are on starvation rations in Europe. Japan and Germany are pushed to the head of the world's dinner table for reactionary political reasons. Britain's agriculture is being allowed to slip back to pre-war standards. But none of these things need have happened.

Bolsover says : "People are already dying from starvation in India ; people will die in Europe, and they are not only dying. They are being murdered ; just as surely as though they had each been poisoned or shot. Atom bombs would not slaughter them on such a scale.

"In a world ruled by a sane economic system they would not die. The world has had six years of war, it has had droughts, it is maintaining men under arms instead of in agriculture, it is short of transport. These are some of the reasons why men and women are starving, but a Socialist economic system would have dealt with these causes of food shortage. People are dying, *because it is more profitable for the North American farming interests, under the control of the banks, to hoard their wheat until prices rise, instead of selling it now to save starving people. (North Dakota, for instance, has millions of tons of wheat stored.) Because it is more profitable to give grain to cattle than to send it to hungry human beings. (Grain fed to animals in the United States has jumped by 32½ million tons over the pre-war figure—enough to save millions of lives). Thanks to lifting up of meat rationing by President Truman it is more profitable to feed animals with grains than to export grain to needy countries. Because it was more profitable to burn wheat in Argentina than to store it to meet the needs of other countries. (In the last four years Argentina has burnt 1,280,899 tons of wheat and 7,28,462 tons of maize as fuel.)*

"These are the distortions of a vicious and immoral economic system. They are certainly not the wish of the mass of American people, who have never refused to allow food cuts nor of the British people, now tightening their belts.

Equally malevolent are the political distortions.

In Asia, food supplies are being diverted to Japan to bolster the power of reactionary forces installed under American protection. For food, or lack of food, is a profound factor in a political situation.

In Europe, attention is focussed by Britain and America on Germany, though urgent claims come pressingly from other quarters. Why ? Because reactionary British and U.S. politicians fear the contrast between the rations in their sectors of Germany and those in the Soviet zone.

While these policies are followed, while supplies are diverted, India's hungry millions, whose need of food is the greatest in the world, see their hopes of life fade.

These things—the profit-hunting, the political ganging—are the factors that are slowly killing thousands of simple, ordinary folk all over the world.

And the reverse side of the picture?

The distribution of tractors, stock and agricultural implements to peasants in Eastern Europe and the Soviet zone of Germany is part of the reverse side.

The division of the big landlords' estates, giving East Europe's peasants a new incentive to produce, is another part of the reverse. In Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria—all over Eastern Europe—peasants are being rescued from an incredibly low standard of living by their new governments. They have help and organisation—above all they have hope.

And a third part of the reverse side is the fact that the Soviet Union plans to increase its agricultural production so rapidly that it will be harvesting 127,000,000 tons of wheat in 1950—seven per cent more than in 1939. This in spite of the fact that 40 per cent of the cultivated area in the Soviet Union was occupied by the Nazis, with the accompaniment of unequalled ruin and repopulation. War or no war, drought or no drought, Socialist harvests will not fail.

Bolsover then criticises Hoover, President Truman's Food Emissary to Europe and Asia. He writes:

> Can we trust him? Can he be trusted not to use food as a weapon of political blackmail against the democratic Governments of Europe? asks I. Starobin in the *Daily Worker*.
>
> President Roosevelt didn't trust him. There was considerable pressure on Roosevelt to give Hoover public office, but the President refused to yield—he saw in such action a betrayal of progressive policies.
>
> On the other hand, the Nazis trusted Hoover. When he visited Berlin in 1938 he was acclaimed by Hitler's associates. He went to a meeting in Basle that was intended to be secret, and was there toasted by the Nazis with the remark: "We expect much from Mr. Hoover."
>
> As relief administrator in 1919, Hoover boasted publicly that with food as a weapon he had saved Europe from Communism. What he meant was that he had installed Fascist regimes in Hungary, Poland, Finland and the Balkans.
>
> In 1921, Hoover wrote to a friend: "The whole of American policy during the liquidation of the Armistice was to contribute everything it could to prevent Europe from going Balshevik or being overrun by their armies."
>
> Altogether, there seem to be quite a lot of reasons why one really should not trust Mr. Hoover.

Indian Buyers' Activity in London Share Market

Buying from India is becoming an increasingly important feature of the industrial share market in London. Large Indian investors with ample funds are buying shares of companies operating in India though controlled from London. The ultimate result, assuming continuity, will be a change in control from Britain to India.

India has long been active in buying shares of lesser known tea companies. During recent months many thousands of British shares have been occupied by Indian investors. Jute shares have also attracted Indian buyers and about 60 per cent of these shares have passed into Indian hands. Rises in the prices of the shares of the Calcutta Trams, Calcutta Electric Supply, Indian Iron and Jute on the London share market, are due to buying orders from India. The sudden rise of Madras Electric Company early in June last has resulted in the transfer of roughly ten thousand shares to India.

These transfers of shares to Indian hands have necessarily raised the question of management. It is believed that in some cases the shares held by Managing Agents have fallen short of the safe margin. In consequence, complete transfer of management of some British firms to Indian hands have taken place. In the first flush these transfers were in a way advantageous to British businessmen who generally control their firms in this country through the Agency Houses. With a fraction of the shares in their hands, these Agents are in a position to arrogate the lion's share of the profits. It was not a very bad proposition for them to reap the harvest while the Indians supplied the capital.

The domination of industries in India through the Agency Houses is not now considered fully safe. Anxiety is felt as to how far this domination can be maintained with the bulk of capital in Indian hands. The *Evening Standard* of London gives an indication that this question is engaging the attention of the London heads of Indian firms. The city editor of the *Evening Standard* writes that the directors of some of the large Indian tea companies are seriously considering altering the articles of association of their companies in order to prevent control passing from England to India. He states that during the past twelve months Indian investors and speculators have obtained control of a number of smaller private tea estates and have paid anything between £175 to £225 an acre for them, or more than double the actual capitalisation of the estates concerned. Now they are buying the shares of better known public companies in the London market. The buying movement has increased steadily during the past few months and a recent analysis of share transactions by one management company showed that seven out of ten transfers were on Indian account.

British Education Act

Education has had the honour of being the first big measure of British post-war legislative planning. Housing and health programmes are still in the preliminary stage. The Education Act is the most ambitious and comprehensive Education Bill that has ever been passed by the Parliament. The Act is a bold measure. It builds up on what is old, it seeks to fulfil and not to destroy. It is essentially socialist in character because it provides for equality of opportunity for all in the matter of education. The aim is clear, the Government propose "to secure for children a happier childhood and better start in life, to provide a fuller measure of educational opportunity for young people and to provide means for all of developing the various talents with which they are endowed and so to enrich the inheritance of the country whose citizens they are." The basic aim is to improve the content of education. The Act is based on the principle of retaining diversity of choice for the individual child within a co-ordinated system of education in progressive stages from the Nursery to the Advanced Adult stage.

The main features and the significance of the Bill have been summarised by Mr. G. Sundaram in the *Hindu*:

> ***Pre-School Education*: The value of Pre-School Education is realised and provision is made for a generous supply of Nursery Schools. It is pointed**

out that these schools are specially needed by children of poorer classes who require a suitable environment. These will be provided by local authorities.

Compulsory School Age : The most striking feature is to take the first step in the programme of raising the school-leaving age. The Fisher Act had brought it to 14 but now it has been raised to 16. Education is regarded as a continuous process—Primary, Secondary and Further—from 5 up to the age of 18.

Primary Stage : Primary schools will give instruction to pupils from the age of 5 to 11. At 11 + they will be diverted to different types of schools. There will be no public examination at this stage as its effect on the child and the curriculum will be cramping. But the diversion will be guided by a study of individual aptitudes as reveals from school records and intelligence tests as well as by parents' wishes regarding the future careers of their children.

Secondary Stage : At 11 + the pupils will have to turn to Grammar Schools, Technical Schools or Modern Schools and they will stay there till 15 or 16. At 16, there will be an internal examination. Those who desire to take to University Education will have to pass the Entrance Tests.

Higher Education : Another remarkable feature is the establishment of Young Peoples' Colleges. Therein the students will have to continue their education till 18. These will give instruction for one day a week.

Health of Children : Government regard the care of children's health as a basic factor in the scheme of education. Medical Inspection followed by medical treatment will be absolutely free. Provision of nourishing meals and milk for all is part of the Health programme.

Free Education : The Act abolishes fees in all schools wholly maintained by educational authorities, whether primary or secondary. Thus equality of opportunity has been provided for all. In aided private schools a number of free places will be available.

Inspection : There will be compulsory inspection of all private schools, which will be guided by the advice of inspecting officers.

Religious Instruction : Religious instruction is regarded as an essential element of education. It is laid down that the school day should begin with a corporate act of worship. Instruction on agreed syllabus will be given though parents have the liberty to withdraw their children from religious classes.

Administrative Charges : The Minister will have full power to control the whole field of education, not merely to guide, supervise and advise as before. He will appoint Advisory Councils which he will consult from time to time. The estimated cost will be £200,000,000 in a normal year and two-third will be met from Central Taxation.

Teacher Supply : The problem of adequate Teacher Supply is visualised. The Training Colleges and Schools will have to double up their output. The ban on employment of married women teachers has been removed. While a separate committee has thoroughly gone into the question, it is realised that conditions of parity with Civil Service will have to be established so that teaching service may attract and keep men and women of talent, ability and ambition.

The British Education Act of 1944 is a pointer to statesmen and publicists in all countries and especially in a country like India, which has been educationally backward owing to political servitude. Mr. Butler calls upon the Indian statesmen to place first things first in the Scheme of Nation-building. The provision of a comprehensive system of Education run by capable teachers whose supply is uninterrupted because of proper conditions of service and prospects of adequate rewards will have to be regarded as the first step in National Reconstruction in free India. The Indian national leaders have yet to learn that education, in the words of the Conservative Party Report, is "a basic activity and that it conditions the future character of the entire community." Will our leaders keep in mind the truth of the statement that introduced Butlers' Bill ?—"Upon the education of a people, the fate of a nation depends."

Conditions in our country stand a lamentable comparison. The Congress Governments have just begun to liberalise education but their powers and resources are too limited to redress the bad effects of the planned denial of education that has been so far the official policy. In non-Congress provinces education is still neglected and in Bengal a measure *for further curtailment of educational facilities is on the legislative anvil.*

Indo-Russian Trade Prospects

Alfred Wagg, Special Representative of the *Chicago Tribune* has thrown light on the possibilities of the development of Indo-Russian trade. He says that Indian business is expecting to bring a minimum number of one thousand translators during the coming year. Wagg claims that this has been revealed to him by a spokesman for one of India's largest textile, sugar, jute concerns who indicated that his firm had already made handsome offers to the students of Russian language, who may be able to translate into English or Hindustani, if they come to India for assisting to secure liason with Russian business, eventually attempting the replacement of the United States as an outside influence in competition with British India. When questioned how the idea of developing trade with Russia was conceived, the spokesman said, "Members of the Russian film industry who came to India four years ago contributed many suggestions concerning the exchange of business knowledge."

The representative stated the reason for the need of Indo-Russian co-operation in commercial spheres, firstly, the need to introduce into India a check against rising British prices; secondly, to hedge against inflation on present business ; thirdly, to develop facilities of Afghanistan-Russia-India border in view of the possibility of building railroads from India to Russia as soon as British political control relaxes and also o improve air, road and other transport facilities for connections with Russia ; fourthly, the need for cheaper products from Czechoslovakia and small European countries where Russian aid is helpful, such as Latvia and Estonia. He also stated : "India needed Russian equipment and machinery" and stated that Russian influence was welcomed by his firm and, that already many

European engineers, consultants were advising his firm on the prospects of trade.

In view of the third world war, it is but natural that India will begin to think of her trade relations in terms of land routes instead of depending for the supply of essential commodities on vulnerable sea routes. Opening up of land communications between Russia, China and India can easily develop Asia into the strongest economic and military unit of the world.

Foreign Possessions in India

There are a few French and Portuguese possessions in India reminding us of the foreign adventurers who set their foot on our soil three centuries ago. It is time that they should be amalgamated with the whole of India. Their foreign rulers should now be asked to quit. A long step forward has been taken in this direction by the people of French India. In electing for a member to the French Constitutional Assembly, they voted for one who pledged himself to support the move for an amalgamation of French India with the rest of the country. Movement in the Portuguese possessions has also started and Goa has been for some time in the limelight. But this Goanese struggle is still a struggle for civil liberties. Quit Goa struggle has not yet begun.

The foreign possessions may be minor principles but they are pimples that disfigure the face of India and should be cured at the earliest possible opportunity. Their foreign owners would also gain a far greater amount in amity with Indians than they would lose in cash.

Asiatic Society of Bengal

What are things coming to at the Asiatic Society of Bengal? Judging from recent tendencies it is more than apparent that the last decade's history is going to be repeated there. Only in 1939, the Society had set up a Re-organisation Committee to investigate thoroughly into the causes that had led to the decline in its cultural activities under a paid European General Secretary. After a thorough scrutiny the Society, on the recommendation of the Reorganisation Committee resolved to abolish the post of a paid Secretary and it was decided to appoint two Assistant Secretaries, one for administrative and the other for academic purposes. The Assistant Secretaries would be under an elected Honorary General Secretary. For financial reasons, only one Assistant Secretary could be appointed. Since 1943 even this post has remained vacant.

In 1943, with the election of Dr. S. P. Mookerjee as President and Dr. Kalidas Nag, as General Secretary, the academic and cultural activities of the Society were greatly stimulated. Dr. R. C. Majumdar took up the herculean task of reorganising the Library which had been almost in a hopeless mess. Printed books, manuscripts of great rarity and value were lying practically unattended. There was no catalogue worth the name. On enquiry, many of the rare books were found to be untraceable. A suitable Librarian worthy of the Society's Library was badly needed, and such a scholar, a Lecturer of the Calcutta University, was found and appointed. So long both the Library and the publications were managed by the Society's clerks whose academic interests and abilities fell far short of the standard that was required there. On appointment of the Librarian on a contract service for three years, immediate attention was paid to cataloguing of all books on a modern scientific basis and to putting an end to the mysterious disappearance of valuable books. The old clerical system of running the library having been found unsatisfactory, the entire library in all its sections was placed under the new librarian. Since then a very large portion of the printed books has been catalogued. Out of a total of 26,000 manuscripts in the Sanskrit section, 15,000 remained totally unnoticed, uncatalogued and even unlisted. A brief catalogue of this entire lot has been prepared and sent to the press. In the Islamic section also, a considerable number of the unlisted manuscripts have been catalogued. Of the Tibetan Xylography, the entire Tan Gyur section, consisting of nearly 3 500 works, have been catalogued. Under the clerical system there was practically no attempt to add to the stock of the Library with due attention to its high standard and as a result additions consisted mostly of automatic accessions the average for the year being about 150. Under the new Librarian, great care was taken in the selection of books and accessions improved in standard and the number rose to an annual average of 750. With these new arrangements, the library attracted larger number of scholars and members. The publications of the Society were found to have been in an equally hopeless state. The renowned Bibliotheca Indica series was at a standstill, very few books having been published during the last three decades; the Memoirs had stopped and the journal was late in its appearance by years. Some of the books started half a century ago remained unfinished. The standard of the Journal had greatly declined because it failed to attract first class papers due to delay in publication. Dr. Nag paid special attention to the publications and succeeded in a great measure to stimulate it. A new publications officer was brought in to fill a vacant post. He held the M.A. degree in six subjects, had previous experience in press and publication work and was therefore eminently suited for the task. He reorganised the entire publications section, prepared a new catalogue, brought the Journal up-to-date and completed many of the books left unfinished half a century ago in the Bibliotheca Indica series. The whole stock position was ascertained when it was discovered for the first time that almost half of the Society's saleable books were tending to become dead stock. Pages of several books had become brittle to touch. Schemes were then devised to mobilise this stock and a great measure of success was achieved. The annual sales of the Society was sought to be stabilised at Rs. 10,000 where the former annual average was barely Rs. 3,000.

Since the present President began to interest himself in the Society's activities, its dignity as a centre of research began to be ignored. He is responsible for the introduction of a series of weekly lectures for the entertainment of Allied troops, whose standard has now come down to the discussion of "advertisement and quack remedies" and the "history of a thorough-bred race horse." Barring a few talks given by eminent scholars, most of the lectures that were read out were mere school-boy essays. Under the garb of providing amenities to members it is now being attempted to turn the Society into a club room. The Society is known all over through its publications and its library. The present authorities, in complete disregard of this vital fact, have turned their full attention to the recruitment of new members, most of whom are now drawn from

ranks having little connection with academic activities. The consequence of having such a clientele is a natural and inevitable decline in the standard of the Society's activities and neglect of its vital branches.

The present council of the Society is dominated by the President with the help of some merchants and high government officials. Scholars on the council belonging to the University are being quietly eliminated. The latest tendency has been to go back to pre-1939 conditions and appoint a salaried Secretary in clear violation of the Society's verdict delivered in that year after a thorough scrutiny. Applications have been invited for the post of a paid Secretary with a thousand rupee salary. Arrangements for interviewing British applicants in London have already been made and in spite of the fact of having received an application from an eminently suitable Bengali scholar who happens to be a University professor, applications from London are being awaited The Selection Committee is composed of several gentlemen with little pretensions to scholarship. Persons intimately connected with the Society for a very long time, like Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Dr. Meghnad Saha, Dr. Ramesh Chandra Majumdar, Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr. Hora are not on this Selection Committee which consists of four persons, in addition to the President, Secretary and Treasurer of the Society, who are virtually new-comers to the Society and cannot claim to possess any knowledge of either its needs or its working.

This, in short, is the present position. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee and Dr M. N. Saha, who had been mainly responsible for revitalising the Society, have retired. The new publications officer left as he found it difficult to work under conditions that was coming to a head. The Librarian has also left after his contract period was over and to provide for the salary of the Secretary, it has been decided not to fill up either of the posts. In spite of a Secretary being provided for, who will also be the Librarian, the Library for administrative purposes as well as the publications, has been placed under the old clerical regime which was responsible for all the mess.

Arrangements for furnishing the Club Rooms of the Society are being made. It is high time now that the present tendencies of the Society are checked and another attempt made to revitalise it before it sinks to its former position once again. Atmosphere and amenities of the Society ought to be such as invite scholars and not mere members. Its main purpose always was to function as a centre of research, and not merely to attract larger number of men with a promise for the provision of club-like amenities. Scholastic reputation and not popularity had ever been the aim of this august body which has functioned as the torch bearer of Asiatic culture for the past one hundred and sixty years. The Society cannot be allowed to flounder on the rock of cheap popularity.

Grow More Food Campaign in Bengal

During the past few years, the Government of Bengal have sanctioned huge sums of money on the Grow More Food account. The crores of rupees provided for the purpose have literally been wasted. Rice, vegetables, fish and meat—everything is in short supply. New branches were opened under the Agricultural department for research, seed store, manure supply, goat multiplication, and what not, all with easy money destined for a fathomless pit. Attention was devoted solely towards expenditure of all available cash. No attempt was made to increase the area under food. Writing in the *India*, a Calcutta monthly, on "Food and Freedom," Mr. T. M. Pillai drew attention to the vital fact that the Defence of India Rules 80/B and the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order 1944 issued by the Government of Bengal under the said Rule as per notification No. 1384-Agr., published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, dated May 4, 1944, had been brought into force and two years had elapsed since their promulgation. We are glad to find that this revelation has not been allowed to sink into oblivion. A European member of the Bengal Legislative Council, Mr. T. B. Nimmo, asked, on the very opening day of the new session of the Legislature :

> Will the Minister-in-Charge of Agriculture, Forests and Fisheries be pleased to state—
>
> (*a*) in what areas and from what dates, the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order 1944 has been brought into force ;
>
> (*b*) whether lists of waste lands and arable lands not under cultivation have been published in terms of the said Order ; and
>
> (*c*) what area of waste lands and arable lands, not under cultivation, has been brought under food and fodder crops as a result of the said Order ?

The Minister having replied that nothing had been, the following interpellations took place :

Mr. T. B. Nimmo : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why this Control Order has not been brought into force ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : It is under the examination of Government.

Mr. T. B. Nimmo : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to say if it is a fact that there are large areas of unculturable land in Bengal ? If so, whether Government will take steps to bring all those plots under cultivation ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government will take the matter into consideration.

Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury : What are the terms of this Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order, 1944 ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : It is difficult to say what the Order contains.

Mr. Biren Roy : The Control Order dates as far back as 1944. Two years have already elapsed. How long Government will take to bring it into force ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : The new Ministry has come into office and they are examining the matter.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister please state why this Bengal Food Production Control Order, 1944 was at all promulgated if it was not intended to be brought into force ?

Mr. Humayun Kabir : My question was—will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why this particular Order was at all promulgated if the Government have not found it possible to bring it into force even though more than two years have elapsed !

The Hon'vle Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government does not say that it is impossible to bring it into force. The new Government is examining it.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Are we to take it from the Hon'ble Minister that the examination of the

last two years has so far produced no results at all ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have nothing further to add.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister give us some indications as to how long it will take the present Government to make up their mind one way or the other with regard to this particular Order ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : As a matter of fact, this Control Order is going to cease on the 30th of September. So . .

Mr. Hamidul Huq Chowdhury : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state whether Government will bring in legislation incorporating the provisions of this Order ?—(No reply).

Mr. Nagendra Nath Moholanabish : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to state why after the promulgation of that order it was not so long brought into force and if he has very recently come into power whether he has been able to ascertain from Government records as to the reasons for this inordinate delay ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have already answered and I have nothing further to add.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : Will the Hon'ble Minister be pleased to give us any indication as to what proposals, if any, Government have made for the preparation and introduction of any Bill on the lines of the provisions laid down in the said Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order, 1944.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Will the hon'ble member kindly repeat his question ?

Mr. Humayun Kabir : The Hon'ble Minister said some time ago that it was under examination and my question is, will he be pleased to give some indication to this House as to what measures they propose to adopt whether in the form of any Bill or in any other manner in order to carry out the principles which were embodied in this Control Order of 1944 ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : Government is examining the Control Order and if it is feasible to enforce the provisions of the Control Order, Government will bring in legislation accordingly.

Mr. Humayun Kabir : We have been told that the Government is examining it. Will they give us some indication as to the lines on which the Government want to proceed. The Hon'ble Minister has just now told us that he is examining whether it is feasible at all. Are we to take it that, in his opinion, the Bengal Food Crops Production Control Order was not a feasible proposition and the whole thing was a huge joke ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Ahmed Hossain : I have nothing more to add.

While the food production, procurement and distribution policies of provinces like Bombay, Madras, and U.P. have earned the praise and admiration of all observers both Indian and foreign, disinterested observers had only hard words for the methods followed in Bengal. The un-official Food Mission had opportunities to see for themselves how the food problem was being tackled in the differences. Their admiration for the Congress Governments and their strong criticism in respect of Bengal are already on record. During all the war years, production, procurement and distribution of food have all remained in the same hopeless and muddled condition. The nature and extent of callous disregard to the vital points of food administration will be apparent from the interpellations given above. Only in one respect, the Bengal Ministers and officials have never lacked in enthusiasm, and that is in placing crores and crores of tax-payers' hard-earned money in the hands of utterly inefficient—and very often corrupt—men in the administration, in order to enrich a few favoured people.

Village Industry Affected by Railway Priority Rules

"Can stupidity go further ?" asks Prof. J. C. Kumarappa in the current issue of the *Gram Udyog Patrika*, discussing typical cases of abuse of authority in regard to railway priorities. Mr. Kumarappa writes :

> "The Railway Priority Rules have been used to kill village industries. The interpretation of Priority Rules will be amusing were not the results so tragic. For months on end we have not been able to send out equipment for village industries such as paddy husking, flour grinding, oil pressing, bee keeping, paper making, etc. because of the ludicrous ideas Railway servants have. As our implements are made of wood they refuse to classify them as 'machinery and its parts or tools.' According to them, machines, etc., are always of steel or iron. So we cannot be placed under Class VI 'Maintenance of Industrial Production.' Hence the *ghani* is classified as 'civilian furniture ! which is class IV and even the ghani models, about 1-foot in height, are so classified. Stone chakkis are classified as personal luggage.
>
> It is interesting to note that cigarettes, liquors, empty bottles, etc., got a priority over us as they are placed in class V.
>
> The clause provides for the transport of paper from Mills. The Railway refuse to book hand-made paper because we do not call ourselves a 'Mill.' The Chief Traffic Manager writes that 'paper cutting is considered as raw material, only when consigned to paper mills' and that as we are not a 'Mill' it cannot be booked for us as 'raw materials.' Can stupidity go further ? Or is it a wanton attempt to destroy artisans ? Because these are not the whims of an ignorant 'goods clerk' but the obduracy of high-placed officials at headquarters."

Students of the economics of Indian railways will support the learned Professor's second view. Discriminating railway rates and the priority rules have been combined to crush Indian enterprise. The smaller and the more indigenous the industry, the heavier is the blow. We cannot afford to forget that during the crucial war years, a British merchant was planted at the head of the Railway department. Even a British civilian could not be trusted because he was not expected to be fully conversant of the needs and working of the British business machinery. Priority Rules framed for them are still in force and the village industries are feeling the brunt of them.

GERMANY AND WORLD POLITICS OF TO-MORROW

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

WHEN the Treaty of Versailles was signed, after the conclusion of the World War I, it was hoped by many statesmen of the victorious Allied Powers that Germany, disarmed, deprived of her navy and merchant-marine, colonies and also the sources of raw materials at Ruhr and partitioned in the East by the establishment of a Polish corridor, would not be able to play any decisive role in world politics in near future. Although it was understood by some far-sighted statesmen that a vigorous nation of more than 60,000,000 most industrious and highly educated and scientifically trained men could never be kept permanently under subjection, unless she was completely isolated in world politics. To carry out this complete isolation of Germany in world politics, the makers of Versailles Treaty virtually secured control over German economy, national defense and foreign affairs. The League of Nations was made a part of the Treaty of Versailles. This League was a league of victors and a kind of grand alliance of the victors—the big Five with their satellites—to maintain *status quo* of the territorial disposition made by the treaty and have a united front of all the members of the league against any possible move by Germany and her former allies to violate the provisions of the treaty.

But this programme did not work, because, the World War I, which ended with the destruction of the Ottoman Empire, the Tsarist Russian Empire, the Austrian Empire as well as the German Empire, created a new situation in the world politics, *up-setting the balance of power*; and in this new situation of new international rivalry there could not be created a new balance of power without Germany, a strong Germany as a balance among the three rivals—Britain, France, and later on Soviet Russia. Thus within a few years, with the growth of Anglo-French rivalry or Anglo-Russian rivalry, German support, at least neutrality, was sought after by all the great powers and German statesmen utilised this situation to the maximum to bring about recovery of Germany to the position of the most dominant power in the world.

II

After the signing of the treaty of Versailles, which was at first rejected by all Germans of all parties, the German statesmen began to undo the treaty and to do that, *the first and foremost thing that was necessary was to break Germany's isolation in world politics.* The first step towards gaining the objective was possible because the Allied Powers did not wish to take Soviet Russia within their council and even wanted to overthrow Soviet Russian Government by promoting civil war in Russia. Thus Soviet Russia while fighting a Civil War at home and foreign intervention in every field of her national life also needed at least German neutrality, if not support. It was the common interest of both nations—Germany and Soviet Russia—in the fields of economy, national defense and international relations that led to *de facto* Soviet Russian-German alliance, which was signed at Rapplo in 1921. This happened when both Russia and Germany were debarred from becoming members of the League of Nations. *In this connection, one thing should not be forgotten by students of world politics that the ideological issue of "Communism" versus "Capitalism" did not prevent Communist Russia from signing a virtual treaty of alliance with capitalist Germany.* In fact Communist Russia agreed to support capitalist German national economy by supplying raw materials and opening Russian markets for German goods, while German scientists and military experts began to extend their services to build up Russian industries and a *military machine* which later on became so formidable.

After securing Russo-German understanding, in line of Bismarckian foreign policy, German nationalist statesmen began to seek support of Britain against France or to do their best to break up the then existing Anglo-French solidarity. This was not a very easy task and it was not accomplished without much manouvering and lack of space will not permit me to go into details. The attempt to break up Anglo-French solidarity against Germany led to the occupation of the Ruhr by the French; and the Germans who hoped active British opposition to French policy was disappointed. Then came the German success in securing Anglo-American financial support regarding the solution of German reparation problems. After the Ruhr occupation, German statesmen of the type of Dr. Stresseman, became convinced that revision of the Versailles treaty cannot be secured without some kind of Franco-German understanding. When M Briand and Dr. Stresseman began to take active steps to cement Franco-German understanding through economic collaboration between the two nations and also mutual political understanding, then Britain, to prevent any possible formation of a Franco-German-Russian bloc took up the side of Germany; and through various steps Versailles Treaty was revised and the Locarno Pact was signed, and the alien army of occupation left Germany five years before the time set by the Treaty of Versailles.

While Germans were courting both France and Britain to gain their support, they also succeeded to bring about better understanding with Japan and Italy and they began to spread their economic and political activities in China and India. Germany was no more isolated and in actuality Versailles Treaty was broken at many points. The German nation was gaining consciousness of their power and was most anxious to re-assert their old position of dominance in Central Europe, if not in the world. It was under this situation Hitler appeared on the German scene. Hitler was the product of German national aspirations to reassert and to take revenge.

Hitler realised that to recover German territories and to destroy Polish corridor, it was necessary to have military power and diplomatic support. Hitler worked

against partition of Germany and took active steps that all Germanic people—in Austria, in Czechoslovakia and in Poland etc.—must be united and this must be achieved without a war, if that was possible. But at the same time Hitler knew rightly that without strong military backing, Germany will never be able to accomplish the objective. Thus Germany secured British support to introduce conscription and continued secret arming. The British did not object to this ; because they were anxious to have a strong Germany as a balance between a strong France and the growing power of Soviet Russia. The British policy for a time was to have an Anglo-German understanding to prevent any possibility of a German-Russian-French understanding or a German-French understanding or a German-Russian understanding which would be injurious to British interests. In short British policy during the governments of Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald and Neville Chamberlain was to follow the policy of Disraeli who used German support to further British interests. Thus Britain signed the Munich agreement and made concessions to Germany so that the latter would reach eastward which would be a menace to Soviet Russia.

When Soviet Russia became convinced that Germany with the support of Britain and her western allies might start eastward expansion even menacing Russian Ukrain and towards the Caucasus, then Stalin to preserve Soviet Russian National interest, signed a virtual alliance with Hitler, divided up the whole of the Central Europe as their spheres of influence, destroying the very existence of Polish state with which Soviet Russia was in alliance. This led to Hitler's attack on Poland and which led to the World War II. Germany within fifteen years after signing the treaty of Versailles, not only overcame all the restrictions that were imposed upon her, but became the most powerful single state in Europe. It was the greatest blunder on the part of German Nazi leaders to plunge their country into wars hoping that they would be able to gain territories by defeating their enemies. *Germany lost the war because she brought about the combination of Great Britain, America, Soviet Russia and other Powers against her and also because the Axis Power did not follow a common Foreign Policy and common Defense Policy.*

III

Because Germany has lost the war, the defeated country is being partitioned. Poland and Soviet Russia have occupied large sections of East Prussia, the heart of Germanism—German industries have been dismantled and machines of all kinds have been taken to Soviet Russia and other countries. Millions of Germans are being used as virtual slave labourers to rebuild Soviet Russian devastated territories. American, Russian, French and British armies of occupation are policing occupied Germany divided into four zones. There are demands that in the West, German Rhur and Rhineland should also be detached from Germany and there should be international control of German industries. But at the same time there are also protests from the British—such men as Churchill and others have raised their voice against deportation of millions of Germans by the Russians. There are also warnings by American military authorities that there must be centralised German government and four separate zones of occupation should be substituted by one and to be policed by combined forces of occupation. We also find in Russian zone, the authorities have divided up great estates among the masses and also are doing their best to bring about consolidation of Socialist and Communist parties into one pro-Russian party. In the recent elections in the American and British zones, Communists have been overwhelmingly defeated by the Christian democrats or all those who are opposed to pro-Russian policies of the German Communists. Today in Germany, there is a tug of war betyeen the Russians on the one hand, the Anglo-American Powers and their allies on the other, for getting support of the German people in the growing rivalry among these powers.

German scientists are being sought and hired by these Powers and in the United States a very large number of German scientists are carrying on highly secret researches in the field of perfecting war weapons. In Russia today German scientists are used for Atomic researches and Great Britain is also pursuing the same policy.

IV

During the present session of the Foreign Ministers Conference at Paris, United States Secretary of State, Byrnes has made the proposal that the Four Powers—Anglo-American-France-Russian Powers—should form an alliance for twenty-five years and there should be a Four-Power Commission appointed which will have the full authority to carry out complete disarmament of Germany. It is interesting that Russia is violently opposed to any such proposition and Britain is not anxious to see any such development. This is a very significant development—Russia does not wish to see complete disarmament of Germany nor is Great Britain in favour of any such proposition. But they are in favour of a Germany which will be in their favour in the future alignment of Powers in world politics.

The role of Germany in the World Politics of tomorrow will be as significant as it was during the post-Versailles days. In spite of the existence of the United Nations Organization, all nations are arming feverishly and they are creating political blocs and it is only a question of time when Germany a nation of sixty-five millions (in spite of being partitioned) will be sought as an ally by rival blocs. Germany will use the situation to her advantage. *It is safe to say that Germany will go with that bloc of powers which will wipe out the present existing condition of dismemberment and also afford equal opportunity for economic development in world markets for her recovery.* It seems that Soviet Russia cannot support a movement for a United Germany which will be again dominant in Central Europe ; on the other hand, to check Soviet control of the Balkans, the Danubian States and Soviet expansion in various regions undermining the position of Anglo-American powers, the latter powers will be willing to make adequate compensation to a rejuvenated Germany. Thus it is quite probable that within a few years there will be rejuvenation of Germany under the direction of Anglo-American Powers ; and the only way Soviet Russia would be able to prevent such a development is to create a strong German communist bloc which will bring about a Civil War in Germany, as it exists today in China. In any case Germany's role in the world politics of to-morrow will be decisive in the coming re-alignment of powers.

New York, May 8, 1946

THE STATES AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By S. M. BOSE, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), BARRISTER-AT-LAW

ONE of the most important questions that will have to be solved under the New Constitution envisaged by the Cabinet Delegation Plan regarding the post-war political status of India is the position of Indian States and their relation with British India (to use an old phrase which needs modification with the withdrawal of the British). No satisfactory solution of the intricacies of the coming New Constitution is possible without dealing with this vital problem—what is to be the position of, the part to be played by, the Indian States, and the relation between them and British India. What part can the great Indian Rulers play in shaping the future of India? What is to be their position in the future Indian polity?

The present position of the States as envisaged by the Government of India Act, 1935 will first be examined.

There are 109 States, the Rulers of which are entitled to a salute of more than eleven guns and as such, are entitled to be members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right; 127 States, the Rulers of which are represented in groups in the Chamber by 12 members elected by themselves; and 327 petty estates and jagirs, etc., who have no such representation.

These 563 States differ considerably in area, population, internal administration and importance; but they are all alike in that they are under the personal rule of the Prince who has the final voice over legislation and the administration of justice. They are also alike in that they are not part, or governed by the law, of British India.

The States stand in a peculiar relationship to the British Crown as Paramount Power in India. This relationship, which is *sui generis*, is not governed either by international or municipal law. The Paramount Power—the Crown acting through the Secretary of State for India and the Governor-General in Council—has its relations with the States based upon treaties, engagements and *Sanads*, supplemented by usage and sufferance and political practice. The relationship of the Paramount Power with the States, is not merely a contractual relationship, but a living, growing relationship shaped by circumstances and policy, as the Butler Committee put it; it is not fixed, rigid or static, but adaptable, mobile or dynamic in character. As Lord Reading bluntly but forcibly expressed it in 1926, the sovereignty of the British Crown in India is supreme in India and no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing and it is the right and privilege of the Paramount Power to decide all disputes that may arise between the States or between one of the States and itself. Where Imperial interests are concerned, or the general welfare of the people of a State is seriously affected by the action of its government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate responsibility of taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie. Thus, as explained by Lord Reading, the Crown has, independently of treaties, the right by usage, to take all the steps it thinks fit, to ensure the safety of the British Empire, the interest of India as a whole, or the interest of any particular State.

State Rulers enjoy varying degrees of internal sovereignty. Even this qualified sovereignty may be over-ruled by the Crown in cases of mismanagement by the Ruler. No Ruler of a State can enter directly into relations with any foreign power or even with another State. Thus it follows that a State has no international status, as being fully sovereign neither in its internal nor in its external relations, though no doubt principles of natural justice must be taken to guide such relations. Relations between a State and the Crown further lie outside the sphere of municipal law. Briefly such relationship comes under the prerogative of the Crown—that portion of it which may be called Paramountcy.

The Cabinet Delegation's proposal for the abolition of Paramountcy has greatly improved the position and status of the Indian States. Under the new constitution as envisaged by the Cabinet Delegation, new arrangements will have to be entered into by the States with British India, but what these arrangements are to be, has not been outlined. Solution of the various intricate questions regarding the new relation between the two must be attempted. Suggestions are here put forward to help such a solution.

First, the relation between the State Ruler and the subjects must be determined. Hitherto the State subjects have been at the mercy of the Rulers who refused to recognise that their subjects could have any claim to rights and privileges—such as those enjoyed by their brothers in British India. The Rulers have been naturally, like their British counterpart, very unwilling to part with their autocratic right and privilege, and they have been against the spread of democratic feeling among their subjects. Recently, however, there has been a welcome change in their attitude. But this change must be carried out into practice. Their subjects have greatly lagged behind their brethren across the border and there is, therefore, a considerable leeway to make up. But the difficulty must be frankly faced and immediate steps should be taken to start real representative institutions in the States, where the subjects are given a real voice in matters affecting their interest. The Rulers must fully and cordially co-operate with their subjects and voluntarily relinquish the privileges they so long enjoyed as Autocratic Heads. This is a *sine qua non*, essential to the building up of a United India. So it is suggested that the Rulers should by a Charter of Freedom, given to their subjects, grant political rights as enjoyed by British Indian subjects, and considerably modify their position.

Next, if the States are to get their rights recognised, there must be union among them. Instead of about 600 different entities, there must be a much smaller number, united and strong. So follows the principle of merger and union between various states, which have common ties of race, tradition and culture. This grouping of various small States with larger, will be followed by a

greater union among the large States, till there arises a kind of Federation or Union of Indian States. So from amalgamation of the smaller States with the larger, there may be grouping together in important blocs, or amalgamations. Sir Sultan Ahmed in his thought-provoking pamphlet on "A Treaty between India and the United Kingdom," has suggested the following blocs: (1) Kashmir and the Punjab States; (2) Kathiawar and Rajputana States; (3) Central India and Eastern States; (4) Mysore, Travancore and Cochin; and (5) Hyderabad. In the interest of the States themselves, such a Union is eminently desirable so that they may enter into the Federation of India, to include both the States and British India. The exact nature of this relationship between the Union of Indian States and the Union of British India will be dealt with later on.

So the suggestion is that all the States should realise that for their security and useful existence, there must be a Union among all of them, to be settled by them by mutual agreement, or if they so prefer, by arbitration by some disinterested authority. The five great State blocs mentioned above may think it desirable to have a form of Federation among themselves, as among the British Provinces now.

Finally, the nature of the future relationship between the Union of Indian States, as advocated above, and the Union of British India, has to be now considered.

This may be of two kinds: (1) a Federation of the States with British India, somewhat on the lines of the Government of India Act, 1935, but more flexible in character; or (2) the creation of a common authority over British India and the States, charged only with the problems of defence and security of India as a whole, on the lines of the scheme of Lionel Curtis.

The first scheme envisages a federated union between the groups of Indian States with the British Indian Provinces, both the Units being represented in the Central Legislature on a joint basis of population and income, the powers of the Central Legislature over each of the two Units being carefully defined by statutory safeguards. Such a Federation will be on lines somewhat similar to those laid down in the Constitution Act, with necessary modifications, one of these being that every one of the States must form part of the Federation, without any so-called right of secession. This is essential; no State should keep out of the Federated Union, not only in the interest of India as a whole but also in its own interest. Separation between a State and British India is impossible; for it is not possible to build an impassable wall between them. Different parts of the Indian Sub-continent cannot get beyond the reach of each other. There is one common unity pervading the whole and a water-tight partition is out of the question.

The other alternative form of Union would be one in which each of the parties, the States on the one hand, and British India on the other, preserves its separate entity on all matters except those of common defence and security; for these specific purposes only, there is to be set up a Common Authority charged with the task of creating such forces by land, sea and air as may be required to secure India as a whole, from attack. This Authority is, by agreement between the Units, to have the power to take all necessary measures for the defence and the security of what may be called the Commonwealth of India, and to levy the cost of such measures from the various members of the Commonwealth. The Commonwealth will be empowered to make its common security from war, a first charge on all the resources of the component units; it will frame estimates for defence, showing the total sum required for the purpose. These estimates will be submitted to a Commonwealth Legislature elected by the citizens of all the component parts of the Commonwealth,—the British Indian Provinces and the States.

In other words, the second scheme is based on there being two component parts—the States Union and the Union of the British Provinces, with separate existence and separate legislatures; but only for purposes of defence and security of India as a whole, there is to be set up the Commonwealth Authority above them, whose function will be to create and maintain such forces by land, sea and air as may be necessary to secure the various component parts of the Union from attack. This Authority thus, will have two branches—the Commonwealth Executive and the Commonwealth Legislature. The former will frame the necessary Budget for the common purposes of security and defence and lay this Budget before the Commonwealth Legislature. The amount of the estimates, when passed by this Legislature, will be apportioned among the members of the Commonwealth of India, in the ratio of their taxable capacity, as assessed by a commission of financial experts. The Commonwealth Authority will also be empowered to enter into negotiations with other members of the United Nations Organisation, regarding matters of defence and security in which all the members of the U.N.O. are equally interested. For this is *One World*, and anything which affects the security of any part thereof, affects the security of the whole.

A comparison of the two schemes may be useful; the first scheme—which may be called the Federation of India scheme, envisages a union between the British Indian Provinces and the States, with a common legislature—somewhat on the lines of the Government of India Act, 1935; State subjects and British Indian subjects will be more or less on equal footing and enjoy similar privileges. But this Federation would, to a material extent, merge the States with British India.

The second scheme may be called the Commonwealth of India scheme, envisages the separate existence of the Union of States and of the Union of British Indian Provinces; but for certain common purposes only, for defence and security—there will be a supreme Commonwealth Authority above them, to deal with the task of creating and maintaining forces essential for the security of India as a whole. In this scheme, the States preserve their identity, and only unite with British India for the sole purpose of defence and security. This scheme is on the lines of the Dumberton Oaks proposals on a small scale.

Whatever be the scheme adopted, it is evident that very careful investigations will have to be made to settle the actual details of the arrangement between the States and British India.

In the first scheme referred to above and the Federation of Indian Scheme (Scheme A), the following matters will require to be settled in detail:

(*a*) *Defence*: It is advisable that the various State armies should be amalgamated into one and this State Army should be trained and equipped like the British India Army. So the United National Indian Army can fight as one if necessary, against a common foe. Air and naval forces which are very costly should, if

possible, be united under one common head. In the matter of security and defence, no doubt the Federation will seek co-operation with other members of the U.N.O.

(*b*) *The vexed question of tributes* : The States at present pay tribute to the Crown, which forms part of the central revenues. The amount varies from Rs. 24½ lakhs payable now by Mysore to Rs. 3 by a small State named Ravasan in Bombay. The tributes are payable in terms of treaties on which territories were at one time exchanged or restored or on adjustment of claims between the Government of India and the State. In many cases, tributes are paid in full discharge of obligations to maintain or supply troops. The total of these tributes amounts to a little over 72 lakhs. The Joint Parliamentary Committee recommended the gradual remission over a period of years (corresponding to the period during which it is proposed to defer the full assignment to the Provinces of a share of the income tax) of any contributions paid by a State in excess of the value of privileges or immunities enjoyed. For relief should be given to the States because it is anomalous that some units of the proposed Federation alone should be making payments of this description.

(*c*) Some States have ceded territory in return for protection and the Act also recognises the claims of such States to some relief as in the case of States now paying tributes, because the origin of tributes and of ceded territories is the same. Under this head the amount involved is about Rupees one crore.

(*d*) Some States have been enjoying privileges or immunities—(*i*) in respect of levy of their own customs duty by some States and immunity from contribution to the Central Customs revenue ; (*ii*) some States manufacture their own salt and are immune from contribution to the Central Salt revenue (total about Rs. 46 lakhs); (*iii*) immunities in respect of posts and telegraphs : some States enjoy the privilege of having their official correspondence carried free by the Indian Postal Department ; some States get free annual grant of service stamps ; some States like Gwalior and Patiala maintain their separate postal system under convention with the Government of India ; some others like Hyderabad, Travancore and Cochin have this without any such convention ; (*iv*) Hyderabad has the right to issue its own currency notes.

The Act (Secs. 146-147) contemplates the remission by instalments of tributes or "cash contributions" in excess of the value of privilege or immunity enjoyed by the State.

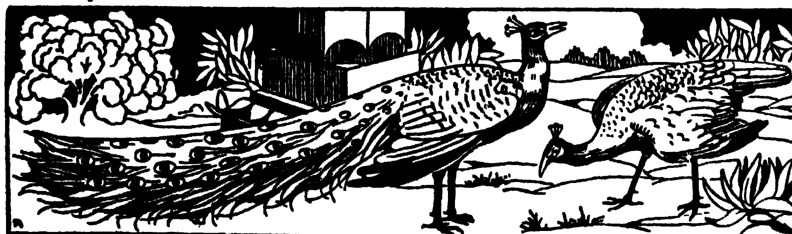
How is this matter to be determined under the new constitution? The proposed abolition of paramountcy ought not to mean abolition in *toto* of cash contributions for these form part of the Central revenues. The Government of the British Indian Union will be the successor of the present Government of India and as such, should inherit the rights of the latter in this respect until varied by mutual consent.

In the second scheme referred to above as the Commonwealth of India Scheme (Scheme B), where the Union of States join the British India Union only, for the limited purpose of security and defence, similar questions regarding tributes, privileges and immunity will arise. These matters along with other Commonwealth relations must be laid down by treaty between the parties. To settle the terms of the Treaty or Treaties, there must be a Tribunal of Arbitrators composed of representatives from the States and from British India, with an impartial Chairman, preferably from the U.S.A. The findings of this Tribunal will be binding on both the parties and will be embodied in the Treaty or Treaties, the terms whereof might be altered or amended by agreement between the parties at stated intervals.

So, whatever be the scheme adopted—Scheme A or Scheme B— there must be a Treaty or Treaties between the States or group of States on the one hand, and British India on the other hand ; and it is clear that the withdrawal of British power from British India must be contemporaneous with the withdrawal of paramountcy over the States. There can be no hiatus.

The above consideration will show the great need of caution and careful study before the relation between the States and British India under the New Constitution can be settled.

So, whatever be the scheme adopted, there is no doubt that some form of close union and co-operation among all the parts of India is essential. Notwithstanding differences in religion and outlook, there is beyond doubt an underlying unity, both geographical and racial, in India, a cultural heritage that runs like a golden thread uniting all parts of India. Recent events have only stressed more strongly the need for unity. The days of self-sufficiency, of isolationism, are over. The principle of self-determination was in the nineteenth century, an integrating force for bringing unity among various small warring units, making them into a single state. In the twentieth century, this principle has unfortunately become a disintegrating force which leads to anarchy. As Walter Lippmann has truly remarked, to make the principle of self-determination the supreme law of international life now is to invite sheer anarchy. The principle rejects the ideal of a State within which diverse peoples find justice and liberty under equal laws and become a commonwealth. Self-determination is very different from self-government ; and by sanctioning secession, it encourages majorities and minorities to be intransigent and irreconcilable.



RACK AND RUIN

A Study of Bengal Finances, 1937-1947

By BIMAL CHANDRA SINHA, M.A., M.L.A.

In an article written a few years ago, I tried to draw public attention to the fact that the Government, by adopting wrong and perverse methods of war finance, can inflict untold sufferings on the people, specially the lower income-groups. But what is more important is that wrong methods of war finance can permanently alter the economic structure mostly to the disadvantage of the masses and the poorer classes. War finance as an instrument of redistribution of public income has assumed great force. This is so because during present global wars the whole of the nation's resources has to be placed at the command of the Government. But matters become far more serious when, in addition to the ordinary potentiality of mischief, there arises the question of colonial exploitation. During crises in capitalist development—and wars are the acutest form of such crises—colonial exploitation assumes ruthless intensity. Bengal is a case in point. She was compelled to pay tribute to Imperialism in the shape of millions of human lives and the complete disruption of her social and economic equilibrium.

The problem raises a thousand questions, but here we shall confine ourselves only to the financial aspect and try to show how, step by step, Bengal has been led to rack and ruin. In fact, there are reasons to believe that special injustice has been done to Bengal and unless special efforts are made to lift her out of the abysmal depths she is in, it will not be possible for her to begin recovery through ordinary methods. Let us first try to have a rapid resume of events since 1937.

(A) The Picture Since 1937

When the new constitution began to work, Bengal was, on the whole, a surplus province. The actual accounts for the year 1937-38 stood as follows:

Revenue	.. ..	Rs. 1,300 lakhs
Expenditure	.. ..	„ 1,183 „
Surplus	.. ..	„ 117 „

Commenting on this in his Budget speech for the year 1939-40, Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, the then Finance Minister, said:

> "In taking our last look at 1937-38 we are reminded that this was the first year of Provincial Autonomy. We find in the figures for that year the financial position as it was when we began our stewardship. We took over from the previous administration both assets and liabilities. A valuable asset was the absence of any budgetary deficits and the receipt of substantial additions to revenue on account of the Niemeyer Award. Another fortunate circumstance was the lifting at that time of the world depression which had forced our predecessors to resort to retrenchment and hold up necessary expenditure. But an onerous liability was the large accumulation of undischarged obligations to the people of this province which we inherited from the past."

Rhetoric apart, it may be well assumed that at the beginning of the working of the new constitution, Bengal started fairly well and with a good working surplus.

The following table gives the financial position as it developed from year to year:

Table I

Bengal Finances (In lakhs of Rupees) (Actuals)

	1937-38	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42
Revenue	1300	1277	1432	1355	1494
Expenditure	1183	1277	1371	1445	1550
Surplus or Deficit	+117	Nil	+61	—90	—56

Table I—*Contd.*

	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45	1945-46 *Revised*	1946-47 *Estimated*
Revenue	1646	2372	3939	3581	4119
Expenditure	1679	2675	4412	4327	5065
Surplus or Deficit	—33	—303	—472	—745	—946

These years fall into three distinct periods. The first period extends from 1937-38 to 1939-40, the pre-war years. The second period extends from 1940-41 to 1942-43 and the third period covers the rest. During the first period we consumed up our surplus; during the second period we ran into deficit; during the third period, matters went beyond all control and in spite of doubling and trebling of revenue (and necessarily of taxes), the deficit went up higher and higher, leading Bengal to absolute ruin and destitution. Let us analyse these periods in greater detail.

1) *The First Period (1937-38 to 1939-40): Exhaustion of the Surplus*

It will be seen that by 1938-39, the huge surplus of 1937-38 was completely exhausted and the Budget that year was just balanced. According to Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the then Finance Minister, this was due to two factors mainly:

> "It will be obvious from the accounts of 1938-39, that the opulence which marked the opening year of Provincial Autonomy had disappeared at the close of the second year. Thus against a revenue surplus of a crore and 18 lakhs in 1937-38, there was no surplus at all on revenue account in 1938-39. This change was partly due to the heavy programme of additional revenue expenditure undertaken in 1938-39 and partly to abnormally large payments of loans to agriculturists on account of damages caused by floods."

It is undoubtedly true that the year 1939-40 was a surplus year. But the surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs was not the result of any careful planning, nor did it reflect the long-term trend of events. It was more or less an accident. As a matter of fact, even the Revised Estimate for that year apprehended a deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs on Revenue Account. But in actual working, there was an improvement of Rs. 74 lakhs, with the result that this estimated deficit of Rs. 14 lakhs was turned into an actual surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs. What was this due to? This was brought about by an increase of Rs. 29 lakhs in receipts and a reduction of Rs. 45 lakhs in expenditure. The increase in receipt was recorded mainly under the following heads: (1) Jute Duty (Rs. 22 lakhs); (2) Land Revenue (Rs. 8 lakhs); (3) Excise (Rs. 5 lakhs); (4) Other Taxes & Duties (Rs. 4 lakhs) and (5) Extraordinary Receipts (Rs. 7 lakhs). But this increase was partly set off by a decline of Rs. 8 lakhs under Stamps and Rs. 9 lakhs under Administration of Justice. The decrease in expenditure was due to decrease mainly under the head 'Miscellaneous' (Rs. 21½ lakhs). It will thus be seen that the surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs was more in the nature of a windfall than a real reflection of the true situation in Bengal. In fact, the Finance Member issued a warning that very year:

> "To other provinces the war has brought comparative affluence. In Bengal, the effect has been just the opposite; and the reason is not far to seek. The loss of the continental markets has been a serious blow to the Jute trade and the life-blood of this province's economy is jute. It is not only that we expect to receive in a normal year rather more than 2 crores from the export duty on Jute but that all our main revenue heads, Land Revenue, Stamps, Excise, depend in a greater or lesser degree upon Jute and the circumstances of the growers of jute."

It did not take long for the tide to turn; from the next year we began our plunge into the ever-deepening gulf of deficits.

2) *Second Period (1940-41 to 1942-43): Years of Small Deficit*

It will be seen from the table given above that from a surplus of Rs. 61 lakhs in 1939-40, there was a deficit of Rs. 90 lakhs in 1940-41. What was the reason behind this deterioration in the financial position? The main reason was the impact of the War.

Let us try to analyse the situation year by year. The year 1940-41 entailed heavy expenditure on many items but the notable feature was the additional burden due to the War. This was more clearly felt in 1941-42 when, after the declaration of war by Japan, Bengal had to shoulder a heavy financial burden. According to the indications given in 1942 by Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, the then Finance Minister, the deterioration was due to the following factors:

> "Two out of our main heads of revenue have been effected by the war in opposite directions. Income-tax receipts have improved . . . on the other hand, the yield from the export duty on jute has gone down considerably."

The effects of the war were more marked on the expenditure side.

> "By far the most serious effect of the war on the provincial budget however relates to the expenditure on A.R.P. and kindred emergency measures booked under the head 'Extraordinary charges in India.' The expenditure amounted to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1939-40 and Rs. 7 lakhs in 1940-41 and the Central Government agreed to meet these charges in their entirety. Early this year, however, it became evident that expenditure on A.R.P. was likely to reach a very much higher figure and the Centre advised the Provinces that the growing scale of expenditure on A.R.P. measures combined with a deterioration in the financial position of the Centre as compared with that of the Provinces no longer justified the promised measure of liberality and the Centre found itself compelled to call on the Provinces to shoulder the major portion of 'defence measures falling within the provincial field'."

Then began a long wrangling between the Province and the Centre, but the results were not satisfactory, the major portion of the burden falling on the Province. What was called 'defence measures falling within the provincial field" was by no stretch of imagination a provincial affair; the war was not the Province's choice, nor was it any fault of Bengal that she lay close to the War Zone. It was really a part of Imperial Defence and the money should have come from the British Exchequer. But not even the Government of India undertook this responsibility. The gross injustice of the arrangement becomes still clearer if we take into consideration the fact that while other provinces more or less profited as a result of the War, the case of Bengal was just the opposite. To make Bengal responsible for financing what was, by no means, her responsibility, was, to say the least, the height of injustice. But that was what actually happened. In the Revised Estimates for 1941-42 expenditure on Famine Relief went as high as Rs. 30 lakhs and that on 'Extraordinary Charges' Rs. 78 lakhs. These are some of the measures of the economic exploitation of Bengal during the War.

The year 1942-43, the year in which the Progressive Coalition Ministry was in office, was the year of smallest deficit in recent years. But this year also was a year of very heavy stress and strain. The war had come inside Bengal's borders and air-raids were taking place. Burma had fallen and all food supplies from Burma cut off. Bengal's economic life was violently disturbed; the Denial Policy was tearing up the agricultural classes from their roots in the soil; military demands dislocated her trade and communications. The Province was in political ferment; the August movement had begun. On the other hand, the shadow of Famine was already deepening; prices were shooting up and there was also a physical shortage. The Cyclone had ravaged the surplus districts of Bengal in the middle of October 1942. And the exploitation of war was going on in an ever-increasing tempo. The small deficit was due mainly to a large Ways and Means Advance from the Government of India to the extent of Rs. 2½ crores. But in spite of this smallness of deficit, Bengal had to face greater devastation this year. The increase in expenditure (which was more than a crore over the previous year) was accounted for by *increase* under the following main heads: Famine Relief (about Rs 50 lakhs), Extraordinary charges due to War (about Rs. 32 lakhs), Dearness Allowance (about Rs. 20 lakhs) and Police (about Rs. 12 lakhs). As usual, the nation-building Departments were the casualties of the war. To quote from the Budget Speech of the then Finance Minister, Mr. Fazlul Huq, "the heads which are responsible for

the more substantial reductions (in expenditure) are, Civil Works, Education and Public Health."

Thus ended the second period.

3) *Third Period (1943-44 to 1946-47): The Mad Whirlpool*

Then began an era in which matters went beyond all control and we were caught in a mad financial whirlpool in which we lost everything. We have already described how the stage was set for devastation by war, famine and cyclone and how an impossible burden was placed on Bengal from the year 1942-43. But the combined effect of all these was so devastating that all principles of Budgeting and all canons of taxation were thrown to the wind and Bengal was hurled towards rack and ruin. The Budgets also have fully reflected the mad and fantastic atmosphere that has prevailed since then. Let us begin with the year 1943-44. Revenue receipts stood at Rs. 2,372 lakhs, expenditure at Rs. 2,675 lakhs, the deficit being Rs. 303 lakhs. Two important points deserve notice. First, there was a huge increase in revenue receipts this year. In the previous year, receipts stood at Rs. 1,646 lakhs; the increase, thus, was to the tune of Rs. 726 lakhs. But the increase in expenditure far outstripped the increase in income. The deficit, thus, became nine times as high, compared to the deficit of Rs. 33 lakhs in the previous year. What does this signify? It signifies that Bengal did not spare herself and made an extreme effort to bridge the gap, but even the last drops squeezed out of her could not satiate the thirst of war and Imperialism.

It is not necessary to go through every detail of this sorry and sordid tale of exploitation and corruption. But it is interesting to remember that just after the great famine of 1773, Warren Hastings, the then Governor-General, did not hesitate to rack-rent the province, so much so that Revenue receipts were higher that year than revenue receipts in any previous year. Commenting on this, Romesh Dutt remarked that this would possibly be cited as an instance of "the recuperative power of India." The sad story again repeated itself. When Bengal needed help to nurse her sores, she was squeezed to yeild more and more money and revenue receipts increased by 50 per cent in a single year. But for what purpose the sum was spent? We mention only the important items; the expenditure on Civil Defence, finally debitable to provincial revenues for 1943-44, came up to Rs. 100 lakhs but even this burden coupled with the shrinkage in our share of the Jute Export Duty and increase in Dearness Allowances, looked very small alongside the staggering burdens imposed by the famine. The cost of the Civil Supplies Department during 1943-44 amounted to Rs. 100 lakhs, excluding losses on the Department's trading operations, which accounted for another Rs. 350 lakhs. Relief operations amounted to Rs. 566 lakhs, of which Rs. 350 lakhs were chargeable to gratuitous relief and Rs. 125 lakhs to test works. A further sum of Rs. 135 lakhs was thrown away on the Grow More Food Campaign. But even such huge sums, most of which was misspent if not misappropriated, were small in the context of actual need and the result was the loss of millions of human lives which fell victim to hunger and disease.

What did the Government of India do when conditions were at the worst and the need for help was the greatest? As usual, they took advantage of the helpless condition of Bengal and made it an occasion for throwing greater financial burden on her. To quote from the Budget speech of Mr. T. C. Goswami, the then Finance Minister:

> "In the early months of the year (1943-44) we relied mainly on the Central Government for the necessary accommodation and between June and October last (in 1943) we received loans and advances totalling 12 crores. Later, however, the Government of India indicated that they desired the Provincial Government to make their own arrangements to raise funds in the open market and through normal trade channels."—(*Budget Speech,* 18.2.44).

It has been stated how in 1941-42, when the impact of the war fell with full blast on Bengal, the Centre asked the Province to shoulder the major portion of defence, which, by no means, was Bengal's task. Again, when two years later, the disastrous war policy of the Government of India as also of the British Government had thrown Bengal into the throes of hunger and death, rack and ruin, the Government of India conveniently stood aside and asked the Bengal Government to get out of the woods as best as they could.

The picture has not changed since then. Two features are noticeable. The over-all figures of receipts and expenditure are becoming bigger and bigger, yet the deficit also is becoming bigger and bigger. Revenue receipts in 1946-47 have been estimated to be Rs. 4,119 lakhs as compared to Rs. 1,300 lakhs in 1937-38. That is to say, revenue receipts have more than trebled in these ten years. But expenditure has increased at a much faster rate. The estimated expenditure in 1946-47 will be Rs. 5 065 lakhs as compared to Rs. 1,183 lakhs in 1937-38. The increase has been more than four and a half times. The deficit, consequently, has become unbelievably high. The deficit in 1946-47 has been estimated in the Governor's Budget to be Rs. 946 lakhs, whereas in ordinary times the Bengal Budget was based on revenue receipts of about Rs. 900 to 1,000 lakhs. The reasons for this deplorable state of affairs are not far to seek: it is the same old story of Imperial exploitation, indigenuous corruption, absolute mismanagement and careless waste of good public money.

(B) Basic Trends and Implications

We have given above a picture of Bengal Finances since 1937. The picture is a sad and dismal one. It shows how, day by day, year by year, Bengal has been squeezed and squeezed dry, yet all the money has flown into that bottomless pit that Bengal is today. We prefaced this essay by drawing attention to the fact that a wrong policy of war finance will not only adversely affect the economic structure for the present but it will leave a permanent stamp on the economic structure, twisting and distorting it beyond repair, and making the country a permanent financial cripple. That is exactly what has happened. Let us try to assess the extent to which Bengal is a financial cripple now.

(1) Comparatively speaking, Bengal has been hit hardest by the war among all the Indian provinces. In fact, other provinces have, generally speaking, profited as a result of the War, but the case of Bengal has been just the reverse. Bengal's Finance Ministers have repeatedly made this complaint and have pleaded for special help for Bengal, but without success. The following table gives a comparative statement of income and expenditure from the year 1938-39 to the year 1945-46:

TABLE II (*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Province	1938-39 *Actual*			1939-40 *Actual*			1940-41 *Actual*			1941-42 *Actual*			1942-43 *Actual*		
	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—
Madras	1613	1610	+3	1666	1637	+29	1 08	1755	+53	1955	1867	+88	2192	2067	+125
Bombay	1245	1280	—35	1314	1283	+31	1 48	1361	+87	1686	1525	+161	1970	1779	+191
Bengal	1277	1277	Nil	1432	1371	+61	1 54	1445	—91	1494	1550	—56	1646	1679	—33
U. P.	1280	1280	Nil	1352	1345	+7	1465	1464	+1	1650	1648	+2	2046	2044	+2
Punjab	1117	1161	—44	1169	1206	—37	1 89	1220	+69	1431	1367	+64	1645	1511	+134
Bihar	524	493	+31	548	536	+12	18	588	+30	655	601	+54	752	634	+118
C. P.	427	471	—44	509	476	+33	26	496	+30	531	511	+20	669	647	+22
Assam	258	299	—41	293	292	+1	29	313	+16	328	331	—3	387	355	+32
N.-W. F. P.	181	178	+3	183	187	—4	92	183	+9	220	198	+22	235	233	+2
Orissa	182	181	+1	188	184	+4	99	188	+11	206	191	+15	224	217	+7
Sind	370	346	+24	429	405	+24	20	505	+15	585	559	+26	665	652	+13

TABLE II—*Contd.*

Province	1943-44 *Actual*			1944-5 (*Revised Estimate*)			1945-46 (*Budget Estimates*)			1946-47 (*Budget Estimates*)		
	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—	Rev.	Exp.	+—
Madras	2984	2984	Nil	4037	4020	+17	4125	4045	+80	4144	4082	+62
Bombay	2521	2150	+371	3212	3123	+89	2909	2909	Nil	3020	3015	+5
Bengal	2372	2675	—303	3566	4701	—1135	2879	3739	—860	4119	5065	—946
U. P.	2426	2424	+2	2753	2738	+15	2752	2737	+15	2707	2703	+4
Punjab	2120	1684	+436	2249	2110	+139	2117	1925	+192	2130	2083	+47
Bihar	1031	1086	—55	1199	1012	+187	1131	897	+234	1389	1339	+50
C. P.	856	855	+1	949	945	+4	948	946	+2	955	844	+111
Assam	516	441	+71	581	613	—32	538	540	—2	516	505	+11
N.-W. F. P.	255	235	+20	276	292	—16	267	279	—12	263	278	—15
Orissa	256	254	+2	313	311	+2	294	303	—9	358	392	—34
Sind	994	593	+401	943	940	+3	857	854	+3	803	800	+3

It will be seen that in the year 1940-41, the year when the impact of the War first burst with full blast, the only province that had a deficit was Bengal, all the other provinces reaping good surpluses. In 1943-44, all the provinces, except Bengal and Bihar had surpluses, some of them very huge surpluses, such as the Punjab getting Rs. 436 lakhs, Bombay Rs. 371 lakhs, and Sind Rs. 401 lakhs. In recent years, the majority of the provinces had surplus budgets and even for those provinces which had to face deficits, the deficit was small. If we add up the surplus and subtract the deficits and thus calculate the net gain or loss during the war for the different provinces we get the following results :

TABLE III

Balance of Surplus or Deficit (1938-39 to 1946-47)

(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

Madras	+457
Bombay	+900
Bengal	—4362
U. P.	+47
Punjab	+1000
Bihar	+661
C. P.	+179
Assam	+53
N.-W. F. P.	+9
Orissa	—1
Sind	+512

The only province which had to face real deficit is Bengal. Even the North-West Frontier Province, which is, because of its strategic position, a deficit province normally, reaped a surplus. The only province which had to face real deficit is Bengal—so much so that *all* the surplus gained by *all* the other provinces during *all* these years taken together (Rs. 3817 lakhs) is more than set off by the very heavy deficit (Rs. 4362 lakhs) Bengal had to bear.

This is one measure of the extremely heavy burden put on Bengal.

(2) But this over-all deficit, though it is some indication of the very heavy pressure put on Bengal, does not bring out the real situation. It is much more important to realise that not only the deficit has been high, but it has been high in spite of the increasing height of revenue figures. We have already commented on the fact that revenue receipts now have become more than three times than what it was ten years before. This is a measure of the sacrifice made by Bengal to meet the demands of War. In the explanatory memoranda attached to the Bengal Budget for 1946-47 (see *Calcutta Gazette*, 28.3.46) the following table, indicating the yield from certain taxes at the beginning of the war and at present, has been given. The table reveals the effort made by Bengal to reduce the gap :

TABLE IV

Comparative Yield from Provincial taxes in the first and in the last year of the war

(*In lakhs of Rupees*)

	1939-40 *Actuals*	1945-46 *Revised*
1. Agricultural Income Tax	..	60·00
2. Land Revenue	386·10	395·55
3. Excise	165·28	799·86
4. Stamps	256·44	360·00
5. Registration	27·31	64·00

6.	**Other Taxes and Duties—**		
	(*i*) Entertainment Tax	8·01	55·00
	(*ii*) Betting Tax	11·33	80·00
	(*iii*) Electricity Duty	20·24	55·00
	(*iv*) Taxes on Professions, callings, etc.	7·03	10·34
	(*v*) Sales Tax	..	300·00
	(*vi*) Motor Spirit Sales Tax	..	200·00
	(*vii*) Raw Jute Tax	..	40·00
	Receipts under Motor Vehicles Acts	21·31	23·02
	Total	903·05	2442·77

The Table yields very peculiar results. It shows, first of all, the extent of sacrifice Bengal has made. From 9 crores to 24½ crores is no small a jump. It demonstrates, in the second place, that the increase of income has been possible mainly by taxing the poorer classes. The increase in the yield of those taxes which affect the lower income-group has been most marked. The increased yields from the Sales Tax and from Excise Duties are cases in point. The income from Agricultural Income Tax has not been earmarked, as recommended by the Floud Commission, for agricultural improvement, but has been frittered away. Money anyhow was the sole guide to financial policy and for that purpose the Government did not hesitate even to encourage indirectly Betting if it was a source of income. It was utter bankruptcy not only financially but also in statesmanship and high principles.

(3) But this is not all. As on the income side, we find the Bengal Government acting on the sole principle of getting money and more money, so also on the expenditure side, money was spent without any sobriety or discretion. As we have already indicated, the Nation-building Departments were the first casualties and money was poured in for meeting mainly what has been termed "Extraordinary charges in India due to War." The following figures, collected from the Budget speech of Hon'ble Mr T. C. Goswami in 1945, are most revealing :

TABLE V

Statement of expenditure necessitated by war conditions and the famine and its aftermath.
(In lakhs of Rupees)

	1943-44 *Actuals*	1944-45 *Revised*	1945-46 *Budget*
I. War	762·50	2115·00	1366·00
II. Famine	560·00	681·00	367·00
III. Grow More Food Campaign	100·00	112·00	77·00
	1422·50	2908·00	1810·00

No comment is necessary. Suffice it to say that in 1943-44, the total income on revenue account was Rs. 2372 lakhs and the total expenditure Rs. 2675 lakhs. An expenditure of Rs. 1442·5 lakhs on 'Extraordinary charges due to War' means we had to spend, that year, 59·9 per cent of our income to meet the demands of war and 53·1 per cent of our total expenditure went for that purpose. The corresponding figures for 1944-45 and 1945-46 are, respectively, 81·6 per cent and 61·9 per cent and 62·9 per cent and 48·2 per cent.

Let us now have a look at the total picture as it presents itself. The above study of the Bengal Budgets reveals that Bengal ruined herself financially to meet to demands of the war. While the other provinces were benefiting as a result of the war. Bengal's was just the opposite case. Yet she had to make the biggest effort to raise money through increased taxation and spend that away on no constructive programme but purely for war purpose. What outside help she received during the period ? The Reserve Bank *Report on Currency & Finance* for the year 1944-45 gives the information that Bengal received only Rs. 3 crores and Rs. 7 crores in 1943-44 and 1944-45 respectively from the centre as *ex-gratia* grants for famine-relief. One might well say that this parade of generosity does more discredit than credit to the Central Government and gives us an idea of their callousness to our vital problems such as famine, which were more the result of the war policy of the Central Government than of anybody else.

(C) Income Redistribution Through War Finance

What will be the long-term effect of this disastrous policy of war finance ? Its first effect will be on the income-groupings and the alteration of income distribution in precisely the wrong way. The proper method of war finance should obviously be to tax the upper grades of income and not to penalise those at the marginal or the sub-marginal level. Such a policy ultimately leads to a redistribution of income in favour of the poor and tends to mitigate, though in a small degree, social inequity. Analysing the effects of the financial policy on Great Britain's social and economic structure during the last war, Professor Bowley wrote in his *Economic Consequences of the War* that

> "In summary we may say that great progress has been made towards the extinction of remediable poverty, considerable inroads have been made on excessive wealth, and generally income is less unequally distributed than it was ten years ago."

The effects of such a policy have been much more marked during this war. The British tax-system, this time, tried to be socially equitable by becoming progressive very rapidly with the increase in income. "Wartime taxation," write Shirras and Rostas in their *Burden of British Taxation*, "as has been shown from the data for 1941-42, has eliminated the light treatment of the middle incomes. The distribution of the tax-burden is noticeably progressive from incomes of £250 per annum upwards." What has been the result ? The result has been that though the war has put the severest strain on the financial resources of the country, it has still acted as an engine of social equality and justice to some extent and has effected marked redistribution of wealth from the richer to the poorer income groups.

It is true that in presenting the Bengal Budget for the year 1944-45, Hon'ble Mr. T. C. Goswami, the then Finance Minister, also asserted that "in looking forward to the building-up of a better world for ourselves and for our children we must be fortified by the spirit of the celebrated dictum, that taxation is an engine of social and national reform." But how hollow this claim here is, is proved at once if we examine the highly regressive and extremely reactionary financial policy that has been followed by the Government of India as also by the Government of Bengal in financing the War. An analysis of the Bengal taxes will show that the main

increase in income of the Bengal Government during the war has taken place under the heads, Agricultural Income Tax, Stamps and Registration, Entertainment Tax, Betting Tax, Electricity Duty, Sales Tax, Motor Spirit Sales Tax, Raw Jute Tax and to some extent Excise Duties. It is obvious that all these taxes are either taxes on the poor people or taxes undesirable from the social point of view. The Bengal Government, thus, have fought their part of the war by taxing and penalising the poor and not the rich. They have literally frittered away money, but with negative results. Every item of their budget, *e.g.*, Grow More Food Campaign, Famine Relief, etc., has been nothing but a colossal waste of money.

That this has been the fact is proved by the results of her financial policy. We examine the position of two provinces, the Punjab and Bengal, side by side. The Punjab shows how a skilful financial policy of the provincial Government can, even within the imperial framework, benefit the poorer classes and mitigate social inequity. From a study on the *Impact of Rising Prices on Various Social Strata in the Punjab* (Publication No. 82 of the Board of Economic Enquiry, Punjab, 1944) we find that

"The impact of rising prices on various social strata in the Punjab has been to transfer wealth from the fixed-income groups to soldiers, and agriculturists. The only group which has suffered very seriously under rising prices in the Punjab is the fixed income group. Farmers and most entrepreneurs have made modest gains. Some farmers, some entrepreneurs and soldiers have made considerable gains."

Thus it becomes clear that the transference of wealth has been to the peasantry, who forms the bulk of the population. But how has the Bengal peasantry fared during these years? It had to face famine and death, disease and pestilence, economic ruin and social disruption. The impact of rising prices led to their total destruction. The following facts, gathered from *A Sample Survey of After-effects of the Bengal Famine of 1943* by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis, F.R.S., and others, speak for themselves:

"During the period of April 1943 to April 1944, 9·2 lakhs of families sold their paddy land in full or in part out of whom 2·6 lakhs had sold their land in full and had lost their only or chief means of livelihood; 6·7 lakhs of families mortgaged their paddy land. In other words, nearly 15 lakhs of families (about one-fourth of the number who had owned paddy land before the famine) had either sold in full or in part or mortgaged their paddy land during the famine period. The most important point to note is that, during the famine, 2·6 lakhs of families (out of 65 lakhs owning paddy land) had totally lost their holdings and were thus reduced to the rank of landless labour. Another fact is worth noting. Out of the total of 7·1 lakhs of acres of paddy land sold during the famine, only 2·9 lakhs of acres had been purchased back in the villages. Roughly 4·2 lakhs of acres of paddy land had thus passed to outsiders, possibly 'non-cultivating owners' residing in urban areas. The net loss of plough cattle was about 10 or 11 lakhs (about 13 per cent) during the famine period which must seriously affect agricultural operations in future. Only about one-fourth of the loss (3·5 lakhs) were replaced by purchase. About 3 lakhs or 8·5 per cent of families of rural Bengal had probably lost all the cattle they had before the famine making it difficult or practically impossible for them to carry on normal agricultural operations. Adopting 5·4 as the average size of the family the total number of persons whose economic position had deteriorated was about 38 lakhs. About destitution, the sample estimate shows that 4·8 lakhs of persons had been rendered destitutes under war and famine conditions in Bengal."

This is a picture of complete destitution and ruin. This is how Bengal has been led, step by step, into this disaster through a wrong and perverse policy of war finance.

Wealth and Taxable Capacity

But it is not merely a question of redistribution of wealth and its transference in Bengal from the lower income groups to higher income groups. It is also a question of absolute financial exhaustion. Two things are clear. Bengal would require, in the first place, huge sums for her programme of post-war reconstruction and expansion and whatever help she receives from the Centre it is certain that the major portion of the necessary amount will have to be raised from Bengal. That will mean fresh loans and taxes. But, on the other hand, almost all the sections of Bengal have been, as a result of this ruthless taxation, financially exhausted and no further taxation will be possible without absolutely ruining them. Fresh sources of finance are, therefore, extremely limited; except the war-profiteers and black-marketeers who have made piles of money, as also a few richer sections of the society, there cannot be imposed any more tax-burden, specially on the common people of Bengal. In fact, it seems almost fantastic how the Bengal Government managed to squander away so huge sums of money in such a short period. For instance, the Agricultural Income-tax has been yielding Rs. 60 lakhs annually, but instead of earmarking it for the improvement of agriculture, as was suggested by the Floud Commission, this sum of Rs. 60 lakhs per year has been frittered away. Even no hesitation has been felt to dope the Province for getting higher returns from Excise and during those years the yield has more than quadrupled itself. Sales Tax has now been yielding Rs. 3 crores annually, yet not only has this sum gone to the bottomless pit that Bengal today is but there was actually an effort to increase the rate still more in spite of the fact that the poorer consumers are groaning under its load. Nothing is unfair or unjust in the eyes of the Bengal Government if it begets money and even such immoral taxes as the Betting Tax have been allowed to exist on the plea of more money. The situation is terrible; Bengal is being squeezed to the last drop of her blood only to feed more officers and a few parasitic sections of our society while the vast majority is facing absolute ruin and destruction.

Remedies

It is not possible here to draw up a complete blue-print for Bengal's post-war financial reconstruction. But the main lines of reform become clear from the analysis of Bengal finances during the war. It is essential that any post-war financial reform in Bengal must be based on at least three cardinal principles. They are: (1) There must be a system of taxation and borrowing that will benefit the masses by penalising the richer sections who have grown fat on their blood and it would be necessary for this purpose to reverse completely the present tendencies of the tax- and loan-system. (2) Adequate financial help from outside must be obtained to launch upon a programme of post-war reconstruction. The Government of India had, during the war, no justi-

fication whatsoever of throwing the major burden on Bengal while they themselves stood aside whenever there arose any crisis that was, by no stretch of imagination, Bengal's creation. That was sheer exploitation on any showing. Now it is high time for the Central Government to make amends, though very belated amends; they cannot escape their obligation of rebuilding Bengal that has been devastated by conditions of their creation. (3) There must be a truly national policy of financial reconstruction and a truly national executive to carry out that policy. All corruption must cease; and with that, all red-tapism and the old-world ideas of official callousness and snobbery and the obsolete methods of slow and ineffective work.

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THE MOVEMENT OF PROFITS AND WAGES IN INDIA DURING THE WAR

By Prof. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL

War brings about considerable changes in the economic positions of different classes of the society in relation to each other. The extent of such changes, as will be evident afterwards, depends upon how far a controlled economy is in actual operation. Strictly speaking a war does not inflict any money-cost on the society. There is no such thing as money-cost for the society as a whole, though there is an enormous increase in taxation on account of the war. What government expenditure out of taxation often actually means is simply a transfer of purchasing power from one section of people to others.

But the society may have to bear a real cost. This real cost consists in resources or services actually forgone by it for their utilization in the war. Thus "the real cost involved in the maintenance of the army consists in the services of the soldiers themselves who are withdrawn by war from civilian consumption."[1] For the present we are not so much concerned with the real cost as with the transference of money. It is evident even to a superficial observer that war favours particularly those classes who are engaged in war-production or war-services and causes a transference of money to them from those classes who are not engaged in war production or war services.

But in a totalitarian war like that of the present age every productive activity is an activity for the war; because there is nothing which it does not demand. Such a huge demand tends to create a general scarcity leading to a general rise in the Price-level and money-incomes. But there are differences in the degree of scarcity of different goods and services. Some goods or services are much more scarce than others, in relation to their respective demands; hence the prices of the former rise much more than those of the latter. But by a system of control and rationing the tendency of prices to ris can be checked. Rationing is a twofold affair. First, it means a direct transference of a portion of the national resources from the civilian to the military sector; and secondly, it means an equitable distribution among the people of what remains for their consumption at reasonably controlled prices. Under a system of rationing the quota of goods going to a person is fixed not by the amount of purchasing power which he possesses but by his requirement. Actually what happens is a restriction of civilian consumption in a planned way. Obviously greater the degree of control and rationing the less is the extent of rise in prices. The condition of scarcity often impels a government to resort to inflation. And once it is started, it goes on working cumulatively. It is difficult to bring it under restraint. Inflation is the process of issuing money more than in proportion to the increase in productive activity. In the case of Absolute Inflation conceived by Keynes the productivity does not increase at all, but the prices and money-incomes go on increasing in the same proportion as the volume of money.[2] In India the controlled economy was introduced very late. Actually the Control came when inflation had already started and the situation had gone beyond control. A characteristic feature of inflation is that the volume of newly created money is not evenly distributed among different classes of producers or among different factors engaged in a particular productive activity. Exactly this has been the result of inflation in India during the recent war.

Speaking in a general way the industrial and trading concerns made enormous profits. Even many petty merchants, through contract-business, were able to promote themselves to the position of big capitalists. The land-owners who receive large amounts of rent in kind and big farmers could increase their incomes manifold by selling their crops at abnormally high prices. But the landless agricultural workers having little bargaining power could not raise their incomes appreciably, rather their position deteriorated. It is mostly they who were the victims of the famine of 1943. The technicians, engineers and skilled labourers, because of their relative scarcity, could earn a great deal. Men in the legal and teaching professions could increase their incomes only slightly. Many of them came down nearly to the position of ordinary workers. The ordinary mill-workers' wages lagged much behind the profits of their employers. In short the class-differentiation during the recent war has been intensified. First, there has been a considerable gap between those who directly or indirectly could link up their services with the war and those who could not do so. Secondly, there has been an enormous gap between those who could not earn anything except by selling their labour-power and those who could earn mainly by virtue of ownership.

Statistics relating to incomes of different classes, *e.g.*, wages, salaries, rents, profits and interest in India are not available to any satisfactory extent. A few that have been collected can be furnished here to give a quantitative estimate of the changing relation between the industrial profits and the earnings of workers. The following table is given to show the average increase in profits of some of the big industries:[3]

1. Pigou, *A Study in Public Finance* (1929), p. 19.

2. Keynes, *General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money.*

3. *Review of the Trade of India in 1942-43* (published January, 1945).

Index Numbers of Profits, 1928=100

Industry	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Iron & Steel	316·7	289·3	300·7	387·3	403·3
Cotton mill	208·3	154·6	220·1	489·1	760·7
Tea	73·9	96·2	95·4	141·3	219·5
Paper	172·1	151·8	358·7	432·2	488·4
Sugar	157·7	179·4	180·0	247·3	219·8

No. of Companies Considered

Industry	1938	1939	1940	1941	1942
Iron & Steel	3	4	4	4	3
Cotton mill	57	61	63	60	75
Tea	127	127	127	127	128
Paper	4	4	8	8	8
Sugar	—	26	27	28	28

It is to be noted that the level of profits for the iron and steel industry was already very high; it was in 1938 more than thrice as much as it was in 1928. Then in 1942 there was nearly 27 per cent increase over the level of 1938. The profits of the tea industry increased from 73·9 in 1938 to 219·5 in 1942 by 197 per cent approximately. The profits of the cotton mill industry rose from 208·3 in 1938 to 760·7 in 1942 by nearly 265 per cent. The profits of the paper industry rose from 172·1 in 1938 to 488·4 in 1942, the increase being nearly 183 per cent. The rise in profits of the sugar industry was approximately 39 per cent.

Another table is given below setting out index numbers of production in the industries of iron and steel, cotton manufacture, paper and sugar during the years from 1938 to 1944.[4]

Index Numbers of Production, 1938-39=100

Industry	1938-39	1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44
Iron & Steel	100	110	125	150	200	200
Cotton-manufacture	100	94	100	153	92	113
Paper	100	118	149	159	112	126
Sugar	100	191	168	120	163	184

Reading the index numbers of profits and production together we can easily realise that the increase in profits was much more than proportionate to the increase in production except in the case of iron and steel. Thus while in 1941-42 there was 20 per cent increase in the production of sugar over 1938, profits during the same period increased by 39 per cent. While in 1941-42 the production of paper increased by 59 per cent over 1938, profits rose by 183 per cent. During this period while the production of cotton manufacture rose by 53 per cent, profits rose by 265 per cent. So there is no ground for believing that larger profits were caused by larger production. In fact it was a monetary inflation and a condition of scarcity which led to an inflation of profits. Of course, against this must be set the war-time increase in taxation of incomes. But it should not be forgotten at the same time that there has been evasion of taxation on a large scale, though it is impossible to give a quantitative estimate of such evasion. The swelling of bank-deposits on private account may be taken as an evidence of evasion.

Now let us compare profits with the earnings of the industrial workers. The following table gives out average annual earnings of workers in different industries in British India.[5]

4. L. C. Jain, *Indian Economy during the War* (1946), p. 31.
5. *Indian Labour Gazette*, New Delhi, May, 1946.

Industry	*Average annual earnings in rupees* 1944	1943	1939	*Percentage increase in 1943 over 1939*
Textiles	633·6	571·5	293·5	95·0
Engineering	589·8	529·0	263·5	100·0
Minerals and metals	573·5	502·1	457·2	10·0
Chemicals and dyes	484·6	398·0	244·8	62·0
Paper and printing	474·1	414·0	332·7	24·0
Wood, stone and glass	368·4	303·1	194·2	56·0
Skins and hides	532·1	411·0	285·8	44·0
Ordnance	546·8	527·4	361·9	46·0
Mints	695·2	574·4	397·4	44·0
Miscellaneous	513·8	392·0	281·2	39·0

Actually the increase in earnings of labourers was much less than the increase in profits. Thus before a 265 per cent increase in profits of the cotton mill industry the 95 per cent increase in incomes of the textile workers in 1943 over the level of 1939 is insignificant.[6] While there was a 183 per cent increase in profits of the paper industry, the earnings of the workers engaged in the paper and printing industry rose in 1943 over 1939 by 24 per cent only. The average increase in earnings of the industrial workers in British India was only 45 per cent. Again even this increase in the incomes of the workers will turn out to be completely fictitious, if they are measured in terms of real goods and comforts. This is obvious from a comparison between the increase in earnings and the increase in cost of living of the workers as shown by the following table.[7]

Cost of Living Indices

	Bombay 1934=100	*Madras* 1936=100	*Cawnpore* 1939=100	*Jamshedpore* 1914=100
1939	106	100	100	107
1940	112	107	111	117
1941	124	112	122	134
1942	157	133	180	191
1943 March	208	170	248	265

While the money-incomes of the workers increased on the average by 45·0 per cent, the cost of living increased in 1943 over 1939 by 96·0 per cent or 70·0 per cent, or 148·0 per cent approximately. Thus in fact there was considerable diminution in the real wages of the workers in India. But the real wages in countries like the U.S.A., Great Britain, Canada, etc., actually increased in sharp contrast with those in India. This is shown by the following table :[8]

6. Index numbers of profits are available now only up to 1942. Hence for comparison the increase in labour-earnings in 1943 is considered here instead of 1944.

7. *Review of the Trade of India in 1941-42.*

8. *International Labour Review*, January-February, 1946.

Index Numbers of Real Wages in Industries

Year	U.S.A. Weekly (Industries) 1929=100	Canada Weekly (Mining, transport, commerce and services)	Great Britain Weekly (Mining, industries, transport and commerce)
1938	108	—	100
1939	118	—	—
1940	123	—	108
1941	138	100	113
1942	154	104	125
1943	171	110	138
1944	180	113	139

The increase in real wages in these countries is explained by the fact that there was slight inflation and considerable expansion of consumable goods, while in India there was an enormous inflation accompanied by a slight increase in the production of those goods.

In respect of capital-accumulation also the small co-operative institutions made much less progress than the big commercial ones. Thus while the demand and time liabilities of the Scheduled Banks taken together increased from Rs. 306 crores in 1941-42 to Rs. 410 crores in 1942-43, the total working capital of the Agricultural Societies decreased from Rs. 26,55,61,496 to Rs. 25,39,88,574 during the same period.[9] This also indicates that small incomes out of which savings are generally deposited with small local institutions were not increasing at all or so much as the big incomes. Thus the differentiation between small and big business institutions has been sharpened.

In India there was already a very high degree of inequality in the distribution of incomes among her people. "If we take the urban classes, nearly one half of their total income belongs to less than one-tenth of their total number."[10] From the statistics given here it appears that this already existing inequality has been increased at least three-fold during the war.

Therefore no plan of post-war reconstruction in India can be complete, if it does not aim at removing at least the war-time increase in inequality of incomes. Industrialization for India is not so much a post-war programme as a programme for all times. This was overdue even long before this war and must not be further delayed. But apart from this the removal of the war-time inequality in incomes must be one of the main tasks of reconstruction in India.

9. *Statistical Statement relating to the Co-operative Movement in India*, 1941-42 & 1942-43.

10. V. K. R. V. Rao, *The National Income of India* (1931-32), p. 189.

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THE TEMPLE OF VARGABHIMA AT TAMLUK

By Swami JAGADISWARANANDA

The Temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk, a subdivisional town in the district of Midnapur, is a very ancient monument of Bengal, nay of whole India. Though it is situated about forty miles away from Calcutta and is reachable in a few hours by train or steamer, it has not yet attracted as much attention of the historians as it deserves.

Tamluk known in ancient records as Tamralipta was once an important port on the Bay of Bengal, and the capital of a kingdom bearing the same name. Trade of Tamluk spread throughout the then civilised world. Hunter in his *Orissa* (Vol. I, p. 313) observes that indigo mulberry, the costly products of Bengal and Orissa form the traditional articles of export from ancient Tamluk. Prince Vijay Singh, son of King Singhabahu of Bengal, occupied Ceylon in the very year in which Lord Buddha passed away. At that time ships were built at Tamluk and Singhabahu went to Ceylon with the ships made there. According to Mahavamsa, a Buddhist scripture[1], the coastal city of Tamralipta was well-known in 307 B.C. as a famous sea-port from where the Bodhidruma, the Tree sacred to the Buddhists, was sent to Ceylon. An unknown Greek merchant writes in the first century A.D. in *Periplus of the Erithrian* that Tamralipta was in those days a world-known trading centre of India. In the first century the Greeks sailed from this port to the Archipelago in the Indian Ocean and colonised in them. In the Buddhist age, the central Buddhist monastery of the Tamralipta kingdom was established at Tamluk. In the eighties and nineties of the fifth century B.C. Tamralipta was a very important place of the Buddhists as evident from the Buddhist records in which Tamralipta is mentioned a number of times. An Asoka Pillar was planted at Tamralipta and the same was seen by the Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang in the seventh century A.D. Prince Mahendra, son of Emperor Asoka, went to Ceylon in 243 A.D. at the request of King Tissa of that island from Tamralipta with a multitude of Buddhist monks. It is learnt from *Pilgrimage* of Fa-Hian (Chap. XXVIII, p. 53) that Tamralipta was then the only harbour of India wherefrom sea-voyages were undertaken to Ceylon, China, Japan and other foreign countries. Some of the ancient coins discovered in the ancient site of Tamluk are preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. Epigraphists aver that some of them were current in the fourth or fifth century B.C. One of them is a copper coin of Kaniska I, on one side of which is engraven the royal figure and on the other are the name and designations of the King.[2] Another is a gold coin of the Gupta Emperor, Kumargupta I, on whose obverse and reverse are the figures of the goddess Lakshmi, seated on a lotus and the emperor on horse-

1. *Vide* 11th & 19th chapters. And see *Mukherjee's Magazine*, June, 1873, p. 260.

2. See Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1882, p. 112.

back respectively. One gold coin of the Gupta emperor Skanda Gupta unearthed at Tamluk contains both the figures of Lakshmi and the emperor on the same side.[3]

During the reign of the Gupta Kings several Chinese travellers visited India. From their records very many things are known about the ancient city of Tamralipta which was still the chief sea-port of ancient India. During the reign of Chandragupta II, Fa-Hian was engaged in a tour of Aryavarta and spent the last two years of his travel—from 411 to 412 A.D.—at Tamralipta in the preparation of copies of Buddhist Sacred Books and paintings. Fa-Hian saw there 24 Buddhist monasteries wherein learned Buddhist monks lived and taught. And the Chinese traveller sailed for Ceylon from there. In 526 A.D. Acharya Bodhidharma went to Canton in China by sea-route from this port. Bodhidharma was a renowned Bengali Buddhist monk and was invited to the court of the Chinese emperor. His ochred robe and begging bowl were preserved for a pretty long time in the Ikrun monastery of Japan. He took from Bengal two Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures named *Pragnaparamita Hridayasutra* and *Usnishvijayadharini* written in the old Bengali script which have been discovered from the famous Horiyuji monastery of Japan. According to Samuel Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Vol. II, pp. 200-201), Yuan Chwang who visited India in 629 A.D. writes in his Chinese work that the kingdom of Tamralipta had then spread to a circumference of 1400 li and its capital city up to 10 li. The internal and external trade of the kingdom was carried on through both land and water routes. He was surprised at its flourishing and extensive trade. The famous Chinese traveller saw at Tamralipta ten Buddhist monasteries and more than a thousand Buddhist monks, as well as fifty Hindu temples. It is a thousand pities that no record of the Hindu temples, of which the temple of Vargabhima is certainly one, have ever been traced in the accounts of the travellers or historians. It is Yuan Chwang who saw in a suburb of the city an Asoka pillar 200 feet high with a stair-case on one side of it. Yuan Chwang[4] says that the city was severely flooded by the overflowing sea-water in 635. After Yuan Chwang who had arrived in 673 came It-Sing from the Chinese town of Kang Chow and reached Tamralipta by the sea-route. From Tamralipta he went to Nalanda where he passed several years in the study of Sanskrit and returned to Tamralipta and went to the South from here.[5] It-Sing saw at Tamralipta a Varaha Temple wherein an image of the goddess Hariti was worshipped. Samuel Beal thinks that this ancient temple was built sometime between 635 to 673 A.D. by one of the Chalukya kings who like some other dynasties of the Deccan prided in calling themselves the children of the goddess Hariti and the Varaha figure was the national symbol of the Chalukya kings. Thus came Taolin on his way to Java and Nicobar islands, Tang Chang-terg from Ceylon and lived in the Varaha monastery at Tamralipta, Huilun from Korea, Uching from the island of Lanka and a number of other Chinese travellers.

Tamluk became a subdivision of Midnapur in 1852 and is situated in the east of the district on the western bank of the Rupnarain river. The subdivision has an area of 749 square miles. From Calcutta to Tamluk there is a through steamer service. From Howrah one goes only 44 miles by train (B.N. Railway) to Paskura station and thence 16 miles by bus reaches Tamluk. How the word Tamralipta which is the Sanskrit name of Tamluk has originated is given in *Digvijaya Prakash*, a Sanskrit work on geography. In the Persian work, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tamralipta is mentioned. Mm. Haraprasad Sastri has got a Sanskrit work on geography named *Deshavali Vivriti*, written by Pandit Jagamohan before 1648 A.D., according to which the whole land to the west of Adiganga flowing by Calcutta was called Tamluk. In the view of the Greek ambassador Megasthenes Tamluk in the third century B.C. was well-known as a sea-port lying on the seashore. When Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller visited India in the seventh century, the sea was about eight miles away from Tamluk, but now the sea has receded to a distance of thirty miles. Haraprasad Sastri thinks that ancient Tamluk is the original Home of the Tamils. Kanakasabai Pillai, a Tamil scholar in his learned work *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago* (pp. 46, 236) remarks as follows :

> "Most of the Mongolian tribes emigrated to South India from Tamalitti (Pali name of Tamralipta) the great emporium of trade at the mouth of the Ganges and this accounts for the name Tamils by which they were collectively known among the most ancient inhabitants of the Deccan. The name 'Tamil' appears to be, therefore, an abbreviation of the word 'Tamalitti'."
>
> "The Tamils are alluded to along with the Kosals and Odras as the inhabitants of Bengal and the adjoining sea-coast in the Vayu Purana and Vishnu Purana. They were known as Tamils most probably because they had emigrated from Tamalitti (Tamralipti) the great sea port at the mouth of the Ganges."

Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee in his celebrated book *Indian Shipping* accepts Kanakasabai Pillai's opinion as authoritative. Durgadas Lahiri also corroborates this view saying that as Ceylon has derived its name from the Bengali discoverer Bijaya Sinha, so it is quite probable that the Tamils have got their name from Tamralipti, once capital of Bengal. Tamralipta is mentioned several times in the Mahabharat. In the Adiparva of the Mahabharata it is said the king of Tamralipta was present in the Sayambar-Sabha to pierce the target. In the Sabhaparva of the great epic we read that the said king was defeated by Bhima, and that the former at the time of the Rajasuya sacrifice of Yudhistir gained admittance into the council of kings by offering one thousand big trained elephants. Tamralipta is also referred to in the Drona Parva and Karna Parva. In the Bhisma Parva we find that Sanjaya while describing the sacred places of India mentions Tamralipta. It is guessed by the scholars that the village of Ek Chakra where the Pandavas lived for some time and which was owned by the demon named Baka was in the Midnapore district of which Tamluk is now a subdivision. In the Aswamedha Parva of Jaimini Bharat it is written that Prince Tamradhwaja, son of the King Mayurdhwaja defeated the Pandavas. There is a tradition prevalent at Tamluk and the surrounding places that King Gurudadhwaja of this dynasty[6] built the temple of Vargabhima. Tamluk was the capital of this King and his kingdom. From this it can be taken for granted

3. See *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, p. 127, No. 7.
4. See *Watters on Yuan Chwang*, Vols. I and II.
5. See *What India Can Teach Us*, by F. Maxmuller, pp. 342-345.
6. *Vide District Gazetteer, Midnapore*, p. 322.

that Tamluk is at least as old as the Mahabharata. But the Mahabharata being about five thousand years old, it may be taken for granted that Tamluk is about fifty centuries old. From Jain Kalpa Sutra, it is learnt that Tirthankar Parsanath came to Tamralipta and preached his religion there in the eighth century before Christ.

Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, a notable historian of Bengal, has rightly said that Tamluk is a seat of the ancient glories of Bengal. In olden days Tamluk was a sacred place to the Buddhists and Hindus alike. Even now it is looked upon as a sacred place by the Hindus. In Brahma Purana, Matsya Purana, Padma Purana, Markandeya Purana and other Hindu scriptures, Tamralipta is mentioned many times. The following anecdote about the sacredness of Tamluk is found in the Brahma Purana : In bygone ages Lord Shiva had killed Daksha, Brahma's son, at the sacrifice of the latter. On account of the sin for killing a Brahmin, Daksha's head, separated from the trunk, got fastened with Shiva's hands. But he could not by any means detach his hands from the head and went on a pilgrimage to get rid of it. But having visited almost all *tirthas* of the world he could not wash off his sin. He went for guidance to Lord Vishnu who told him of a holy place where the sinners can be free from their sins easily. So saying he said :

> "There is a very sacred place in the great city named Tamralipta lying in the south of India. Those who take bath in its holy water go to Vaikuntha. So you please go on a pilgrimage to that Tirtharaja (the King of holy places)*

On hearing this, Lord Shiva came to Tamralipta and as soon as he bathed in the holy water there, Daksha's head dropped from his hands. From that day the sacred pond was called 'Kapalamochan' (destroyer of ill luck) and Tamralipta was regarded as a very holy place (*tirtha*). In many Hindu scriptures Kapalamochan Pond is named but unfortunately it no longer exists. In course of time, the currents of the Rupnarain river have destroyed it. But the tradition of the *tirtha* still survives. Every year the devout people remember its holiness and take plunge at the time of Varuni Bath in the river that flows by the foot of the Vargabhima Temple. On the occasion of Makar Sankranti, Maghipurnima, Mahavisuva Sankranti and Akshaya Tritiya, huge fairs are held at Tamluk and a large concourse of people from different parts of Midnapore district and outside congregate there.

The name of Vargabhima Devi of Tamluk is found in many ancient records. But it is now impossible to ascertain how old is this image or who, exactly was its founder. As regards the manifestation of the Goddess Vargabhima, there are three traditions current in this part. One of them is as follows as described in a Bengali book on Tamluk old and new. King Tamradhwaja (or Gurudadhwaja, according to others) appointed a fisher-woman to supply fish daily to his royal family. On the way to the palace, she had to pass through a jungle path and there used to sprinkle water from a natural well on the fish to make them appear fresh. She had to bring living fish daily to the palace. But one day she could not get living fish in spite of her best efforts. So quite helpless she took the necessary quantity of dead fish and as usual sprinkled water over them from the same pond. That day the sprinkling of water proved a miracle ! No sooner she sprinkled water than the dead fish became living ! The wonderful news reached in no time the royal ears and the King Tamradhwaja accompanied by the fisher-woman visited the well and found there to his astonishment an altar and on it a stone image of the Vargabhima. Others are of opinion that Kalu Bhuniya, founder of the Mahisya dynasty of Tamralipta, had established the image. Soon after Kalu became the king of Tamralipta, he had this image made and established as a token of his devotion to the Goddess. Hunter in his *Statistical Account of Bengal* mentions the following tradition equally strong about the Temple of the Goddess Vargabhima :

> "A merchant named Dhanapati, bound for Ceylon for the purposes of trade, came to Tamralipta. During his short stay there he met a local man carrying a golden pot in hand. On being enquired as to how he got this valuable pot made of gold, he narrated that in a forest nearby there is a strange pond whose water is endowed with the miraculous property of turning into gold utensils of copper and other metals. Dhanapati purchased a huge quantity of metal wares in the market and when he dipped them in the said well, they all turned into gold. Dhanapati took them to Ceylon and selling them there amassed huge wealth. When he returned home, he halted at Tamluk and had built the Temple of Vargabhima on a grand scale at his own expense in gratitude to the goddess."

The story of Dhanapati on a different setting is found in old Bengali books named *Chandimangal*. Discussing all these three traditions about the manifestation of Vargabhima, Hunter in his *Orissa* observes that similar traditions are current about the manifestation of Lord Jagannath of Puri, with nominal differences inevitable on account of different localities. For instance, the image of Jagannath which was also found in a wood is of wood but that of Vargabhima is of stone. Trailokyanath Rakshit in his Bengali history of Tamluk writes :

> "The image of Vargabhima is engraved on a large block of stone. Such figures engraved on stones are not generally found this side. It resembles that of goddess Ugratara. Meditation and ritual worship of this goddess are according to the Yogini Tantra and Nila Tantra."

The temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk is maintained by the income of the landed property donated by the Government. From very old times Vargabhima is adored by thousands as a living goddess. It is said the Muslim vandal, Kalapahar, desirous of conquering Orissa while passing through Tamluk with countless Muslim soldiers was curious enough to see the image and was very pleased with its living aroma. He has left in the Persian a document which is still carefully preserved by the worshippers of the goddess and is called by them *Badshahi Panja* (Imperial almanac). Even the notorious Maharastra looters, the Vargi soldiers exhibited great devotion to this deity. Far from doing any injury to

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अस्ति भारतवर्षस्य दक्षिणस्यां महापुरी ।
ताम्रलिप्तं समाख्यातं गूढं तीर्थं वरं वसेत् ॥
तत्र स्नात्वा चिरादेव सम्यगेष्यसि मत्पुरीं ।
गच्छतु तीर्थराजस्य दर्शनार्थं महाशय ॥

Tamluk they worshipped the goddess with great devotion and sufficient wealth and decorated Her with valuable ornaments.

Though the Vargabhima Temple is not one of the fifty-one Pithasthanas (celebrated seats of mother-cult) it is looked upon as such in a limited area. In the land surrounded by Payaratungi Canal in the north, Rupnarayan river in the east, Sankar Ara Canal in the south and Garh Maricha Canal in the west, the worship of Durga, Kali, Jagadhatri, Basanti, Ratanti and other goddesses are forbidden. All offer their worship to Vargabhima. Those who wish to worship any goddess in an earthen image has got to perform it outside this area. The temple of Vargabhima is an ancient monument of the ancient glories of Bengal. From the wonderful architecture of the temple, people are led to imagine that it was made by the divine architect, Viswakarma. No trustworthy proof about the date or maker of this temple is now available. Though the exterior of the temple is like those of the Orissan temples, yet its interior is like that of a Buddhist Bihar. Trailokyanath Rakshit mentioned above says that it resembles in many points the world-renowned temple at Buddha Gaya. In the front of the entrance door there is a small Bihar in imitation of the central Bihar. From this it is guessed that there were Bihars on other sides now extinct. Possibly in the central Bihar, the High Priest used to live and teach and the surrounding Bihars were occupied by his disciples. Archaeologists remark that when Buddhism disappeared from its birth-place the Bihars deserted by the Buddhists were converted by the Hindus into Hindu temples. This may be the case with the temple of Vargabhima. Jogesh Chandra Basu, learned author of *History of Midnapore* (in Bengali) writes that this temple may have some connection with the temple of Goddess Hariti founded by the Chalukya dynasty in the south.

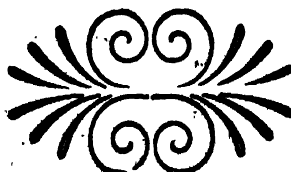
The temple of Vargabhima stands on a high place. The fouudation of the temple has been made thirty feet high by placing first large logs of wood and then bricks and stones. On this foundation runs a high wall nine feet broad and sixty feet high with a large dome made of stones. When one enters the temple, first of all it strikes one that the temple has been made out of a large marble block of stone and then walled around with bricks. Pointings of the building are so fine and excellent that it appears like one whole block and this has enhanced the beauty of the building immensely. Just in front of the main temple there is a Yajna Mandir (temple of sacrifice) which is smaller than the former and seems to be built much later. They say that an old woman had this temple built with the money she saved with great difficulty by spinning with her own hands by life-long labour. Both the temples are joined by a corridor which is named Jagamohan. Besides, there is in front of the Yajna Mandir, a Nata Mandir (Hall for performances) where Yatras (theatres) are held and animal sacrifices are offered. Before this, is the Nahabat-khana (music tower) and to the north of the temple there is a pond. There is Bhutnath Bhairab (Shiva) figure within the stairs below the altar of the



The Temple of Vargabhima at Tamluk

goddess. There are no hills near Tamluk. In those days there were no such improved system of conveyance by steamer or train as now. How large pieces of stones were brought from a distance in order to build this temple is no doubt an object of astonishment and certainly indicates a high-water mark of engineering. Archaeologists like Hunter and Rajendralal Mitra, historians like Romesh Chandra Dutt have unanimously praised the marvellous architecture of the temple and have called it a very ancient monument of which Bengal may justly be proud.

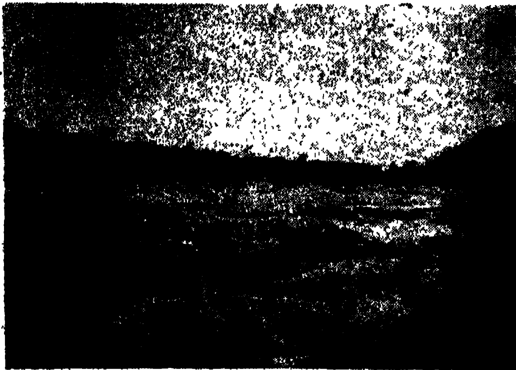
Thus every ancient temple of our holy land is a mute chapter of our age-old annals written in stones and bricks and should now be deciphered and put in black and white for the enlightenment of the present generation and prosterity.



THE ART TREASURES AT AJANTA

By VIJAY KRISHNA

ALTHOUGH much has been said about those magnificently adorned caves at Ajanta by visitors and art-connoisseurs, yet they impress every visitor in some new way, with something original. Thus, every account provides to the reader always some new material.



A panoramic view of some of the Ajanta Caves

These caves, though situated in a beautiful glade far-off from habitation, are now no longer secluded or inaccessible. The Nizam's government has made probably the best arrangement of their conservation, maintenance, protection and for their study. The head-quarters of the officer-in-charge is located at Fardapur, a village at about 3 miles distance from the caves. A good metallic road connects the caves with this place and here only bullock-carts are available. It is nearly 60 miles north of Aurangabad and is daily served by motor-buses of the Nizam's State Railway. There is a well-furnished Dak Bungalow and a State Guest House also, at this place.

The caves are in a perpendicular rock, about 250 ft. high and in a single series, presenting horse-shoe appearance but varying much in level. Below them, there flows the tinkling stream of Waghora. The natural scenery is superb. The entire valley with its surroundings, is full of the luxuriant growth of *Parijata*, which when in autumn blooms in profusion all over the valley the place becomes very fragrant and inviting. No ancient remains in India exhibit such an admirable combination of architecture, sculpture and painting surrounded by such an elegant phenomena of nature as these caves, which represent every stage of ancient Indian Art from the first century B.C. to the middle of the seventh century A.C. The frescoes illustrate the development of a great school of painting in India which exercised its influence not only on the culture of the East but also of the West.

There are 29 caves in all, 5 of which are Chaityas (Cathedrals) and the remainder—Viharas (Monasteries), all belonging to the Mahayana school of Buddhism.

Cave III is considerably higher while cave VIII is the lowest, and the level gradually rises towards each end. The first five with the last seven caves comprise the largest series. They are the latest and seem to have been finished within the seventh century. Another group comprises caves VI to VIII and XV to XX, ranging in date from fifth to the sixth centuries. Two Chaitya caves—IX and X, and two Viharas—XII and XIII are the earliest and seem to have been excavated before the Christian Era. All these caves have some distinctive features of their own. Among them the most prominent are described below.

Cave I is the most handsomely ornamented Vihara. It is a twenty-pillared hall with numerous cells inside and outside. The sculptures on the capitals of the pillars are remarkable for their variety and spirit.

Cave IV is one of the largest Viharas (about 85 ft. wide by 87 ft. deep with 93 ft. long front). It is unfinished and only a few pillars have some carvings. Yet the large main entrance is more elaborately sculptured than other cave-doors at Ajanta.

Cave VI has two storeys with a large and plain lower hall which contains sixteen plain pillars in groups of four each. Around the image in the shrine is a passage of circumambulation. The walls and sides of the upper storey are full of sculptures and carvings.



The magnificent facade of Cave XIX, Ajanta

Cave X has the simplest facade among the large Chaitya Caves. Inside, the paintings on the two side-walls are of much earlier date than the numerous figures of Buddha on the pillars.

Cave XIII is very plain and primitive, and is regarded as the oldest of them. Its perfectly smooth walls indicate that they were not intended to be plastered

or even be covered with paintings. Provision of stone-beds in the cells and the absence of pillars in the hall, are other indications of it being the earliest hewn cave at Ajanta.

Cave XV, another earlier cave has the earliest type of Buddha's image—without attendant and with the soles of his feet turned up.

Cave XIX also is very richly sculptured. It is lighted by a great horse-shoe arch, to both sides of which are corpulent figures with regal head-dress. The triforium is occupied by panels of arabasques, each differing in detail from the rest.



The stately verandah of Cave I, Ajanta

Cave XXVI has an excessive multiplication of figures of Buddha, of every size and in every attitude, almost to the exclusion of every other ornament.

The Ajanta Caves are remarkable for the richness of decoration and very careful and patient execution of that tremendous task. The doorways of the later group of Viharas alone are elegant specimens of doorway decoration in India. The sculptures are life-like and full of action and expression. The frescoes too, which have gained world-wide fame and favour, are visual records of contemporary life in still-pictures, besides they illustrate the life of Buddha. In them the woman has been drawn in clear perspective of her all beautifying capacity and here, perhaps it is her chief function to radiate happiness. The artist-monks have nowhere degraded her from the proud and prominent position she holds. Even, they did not find the necessity of removing her more than a few inches from Buddha. It is probable that because all beauty was one, for them just as all life was one, they did not observe a very great distinction between physical and moral beauty. Thus, in these frescoes they have introduced women on every possible occasion and they are always unconventional. Not only that, in fact, these paintings on the whole present a vast drama moving before our eyes—a drama played by princes, sages, and heroes, by men and women of every condition in a setting of a marvellously varied scene, among forests and gardens, in courts and cities, on wide plains and in deep jungles, while above—the messengers of heaven move swiftly across the sky.

Though the inside walls, ceiling and pillars of nearly all the later caves appear to have been adorned with paintings, yet remains of them are found only in thirteen caves and of which caves I, II, IX, X, XVI and XVII are of special interest. They have adequate arrangement of electric light as well.

For the first time in the history of India, these caves were discovered in 1819 by some British soldiers who were passing through the jungles in connection with the Maratha War. They reported the matter to their headquarters In 1829, the Royal Asiatic Society published the first account of these caves. Since then several accounts were read before the Society or were published by it. Copies of the forescoes were attempted and the result was displayed in the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1866 but the whole lot was destroyed in the terrible fire.

Again in 1870, Mr. Griffith was appointed to copy the frescoes In ten years' labour what he prepared was again exhibited at South Kensington in 1885, but that too was destroyed by another fire on the 12th June, 1885. In 1906, Lady Harringham visited the caves and during 1909-10, with the help of a band of Indian artists, she prepared another set of copies which were published in 1915, by the India Society (now, Royal India Society) London, in a magnificent portfolio form under the title *Ajanta Frescoes.*



Perambulator-like tiny bullock-carts convey visitors to the Ajanta Caves

After the first Great War, a number of illustrated articles appeared in various periodicals and magazines which created a sensation in India and abroad. Thereafter H. E. H. the Nizam's Government undertook publicity of these caves. Its memorable move in this direction was the restoration of the frescoes by some Italian experts and then publishing in sumptuous volumes large-sized natural-colour photographs in full colours. For the benefit of the tourists and students various guide-books and card-sets also have been published by the archaeological department of the State.

GUNS—THE MAKER OF NATIONS

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

WHATEVER the United Nations Organization or the World Trusteeship Committee may say about the World Charter of Freedom or the World Peace, guns will always have to engage guns in settling disputes between countries. As it is, guns in modern warfare have established a distinct superiority on one side or the other. Progress in science and the improvement of air arms may give the atomic bomb a temporary or relative advantage, but it appears fair to assume that the use of guns can never be less effective than that of present-day bombs, so long as the human vision and the natural features of modern warfare remain unchanged.



An Indian mountain gun in action

When fortresses are taken a regular siege train or collection of guns and howitzers of varying sizes and weights are attached to an Army. The military operations in the case of a siege have a distinctive character of their own and are carried out in their main features by the artillery and engineer-arms alone, the infantry, cavalry, and the air force being used in the battles or attacks incidental to the peculiar nature of the warfare.



A group of heavy guns ready for action

A gun is a metal tube, closed at one end and open at the other, from which a projectile can be thrown to a considerable distance by the explosive effect of a propellant (gunpowder or cordite) in the bore.

In the construction of a gun certain general principles are observed: (1) It must possess an ample margin of strength. (2) The bore has to be made of a material capable of withstanding the wear and tear of a large number of rounds. (3) The total weight should be as small as possible consistent with strength and the work to be done, also the destructive effect on the carriage due to a light gun must be considered. The material should be arranged so that there is no waste of powder, and that every part may perform its due share in withstanding the pressure from within.

When a gun is fired, the conversion of the propellant into a large volume of gas causes great pressure to take place in every direction at the seat of the charge. As the charge is enclosed on all sides, the effect of the explosion will be to eject the projectile from the muzzle of the gun.

As soon as the projectile begins to move to the bore it leaves more space for the gas, and the pressure is lessened, and continues to decrease as the projectile approaches the muzzle. The powder chamber of a gun has consequently to be made stronger than the muzzle end, and all guns are, accordingly more or less, conical in form.

The pressure in the bore will vary with the amount of resistance to be overcome in throwing out the projectile, and with the quantity and quality of the propellant. In a rifled gun (such as all modern field guns) the projectile is elongated, and therefore heavier than a round shot of equal calibre, and moreover, it is forced to rotate with increasing rapidity as it travels through the bore. The increased work being done on the pro-

jectile and the higher velocities now in vogue necessitate guns of the modern type to be made exceptionally strong.

The ordinary service guns are made of two kinds : (1) the field guns, (2) the mountain guns. Both guns are made of an inner tube of steel and an outer jacket of steel. The steel used in making these guns is a malleable alloy of iron containing a much smaller pro-



A heavy mortar in action

portion of carbon than exists in cast iron. It is undoubtedly far stronger in every way than wrought iron, and has been for years used in the American and British munition factories as the best metal for guns. The steel made in India was at first found to be too uncertain in quality to be deemed safe to employ by itself. Within the last few years, however, great improvements have been made in its manufacture. The steel at present used in gun construction is manufactured by the 'open-hearth process.' A quantity of pig iron, free from impurities, and malleable scrap is placed on the hearth and melted down by the combustion of 'Producer Gas' and air, both of which are heated previous to burning by passing over heated bricks in chambers called Regenerators, those latter being heated by the waste gases of the furnace. The decarburisation is effected partly by the scrap iron, partly by using an oxidising flame, and partly by the addition of pure ore consisting of oxide of iron.

The steel for the wire is made by the crucible process. The ingots thus formed are rolled into rods and then drawn while cold through steel dies of the required shape, the final section of the wire being ·06 inch thick and ·25 inch wide.

The uncertainties as to the behaviour of the metal are now much reduced, and it can be produced homogeneous in quality, and of the hardness, elasticity, toughness, tenacity, and tensile strength that are required. All guns are now consequently made of steel.

In a rifled gun a definite and very rapid rotation in a known direction is given, which obviates entirely the bad effects of windage and irregularity in weight and form of the projectile. The deviation of a shell from its original direction is constant, and can, therefore, be allowed for, and the accuracy of the gun increased. The rifled-shell, moreover, being gripped, as it were, at the muzzle of the gun, issues from it point foremost in the exact direction to which the gun points, but with a slightly increased elevation due to the jump.

The forces which bring a fired projectile to the ground and limit the range are gravity and the resistance of the air, the first force being always constant, the second, which is proportional to the area of the shot in transverse section, need only be considered.

It is obvious that an elongated shot must have a transverse section much less than that of a round one of the same weight, and therefore meets with less resistance from the air, and will, with



A heavy Howitzer in action

a similar muzzle velocity, range further. The front part of a rifled shell is made of a form the most favourable for passing through the air with the least resistance.

The method adopted for giving rotation to a projectile is different with the fifteen-pounder and twelve-pounder from what it is with the 2·5 inch.

With the two former guns it is done by means of a soft copper driving band attached round the shell near

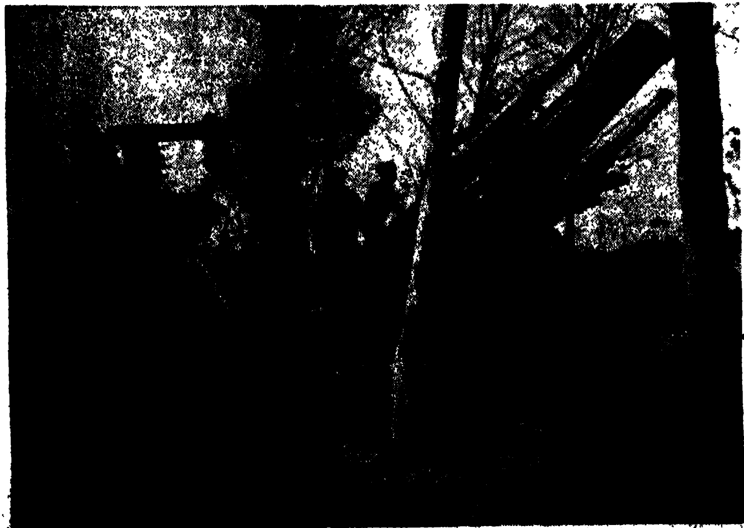
its base. On the charge being ignited, the first pressure of the gas forces the shell forward and the rifling cuts into the band, then as the pressure on the base of the projectile increases it is forced along the grooves, and thus leaves the bore with a rotating motion.



A French anti-aircraft gun

With the 2·5 inch the projectile has a gas check on its base which is forced into the grooves of the gun by the gas generated from the charge, and this gives the required rotation.

The relative advantages of breech and muzzle-loading guns have been much discussed, especially since the war of 1914, in which the Krupp breech-loading guns played such an important part. It is unnecessary, however, to enter into the arguments hitherto held for and against the rival systems, as owing to the great strides made in gun manufacture the conditions have considerably altered. It may, however, be mentioned here that the muzzle-loader is the cheapest and easiest to construct. But the 'power' of the gun, its accuracy, range, and rapidity of fire, in the two systems, may be assumed to be practically identical when using the same charge, and the projectile with its mode of ignition is in construction and effect the same.



A big gun getting ready for action

The shells fired from guns and howitzers strike the ground in the form of an oval, having their greatest depth in the direction of fire and while the firing guns are being fired, the observer looks through his telescope of the observing gun with his right hand on the deflection screw and his left hand on the tangent screw. The depth diminishes as the range increases, and for short range it is much greater than for long ones. The breadth increases as the distance of the object at which the burst takes place increases. Furthermore, the shells are not uniformly spread over the whole of the oval of dispersion; on the near part of the oval the shells are crowded together, and on the far part, as the shells travel farther, they are more scattered.

Accuracy of fire is of the greatest importance, as without it not only is an unnecessary amount of ammunition required to be expended to produce a certain effect, but also because bad shooting may give encouragement to the enemy. Absolute certainty of hitting the same spot at each round is impossible of attainment, as several causes of error exist which cannot be got rid of, even under the most favourable circumstances. Accuracy of fire is, therefore, a comparative term, and is said to be good when a group of shots fired under, as nearly as possible, the same conditions strike the target or the ground close together.

Some generals, who are not advocates of the long-range school, frequently dismissed the tactics of guns and howitzers somewhat summarily, and looked upon them as simply an auxiliary to the other arms. In this

now the case ? Is it not a fact that guns played a considerable part in gaining victory over the Germans in the last War ? The denuding of the centre of a line of battle of all troops but the guns, as in World War II, is surely a recognition of their playing something more than a subsidiary part. The fire from massed batteries, not only at the commencement, but all throughout an action, is an essential feature of the modern warfare.



Hotchkiss and Lewis machine-guns

The great armies of the world at first did not feel the necessity for a regular system of artillery tactics in the field. With progress of science, the actual destructive effect of a shell has increased by alterations in size and explosive power, and by perfected methods of estimating the range and igniting the fuse. The infantry have lost much of their power of manoeuvring, while the cavalry can seldom use their shock action on the field. But the full power of the modern guns is far greater than it has hitherto been and the modern world is only beginning to understand that where rapid firing is essential, the inevitable elements of artillery in the field are more valuable.

When a force awaits attack in position, its guns have to keep down the fire of the hostile artillery, delay as long as possible the forward movement of infantry, protect the flanks from being turned, and aid in counter-attacks. It is not pretended that artillery is the arm that deteriorates the least during the combat, and the one that can be most effectively kept in hand by the general in command. Guns can with rapidity be transferred from one point to another, and by means of their manoeuvring power can most effectively aid in the limited changes of formations practicable on the battlefield. It must, however, be admitted that the guns have to co-operate with the other arms in dealing a final blow to the enemy, following his retreat if victorious, and covering the retirement of their own side in case of defeat.

Modern warfare has established many improvements in the manufacture of munitions for the guns. In a war, where artillery fire goes on almost perpetually and bombs and mine explosions are of constant recurrence, rifle and machine guns crack intermittently and snipers are always busy, no engagement of any great moment takes place without a due supply of guns, shells, and bullets. Although there are many forms of bullets and shells which are intended to destroy men and materials, the invention of shrapnel shell has provided an arrangement which is far greater in proportion of explosive power. Shrapnel, the man-killing weapon par excellence, was invented by Henry Shrapnel in 1784 and improved later by Colonel Boxer. In its original form it was the spherical cast iron shell of the period, having lead bullets mixed with the bursting charge, but it was defective in this respect that bullets were scattered in all directions when the shell burst. Boxer's improvement consisted in placing an iron diaphragm between the charge and the bullets, so that the flight of the latter was directed. When the rifled gun came into use, the shape of shrapnel was changed and it was given an elongated form with an ogival nose. The bursting charge was placed in the base, separated by a diaphragm from the bullets which filled the body, while a tube down the centre conveyed the flash to the charge from the fuse in the nose. Substantially this remains the construction of modern shrapnel. The desideratum that the shell should contain as many bullets as possible while being strong enough to hold together on discharge



Taking ammunition up to the trenches

and during flight could, however, be better fulfilled when cast iron was displaced by steel, which permitted the walls to be made thinner. The effect of substituting steel for cast iron in shrapnel has been that it has decreased the total weight of the shell by about one-half. In order to render the burst visible some smoke-producing device is employed. One method is to mix black powder with the bullets, and another, adopted in Russia, is to use a mixture of magnesium and antimony sulphide. In Germany, red amorphous phosphorus with gunpowder

was used with the bullets which gives rise to dense white smoke. The bullets used in shrapnel are half an inch in diameter and usually spherical, though for the U. S. Army they are made with six flat faces with the



The interior of a Shrapnel shell

object of enabling them to be packed more readily in the casing. They are composed of lead hardened with antimony, and may either be cast in iron moulds or struck between dies from a long thick wire fed forward continuously. Any fins that may be formed on the bullets are removed by tumbling them together in a machine, when the rubbing of one upon another renders them quite smooth. Considerable exactitude is required in the manufacture, as 41 of them must weigh 1 lb. with an allowable error of only one dram.

It may be recalled that guns are also fitted in submarines and other battleships. It is believed that the great damage done to some of the larger British and American ships by German submarines in World War II and the short period which elapsed before they sank, were due to the use of an excessively large volume of explosive compound as well as to its particular composition. But, it must be admitted that the destruction of the personnel of a cruiser or a submarine was effected almost entirely by the shrapnel fire of the gun. These guns fold down within the superstructure of battleships and are installed on all sides having practically an all-round fire. The German guns which are of 2·95 inch bore are mounted so that they can be lowered into a recess in the deck of the vessel—between the upper deck and the recess of the hull. It is stated that these guns may be raised and got into position for firing in twenty seconds and that they can be stowed away in a corresponding time.

The gun and the rifle may be improved to any conceivable extent but the whole epoch beginning with Alexander's accession to the Greek throne and extending up to the defeat of Germany and the downfall of



A shell

Hitler will indicate how races of the world in the name of their superior civilization waged wild and awful wars on account of which towns and villages were littered with skeletons and human blood and wildernesses reigned where there had been gardens. It is a tale of the torture, mutilation and extinction of millions of men and women and of sacrifice of all that was best and noblest in many generations.

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NORTH WALES

By AUGUSTUS MUIR

THE land of Wales stands upon England's western border like a great bastion. From the Irish Sea in the north to the Bristol Channel in the south, its scenery is dominated by the mountains which give that ancient Celtic country its essentially romantic character. Although some of the most densely populated parts of the English Midlands lie upon its eastern boundary, it has retained its intrinsically Welsh atmosphere, and it still has over 50,000 people who speak only the old Welsh language. Most of its soil is drenched with legends of old heroes and of beautiful women from the world of dreams. It is a land remote in many ways from the main current of English history and tradition ; and few will deny that this very remoteness constitutes one of the chief charms of the country.

North and South Wales are divided by a chain of mountains stretching from the rugged peak of Cader Idris near the sea to the Berwyns in the east. Stand upon a peak of that dividing range and you will see the differences in landscape ; the hills of South Wales have rounded outlines compared with those stern peaks to be observed in the north country. The southern valleys are greener than those grey and rocky clefts between the northern hills. Into South Wales there are many gateways from England ; but there are only two on the north, one by the coast and the other through the lovely vale of the River Dee. The old English town of Chester, once a Roman station, lies on the coastal entrance into North Wales, and both road and railway take us up to the Irish Sea along a coastline which has become a holiday resort for the great English industrial towns that lie within the orbit of Liverpool, Leeds and Sheffield.

There is Rhyl at the mouth of the Clwyd, a stream that flows through a broad and fertile valley that is known as the Garden of North Wales. Further along the coast, Colwyn Bay is a holiday resort noted for its gentle winter climate ; and Llandudno has the other advantage of a picturesque situation, with the magnificent cliffs of Great Ormes Head standing high above



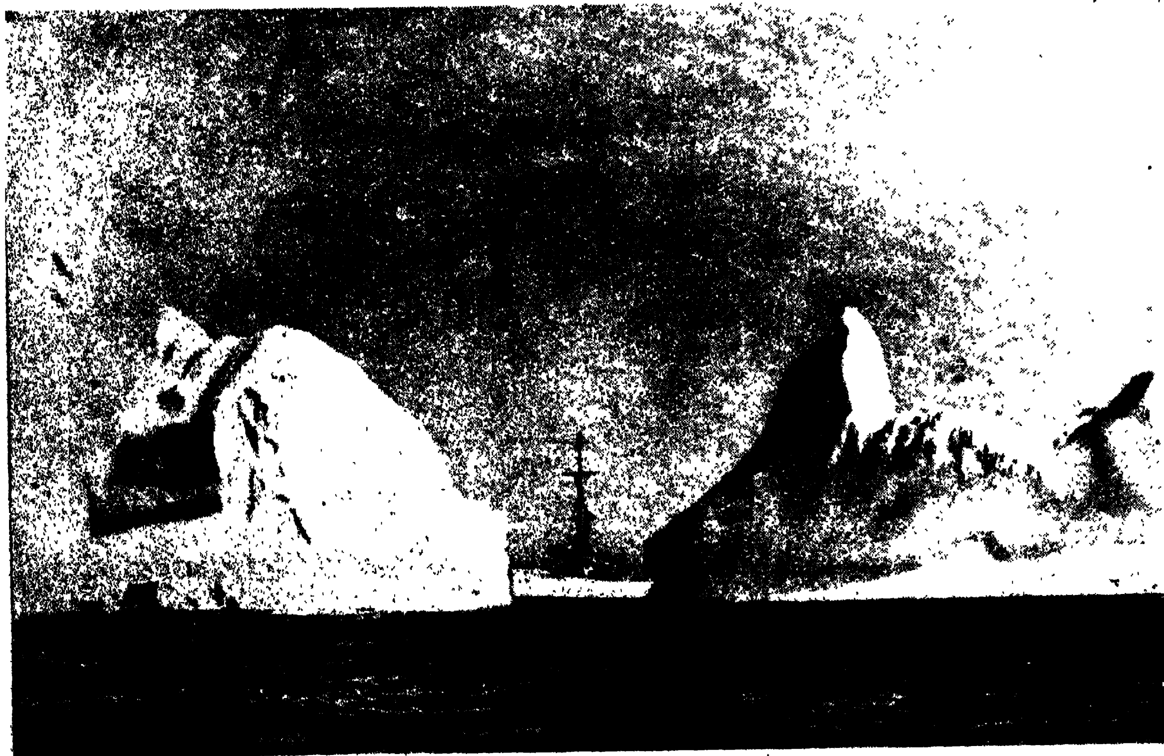
Caernarvon Castle is one of the best preserved of the many Welsh mediaeval castles



A Welsh festival at Eisteddfod, in which the performers wear the robes of the Druids and sing or recite either singly or in choirs



A doctor aboard a U.S. Coast Guard ship starts across the water in a boatswain's chair to treat an injured member of a merchant ship



A U. S. Coast Guard cutter passes between two peaks of a huge iceberg

the sea. The wide river to the west was famous for its pearl fisheries before the days of the Romans, and across it is the old walled town of Conway. These walls, built in the thirteenth century, still exist and are among the finest examples of mediaeval fortifications in Europe. Conway Castle, in its time one of the most formidable in Britain, was built by England's great warrior king, Edward I, when he was endeavouring to preserve the peace in the remote corners of his kingdom. Follow the River Conway into the mountains and you will come to a winding vale of uncommon beauty, with the peaks around Snowdon towering in their splendour on the west.



A peaceful village in Merionathshire, amidst the Welsh mountains

Snowdon sits like a patriarch among its own family of great hills. To find a mountain as high in Britain one must go to the Highlands of Scotland. Snowdon has an awe-inspiring grandeur from whatever angle you may view it; and indeed, on a clear day, you may see it from other peaks both in Scotland and in Ireland. In this throng of mountains, known as Snowdonia, we find scenery of many kinds, towering cliffs, deep lakes, desolate passes, splendid valleys. In the olden days, people referred to the highest peak of Snowdon as "The Tomb": it was here, they said, that a giant was slain by King Arthur, who was the greatest of the fabulous heroes in old Welsh legend. In more recent times, modern industry has invaded Arthur's mythical kingdom, and the great slate quarries of Snowdonia have been prosperous for many years. In the days of peace, thousands of visitors come to this district in search of recreation and health in the pure mountain air; and its high crags and precipices are a rock-climber's paradise.

Descend from Snowdon to the west, and you are at the Menai Straits, which separate the mainland from the green island of Anglesey. Fourteen miles long, these Straits vary in breadth from a few hundred yards to a couple of miles, and Spring tides rush through them at a tremendous speed. On the northernly entrance is the little town of Bangor, an ancient episcopal see, with a cathedral founded in the sixth century; it is a scholastic centre, with a college that is part of the University of Wales. At the southernly end of the Straits is Caernarvon, an old town which grew up beside another of those great mediaeval castles that we find in so many parts of Wales. But Caernarvon is distinctive because it is one of the best preserved of all these strongholds, and beside those grey walls were enacted some of the most critical scenes of Welsh history.

Spanning the Menai Straits is a bridge that carries the north coast railway on its way to Holyhead, the nearest seaport to Ireland. Before the days of railways, one journeyed to Holyhead by coach, and the old coach-road crossed the Menai Straits by the famous suspension bridge built more than a century ago by Telford, one of the greatest roadmakers in British history. The route he chose entered Wales by the gate-



Tremadoc Bay with the Snowdon mountains in the background, North Wales

way of the Dee valley; and a few miles from its mouth is the busy town of Wrexham. There are collieries in the vicinity, and the smelting of iron-ore; here, too, are other industries that include the manufacture of bricks and tiles; and it is an important centre for agricultural produce. Wrexham's fifteenth century church is called one of the "Seven Wonders of Wales"; and here is the tomb of Elihu Yale, who founded Yale University in the United States. The ancient lands of the Yale family are to be found about a dozen miles up among the hills, and are still known as Plas-yn-Yale.

In the Dee valley we come to the little town of Llangollen, with hills towering upon either side. Indeed, every mile of that road in the shadow of the Berwyn Hills, and later by the peaks of the Arenigs, has a changing beauty that lingers long in the memory of a traveller.

Here is some of the loneliest country in Great Britain; and in the folds of these mountains you will find Welsh people whose forbears for many generations have been brought up on the same farms—or who are following the same rural occupations. These people are deeply religious, with a strong imagination and a speech that is rich with vivid metaphor. They are a race of poets who take pride in reciting their verses in public. They are story-tellers and singers; creatures of warm impulses, quick to reveal their emotions to each other and even to strangers.

In these hills you will find many Welsh farmhouses that still retain their ancient atmosphere, with the kitchen fireplace and dresser decorated with a multitude of bright brass and china ornaments, and salted meat hanging from the rafters. It is a homely scene, and a Welshman's home is to him the centre of the universe; and to his home a guest is always welcome. His good manners are instinctive. He may be quick to anger, but is generous after his anger has cooled. He is, above all, a strong individualist with deep self-respect.

It is here among the hills, rather than at the holiday resorts around the coast, that you will find beating most strongly the true heart of Wales. Here the old legends are still repeated around the firesides, and the old traditions kept alive by people whose roots are deep in the ancient soil.

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CEYLON: THE ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

By Dr. KRISHNA PRASANNA MUKERJI, M.A., D.Phil.,
University of Ceylon

Ceylon is a mango-shaped island of 25,481 square miles with the flat end at the bottom (*i.e.*, on the south). The maximum distance from north to south is about 270 miles and from east to west about 140 miles. Lying within 60 miles of the southernmost point of India, the distance is nearly bridged by the islands of Manar and Rameswaram. The northern half of the island is an extensive plain. The central part is generally rocky and constitutes a plateau of about 4,000 square miles which is the home of the plantations. The highest peak is over 8000 feet high.

Ceylon has a luxuriant vegetation so that it may rightly be compared to an emerald pendant studded on the shapphire bosom of the mother sea. The island is situated on the monsoon route and as such receives showers of benediction both from the summer and the winter monsoon. Owing to its proximity to the mountains the south-western part of the island, however, attracts most of the rains and forms the wet zone. The northern part is a rather dry zone of insufficient rainfall.

The island has a population of over 6 millions, which is, however, not homogeneous racially. With the exception of the Moslems who came from Arabia and Malaya, and the Burghers who are the descendants of the Dutch invaders, the vast majority of the island's population however are descendants of invaders or emigrants from India—an apt illustration of the influence of Geography on History. The oldest inhabitants of the island are the Veddahs, some of the survivors being still extant in the forest areas. They are believed to have migrated from India in some pre-historic epoch when Ceylon was still linked with India by the Adam's Bridge. By far the major part of the inhabitants who are known as Sinhalese came from north India about 500 B.C. and adopted Buddhism a couple of centuries later. From the eleventh century A.D. hordes of south Indian invaders came to the island and gradually conquered the northern part while the Ceylonese kings were obliged to push back their capital (from Anuradhpura and Pollannaruwa) to Kandy, in the mountainous country of the south-central region. Their descendants are known as Ceylon Tamils and they constitute today the most influential minority community in the island. In recent times a large number of south Indian labourers have come to Ceylon who mainly work on the plantations. They are known as the Indian Tamils. The mixed composition of the population may be seen at a glance in the table below :*

1.	*Sinhalese* :	
	Low Country	2,596,000
	Kandyan	1,467,000
2.	*Tamils* :	
	Ceylon	697,000
	Indian (Estate Workers) ..	650,000
	Others	162,000
3.	*Muslims* :	
	Moors	380,000
	Malays	18,000
4.	*Burghers* :		30,000
5.	*Europeans* :	10,000
6.	*Others* :	50,000
	Total	6,060,000

Of this 61 per cent are Buddhists, 22 per cent Hindus, 10 per cent Christians and 7 per cent Muslims.

As in India, the population of Ceylon is mostly rural. The common man is the small cultivator of insufficient means with little initiative and a limited outlook. Political uncertainty, which was a chronic feature

* Figures cited in this article are mostly from the Soulbury Commission Report.

until 1802 (when the island became a British crown colony) also was responsible for the apathy and lack of initiative in the people. The first half-a-century of British rule was devoid of any substantial material and moral progress owing mainly to the lack of revenue and the resultant deficits. In consequence roads, railways, harbours, hospitals, schools and industries had to be neglected. The State then functioned only as a police force.

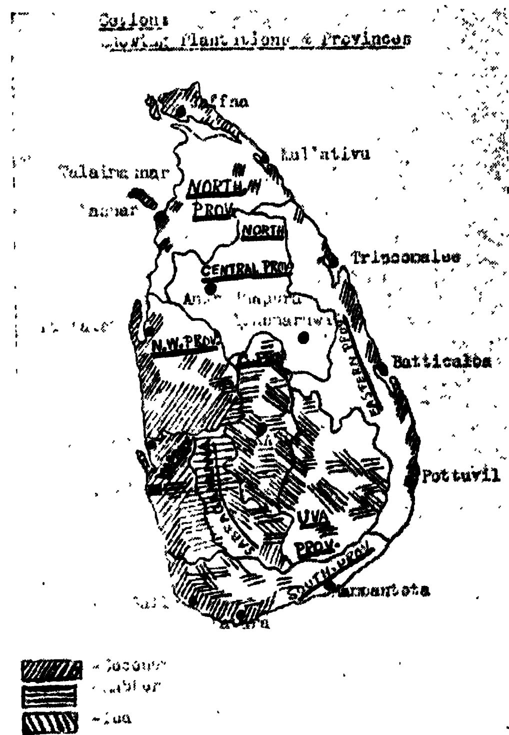
This tragic financial situation, however, improved with the introduction of British capital in 1855 with the help of which the Coffee industry was started. This resulted in providing an annual surplus and gradually "Ceylon became one of the wealthiest and most prosperous of the crown colonies." As a result roads and railways were constructed and the irrigation works, which had fallen into decay, were restored partially. Health, sanitation, education and other social services came to be included among the functions of the State from the beginning of the present century. It would indeed be interesting to prepare a list of nation-building activities undertaken by the government. But before doing so it would be proper to enquire into the causes which enabled the island of deficits to be transformed into an island of surpluses. This will be provided by the story of the growth of plantations in the island, specially coffee, tea and rubber.

The chronic deficits in the island's budget set the administrators of Ceylon to think seriously about the possibilities of fresher source of revenue (after quelling the Kandian revolt of 1818). The then Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, found that coffee could be grown in the mountainous regions with profit only if there were sufficient capital to start the plantations and roads to carry the coffee to the ports. For the one he "tried to interest the Europeans" (who alone then had the capital to invest) in the coffee industry and for the other he constructed three to four hundred miles of roads linking the upcountry towns to Colombo. Improved methods were introduced and the industry developed rapidly. The result was that "by the middle fifties it was so large that road transport was unable to cope with it." Accordingly, the first railway project (from Colombo to Kandy) was undertaken by the Ceylon government and completed in 1875. The lines were extended to other parts later on. The blight of 1868-82 ruined the coffee estates and they had to be replaced by tea plantations. The tea industry made rapid progress between 1880 and 1887. It was, however, not till 1903 that it reached security and stability as a permanent industry of the island. Today it is the most important and valued export of Ceylon, rubber and coconut occupying the second and third places in order of importance.

The eagerness to evade the danger of depending on a *single crop* was largely responsible for the introduction of rubber plantations in Ceylon which was encouraged by the rapid development of motor industry (specially in the U.S.A.) whose demand for rubber could not be satisfied solely by the Brazilian supply. The fact that expensive machinery is not needed for making latex was equally influential in popularising rubber cultivation as it enabled many Ceylonese with small capital to invest in rubber gardens. In this way the dependence of revenue on one crop was avoided and the commercial importance of Ceylon products (specially tea, rubber, coconut) added to the prosperity of the country considerably. The following table shows the approximate acreage under various crops:

Arecanuts	..	69,000
Cacao	..	34,000
Cardamoms	..	6,000
Cinnamon	..	26,000
Citronella	..	23,000
Coconut	..	1,238,000
Cotton	..	2,000
Palmyra	..	50,000
Sugarcane	..	1,000
*Rubber	..	657,145
*Tea	..	550,571
Tobacco	..	14,000
Paddy	..	645 000 (Maha season 1944)
		409,000 (Yala season 1944)

As an island which depends for balancing her budget on the export of the products of her soil the statistics of Ceylon's foreign trade is of special interest: The annual value of her *imports* in 1939 was Rs. 240,930.697 as against Rs 414,458.245 of 1943. The annual values of her *exports* for the same years were Rs. 308,417,749 and Rs. 539,306,294 respectively. The island has to depend on foreign imports for some of the essential necessities of life, specially food-stuffs and textiles. On the export side coconut, tea, rubber and plumbago are the chief items. She imports from India (foodstuffs and textiles), Britain (machinery and textiles) and Burma (rice). Her main customers in the export trade are Britain (tea, rubber and coconut products), U.S.A. (rubber and cinnamon) and Canada (coconut products).



Ceylon—showing plantations and provinces

* It is of interest to note that 40 per cent of Rubber and 70 per cent of Tea plantations are owned by Europeans.

On the basis of the figures for 1939† the following are the percentages of the value of her imports and exports (exclusive of postal articles, ships' stores and specie) :

	Imports	*Exports*
United Kingdom	18·78	49·03
British Possessions	46·67 (Of this imports from India alone was 27 p.c.)	18·68
Foreign Countries	34·55	32·29 (Of this exports to U.S.A. alone was 25 p.c.)

The total revenue of Ceylon for the year 1939-40 was Rs. 123 130,498—93 cents (as against Rs. 200,006,747 —39 cents of 1942-43). Of this revenue the income from *taxation* alone was as follows :

	1939-40 Rs.	1942-43 Rs.
Customs	59,877,595—48 cents	77,925,046—92 cents
Excise	8,337,136—11 ,,	13,538,499—38 ,,
Income tax	18,794,723—91 ,,	59,227,070—66 ,,
Licences, etd.	1,299,201 - 79 ,,	753,241—84 ,,
Export duties under Medical wants Ordinance	1,768,978—63 ,,	2,159 326—04 ,,
Total	90,077,635—92 cents	153,603,184—84 cents

Ceylon has several ports and the *income from these parts* form an important single source of State income, which is shown below :

Port			*Income in Rs. in 1939-40*
Colombo	..	..	6,076,152—18 cents
Galle	..	..	66,956—71 ,,
Trincomalee	..	..	16,702—09 ,,
Jaffna	..	..	20,512—15 ,,
Batticaloa	..	..	1,650—79 ,,
Other Ports	..	..	34,407—45 ,,
	Total		6,216,381—37 cents

The total expenditure for the year 1939-40 amounted to Rs. 122,356,249—03 cents (as against Rs. 185,006,506 —65 cents for 1942-43). A scrutiny of the expenditure side reveals the following scale of expenditure on different items on the basis of the figures for 1939 :

Education 14 per cent, Defence 10·2 per cent, Pension 10 per cent, Medical and Health Services 9·9 per cent, Administration 8·7 per cent, Debt Charges 7 per cent, Public Works 5·9 per cent, Courts and Police 5·8 per cent, Agriculture and Irrigation 3·6 per cen., and the remainder is spent on social services such as Co-operative Societies, Forest Preservation, Protection of Labour, etc.

A few noteworthy facts emerge out of a critical study of the public finance of the island. In the first place we find that the major part of the revenue (over 75 per cent) is derived from *taxation*. Secondly, a substantial portion of the revenue from taxation (about 60 per cent of total taxes paid) is derived from British planters and businessmen (as Income-tax, Export and Import duties and Estate duties). Thirdly, as a result of investment of capital in a number of commercial crops (like tea, rubber and coconut) the island is able, at present, to command an annual surplus, which is being utilised for social services and nation-building works some of which are described below :

Education : The most remarkable fact about the economic policy of the island is the progressive increase in expenditure on Education (from 12 million rupees in 1931 to 34 million rupees in 1945). The State is pursuing a policy of free education and the most noteworthy feature of this policy is to be seen in the enormous increase in the number of vernacular schools and the introduction of school-meals to children. About 50 per cent of the children of school-going age are receiving instructions. It is, however, regrettable that owing to an over-emphasis on academic education vocational training has not made the progress which would have maximised national efficiency and as a result an intellectual proletariat class has cropped up. The need of the hour is to divert the flow of students to technical schools.

Medical Service : The Medical and Health Services receive commendable attention from the state in Ceylon. The most prevalent diseases are malaria, enteritis, dysentery and hook-worm. Sometimes cases of small-pox, cholera and plague are also reported. The Government spends some 15 million rupees annually for combating these diseases. Till recently expenditure on this department had been mainly "on the clinical treatment of disease." Gradually (specially since the great malaria epidemic of 1934-35) preventive medicines are being used by the Health Department. The general health and sanitary conditions however still remain a formidable problem. The authors of the Soulbury Commission Report have rightly remarked that 'Housing conditions, water supplies and proper nutrition urgently demand attention. The death-rate remains unduly high and the infant mortality rate in particular is being slowly reduced." But the encouraging fact about this department in Ceylon is, that unlike in many Indian Provinces, systematic work has been started and one feels that "things are getting along." Anti-malaria measures were started in 1921, treatment against hook-worm was started as early as 1915 and the Government's anti-small pox measures are so stringent that new-comers to Ceylon are likely to mistake it for a nuisance. "Ceylon has probably the most extensive system of hospitals in the British Colonial Empire." On the basis of 1939 figures the Medical Department has 348 officers and 24 Health officers. There are 120 hospitals (11,137 beds) and 751 dispensaries treating minor cases. In the medical College there are 181 students. There are 96 hospitals and 670 dispensaries in addition in the tea and rubber Estates. Medical researches are carried in the Bacteriological and Pasteur Institute.

Labour : A large number of the labour population in the island is Tamil emigrants from India. It is estimated that in the estates, railways and other departments there are some 700,000 Tamils as against 140,000 Ceylonese labourers. As a result of a series of social legislations the labourers now enjoy the usual protections the more important of which are stated below :

(*a*) Workmen's Compensation Ordinance (1934),

(*b*) Ordinance dealing with the employment of women, young persons and children (1923, 1940 and 1941)—on lines laid down by the International Draft Convention ;

† Usually figures for 1939 have been shown as indications of more or less normal, pre-war conditions.

(c) Ordinance prohibiting Female labour under ground (1937);

(d) Maternity benefit Ordinance (1939),

(e) Factory Ordinance (1942);

(f) General Wages Board Ordinance (1941 amended in 1943).

Estate labour enjoys even greater safeguards—including a minimum wage-rate, an eight-hour working day, free housing, medical service and free education for children. Old age pensions and maternity benefits are paid by some estates though not required to do so by law.

The Trade Union movement has come to stay and are responsible for bringing about improvements in labour conditions. In 1940 there were 67 unions. The law (Trade Union Ordinance of 1935) requires that all Trade Unions must be registered.

Irrigation and Agriculture : The Soulbury Report rightly observed that *the problem of agriculture in Ceylon is the problem of irrigation.* In ancient times the kings in Ceylon constructed and maintained huge reservoirs and tanks ('some of them covering thousands of acres") out of which water was distributed through canals for irrigation purposes. In course of time the old irrigation system was destroyed and the magnitude of the work ruled out of court any possibility of success through private efforts. The British Government started taking interest in such works as soon as revenue-conditions improved and in 1856 restoration of old tanks was started. The Irrigation Department was established in 1900. By 1931 some 18½ million rupees were spent by government on major construction works and at present some 540,426 acres of land under rice is irrigated. As a result of all this a vast tract of irrigated land has become available for agricultural purposes. The present policy of the Government is to induce peasants from the over-crowded wet (southern) zone to come to live and colonise the irrigated land in the dry (northern) zone. With this end in view the Department of Agriculture has formulated an extensive *scheme of colonisation and land development*. Experimental stations and demonstration farms have been established. The Executive Committee of Agriculture recently approved the proposal of spending 3 million rupees in next year's budget for the purpose of giving assistance to farmers settling down in the "colonies" established by the Ministry of Agriculture. According to the latest available report (*Ceylon Daily News*, May 10 1946), the following facilities are proposed to be given to the colonists :

i. A paddy farm of about 5 acres (to each colonist),

ii. A high land allotment of about 3 acres (to each colonist). This is for the purpose of encouraging mixed farming (rice and fruits), with a view to remove the dependance of cultivators on rice crop only,

iii. A house of standard pattern (to each colonist),

iv. Each colonisation area is to be provided with medical and educational facilities, community centres and other social amenities essential for planned development.

Already 100 allotments under the Minipe Ela Scheme and 100 allotments under the Kaagama Extension Scheme have been made. Five thousand acres of irrigable land under the Parakrama Samudra Scheme has been dealt with so far and the remainder (about 15,000 acres) is to be dealt with in the next financial year.

In conclusion we surmise that the main economic problems of Ceylon are two : (1) *The dependance of the island for foodstuffs on foreign countries.* This is neither desirable nor inevitable. The Ministry in choosing to follow a vigorous policy with regard to agricultural development (with a view to secure self-sufficiency in food-supply) has chosen the wisest course. It is hoped that ere long Ceylon will attain complete self-sufficiency in this respect.

(2) *The lack of Industries* and the consequential dependance solely on Plantation economy. In this connection the dependance of the island on outside supply of textiles is specially noteworthy. To what extent it will be possible to start textile industry in Ceylon is a question to be decided by expert opinion but the present position of a supplier of raw materials must come to an end and indigenous industries must be started before there can be any possibility of raising the standard of living of the common man. In this connection the prospect of manufacturing rubber goods appears to be promising and therefore worth giving a trial or at least a consideration. To encourage optimum industrialisation benefits, technical and vocational education should also be encouraged.

It is an unsatisfactory state of affairs that of the total taxes some 60 per cent are paid by a handful of Europeans. This can be changed only by progressive transference of control of industry to Ceylonese hands, which is possible only when Ceylon produces her own captains of industry. Foreign capital may be *borrowed* if capital is lacking but not foreign *initiative* without detriment to the economic welfare and growth of political consciousness of the people.*

—K. P. M.

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HENRY HANDEL RICHARDSON

By NETTIE PALMER, Australia

Henry Handel Richardson, the great woman novelist who has just died at her home in Sussex, was Australian born, and as an Australian she lived and worked to her last days. It is true that she was absent from her country since the age of seventeen—except for one visit with a special literary object—but it is more important that in character and interests she never wholly left it. In recent years, her books have been out of print, temporarily ; but the ending of the war has promised a revival of them : revivals in English, American and Australian editions. We can talk of them now as if they were safely homing to our shelves.

Henry Handel Richardson early became an accomplished European in her mind and her writing. Her

first book, *Maurice Guest,* (1908) was built, as she once said, 'on European lines.' It showed none of a beginner's hesitations, and has never ceased to be recognised both by the public and by other writers of international repute ; its name occurs as a landmark in books of literary experiences. In it she found her way straight to the core of artistic realities in Europe as well as to her basic theme, that of human relations. Thus from the beginning Henry Handel Richardson was established as a major novelist in the eyes of the small world that takes notice of such valuations, and *Maurice Guest* was republished quietly from time to time.

It is important to record this now, when people are apt to remember only that in 1929 her completed masterpiece, *The Fortunes of Richard Mahony,* gave her a sudden wider fame. If she had never written anything after *Maurice Guest,* she would still have lived as a novelist—but not, you will say, as an Australian novelist. *Maurice Guest,* indeed, was embedded in the life of Leipzig music students in the nineties, aware of cosmopolitan art and its seriousness ; how different from the life of any new country ! Yet, how is it that the heroine, the enigmatic, temperamental, difficult Louise Dufrayer, is a young woman from Australia ? Wasn't it that Henry Handel Richardson, herself an exile from a very new country, felt that a girl from Australia would be the most completely exotic type she could name in a European environment ? I suggest that it was her instinct also in some way to mark her books, that belonged to the world, with the sign of the country of their true origin. This she did with each of her few novels in turn, subtly, as in *Maurice Guest,* in others quite plainly, until she came to her last *The Young Cosima,* of 1939. In this case it would have been impossible, her subject being a group of historic German musical personalities ; besides, if the question were then to be raised, she had already been known, time and again, as the Australian novelist : Australia's most distinguished literary representative abroad.

The book that very soon followed *Maurice Guest, The Getting of Wisdom,* was 'marked' plainly enough by being set in a Melbourne school—and one described with almost autobiographical intimacy. I have often wondered how it was that the critics, who accepted the author of *Maurice Guest* as a man were not more openly surprised that this girls' school story could also be produced by him. But perhaps in those years—it appeared in 1910—there was a familiarity with George Moore's novels set inside women's institutions, and that kind of tour de force was accepted from the psychologist Mr. H. H. Richardson had already shown himself to be.

After *The Getting of Wisdom* there was a break of seven years, and the next novel appeared in the middle of the war, in 1917. The first volume of what was to be her trilogy had a heavy title, suggesting sequels : *The Chronicle of the Fortunes of Richard Mahony,* with a sub-heading *Australia Felix.* In American editions much later, this volume, if not the three volumes together, bore the name *Australia Felix.* This title kept the author's hint of irony that runs through Richard Mahony's 'fortunes,' as in *The Way Home* (for a man by nature homeless on the earth) and finally *Ultima Thule,* in which Richard sends his soul through the invisible.

Here it is curious, looking back, to notice that the first volume of *Richard Mahony,* concerned though it was with nothing but Australia, did not in itself mark its author as Australian for those who had not the clue already. Readers were confronted with its brilliant reconstruction of Early Ballarat and Melbourne by some novelist called Richardson, and with his group of characters centring in Mahony, restless, complex, exasperating and credible. The author, giving such a full, objective presentation of Richard's outlook on the Australian scene, seemed to accept Richard's values. To Richard, as a storekeeper doctor on Ballarat in '54, conservative and self-centred in temperament, law-abiding in habit, the famous Eureka Stockade is only an annoyance on the horizon : so are most of the interests of men on the diggings. The volume ends with Richard's departure from Australia, it seems for good. He has shaken off the dust of it—how he detested 'colonial' dust !—and set sail for England, which he, though Irish-born, regards as his spiritual and appropriate home. Is it to be wondered if readers took Mr. H. H. Richardson for an English novelist, remarkably well-read in Australian social history, who after one volume brought back his hero to England for closer observation ?

Again it was seven years before a volume appeared : *The Way Home,* the second in the trilogy. Though the title was, purposely, enigmatic, the author's personal knowledge of Mahony's Australian background now stood revealed. It is true that for half the book the scene is in England, where we are shown the attempts of Mahony to set up a practice, and his amazement to find himself rejected as a colonial—after all his resistance to the colonial environment ! But henceforth Mahony's life is to be Australian. It was to Australia that he found his 'way home'; and his '*Ultima Thule*'—this being first the facetiously learned name he gave to the expensive house he built himself in an outer suburb, afterwards the title of the last volume in the trilogy, in which Mahony was to journey to the Ultima Thule of mental and spiritual agony. This inner agony is inseparable from external detail, remorselessly presented, pressing like fierce sunlight on a head that cannot tolerate it.

Henry Handel Richardson, then, describing Mahony, describes Australia also through his eyes. This was what some readers could not understand. Carried on the wave of enthusiasm for her work that arose when *Ultima Thule* at last appeared (1929), they abandoned themselves to a book more tragic than any they had read before, but then, resenting their own surrender, protested sometimes timidly, even to the point of suggesting that the book was a bad advertisement for Australia. As if the arrival of a masterpiece could lower a country's reputation ! 'But Australia is not like that !' said these readers. 'Mahony had no eyes for its beauty of landscape or for the warmth and character of our people !'

Exactly : but you could only understand Richard Mahony by seeing how life appeared to him. Moreover, Richard was an extreme instance of a type : the unhappy new settler who saw no colour or beauty in the strange new sky or earth. 'Only those born of the soil,' says Henry Handel Richardson, 'only those can love the soil.' She counted herself among the later generations who have drunk in with their mothers' milk a love of sunlight and space. 'In the trilogy,' she said, 'I speak entirely for the generation of whom the books are written. All the old settlers term the landscape colourless, the Bush silent. And for the time being their standpoint had to be mine.'

'For the time being' had meant nearly twenty years, during which the chronicler of Mahony worked to express truth, 'as it was given'. All that time, she had kept clearly in mind Mahony's inevitable end. In facing it, she faced more than the story of Mahony himself and ended by creating one of the symbolic figures in world literature.

After 1929, when so many had read her trilogy, often backwards, beginning with *Ultima Thule* and then feeling out for the predecessors that made its base, all her books were published again, in England and America. Some were translated, especially into Scandinavian languages.

A book of her collected short stories and sketches next appeared, *The End of Childhood*, the long name-story connected with Mahony, while several of the sketches of young girls in Australia stemmed from *The Getting of Wisdom*. Her chief books were again brought out in large American editions for Readers' Clubs and Unions, and these called for new prefaces. Notable is one by Sinclair Lewis to an edition of Mahony as recent as 1941. Emphatically he asserts his belief that this author was before her time—and that the time to begin reading Henry Handel Richardson is now. The time will always be now. Australia is fortunate to have such a literary representative in future.

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THE FAIRY

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

Said Kusmi, "You tell a lot of made-up stories. Tell me a true story, won't you ?"

"There are two sorts of stuff in the world," I said. "One is the True, and one is the Super-true. My business is with the Super-true."

"Dada-Mashai, everyone says that they can't understand what you say."

"That's true," I said, "but when they don't understand it's their own fault."

"What do you mean by Super-true ? Do tell me."

"Well, this for example. Everyone knows that you are Kusmi. That's quite *true*. It can be proved a thousand times over. But I have discovered that you're a fairy from fairyland. And that is Super-true."

Kusmi was pleased. "Very good. How did you find out ?"

Said I, "The other day you had an examination, and you were sitting on your bed learning your geography by heart ; at last your head dropped on the pillow and you fell asleep. It was full moon night. Through the window the moonlight fell full on your face and on your sky-blue sari. Then I saw quite clearly that it was a messenger from the king of fairyland come for news of their runaway fairy. He came close to my window, his white scarf fluttered into the middle of the room. The messenger looked you up and down, but he didn't know whether you were their truant fairy or not. He thought perhaps you were a fairy of this world, and that it would be no easy job for them to carry you off from the lap of earth. It would be too weighty for them, in fact. Gradually the moon rose higher, darkness fell inside the room, and the messenger, shaking his head, vanished into the shadow of the *sishu* tree. That day I found out that you are a fairy from fairyland who have got yourself held captive by the weight of this world."

"But Dada-Mashai," said Kusmi, "how did I come from fairyland ?"

"One day, there in the *Parijat* forests you were flying up and down on the back of a butterfly. Suddenly your eye fell on a ferry-boat lying by the landing-steps of the horizon. It was made of white clouds, it was rocking in the wind. On the spur of the moment you got into that boat. Away it floated, and came to rest at the landing-steps of the earth, and your mother picked you up."

Kusmi was delighted, and clapped her hands. "Dada-Mashai," she said, "is it really true ?"

"True " I said. "Who says it's true ? Do I care about what's true ? It's Super-true."

Kusmi said, "Well then, shall I be able to go back to fairyland ?"

"Perhaps you may," said I, "if the winds of fairyland fill the sails of your dreams."

"Then if they do, which way must I go ? Which road ? Is it a *very* long way ?"

"It's very near," I said.

"How near ?"

"As near as you are to me. You won't even have to leave that bed. Just see, the next time the moonlight comes into the room, you look outside, and you'll have no more doubt about it. You'll see that cloud ferry-boat coming down the river of the moonlight. But you've become an earth fairy now, so that boat won't do for you. Now you'll have to leave your body behind when you go wandering and have only your mind for your companion. Your 'True' will stay behind here on earth but your Super-true will be off and away, and none of us will be able to catch up with it."

Kusmi said, "All right then, when full moon night comes I'll be watching the sky. Will you take my hand and go with me, Dada-Mashai ?"

"I can show you the way sitting here," I replied. "That's in my power, because I'm a dealer in the Super-true."

—*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*

Translated from *Galpa-Salpa* by Marjorie Sykes.

CONTRIBUTION OF BENGAL TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE

By Prof. J. B. CHOWDHURI, Ph.D. (London), F.R.A.S. (London)

Sanskrit Poetry

Bengal poets headed by Satanananda, Gauda-Abhinanda, Sandhyakara Nandin, Jayadeva, Govardhan, Dhoyi, Sridharadasa, Rupa Gosvamin and Kavi Karnapura have contributed substantially to all branches of Sanskrit poetry, *viz.*, Mahakavyas, Kavyas, Khandakavyas, Dutakavyas and Subhasitas. The contribution of Bengal to Lyrical Literature and anthology is superb in every respect. Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*, Govardhana's *Aryasaptasati*, Dhoyi's *Pavanaduta*, Vishnudasa's *Manoduta*, Krishnanatha's *Padamkaduta*, Rupa-Gosvami's *Hamsaduta* and *Uddhavaduta* are some of the best lyrical gems in Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, the *Gitagovinda* is simply unparallelled in the whole range of Sanskrit lyrical literature. Bengal has again contributed to the anthological literature the best work namely, *viz.*, the *Saduktikarnamrita* of Sridharadasa. Rupa-Gosvamin's *Padyavali* and Jagannath Misra's *Sabhataranga*, too, are excellent works.

Sanskrit Dramatical Literature

Bhattanarayana, author of the *Venisamhara* ; Rupagosvamin, author of the *Vidagdha-Madhava* and *Lalita-Madhava* ; Ramananda Ray, author of *Jagannatha-vallabha-natak* ; Jagadisvara Tarkalamkara Bhattacharya, author of the *Hasyarnava*, etc., are very powerful writers. The contribution of Bengal to Sanskrit Dramatical Literature is by no means small. Rupagosvamin introduced into literature Bhakti or Devotion as a sentiment and consequently there was a thorough change in general outlook of scholars towards all works of the Bhakti school.

Sanskrit Prose-Poetry Literature

Whereas Bengal has contributed little to Sanskrit Prose Literature, Mediaeval Bengal made solid contributions to Sanskrit Prose-Poetry Literature, *viz.*, the Champu and Virud literature. The *Gopala-champu* of Jiva Gosvamin is not only the most voluminous of all Sanskrit Champus but decidedly one of the best contributions to the Bhakti school of Indian philosophy and thought. In subject-matter as well as form, our Bengal Viruds are quite different from the stereotyped Viruds described in the rhetorical literature.

Regarding the rhetorical and metrical literature, Bengal made some of the best contributions, *viz.*, the *Bhakti-rasamrita-Sindhu*, *Ujjvala-nilamani* and *Natakachandrika* of Rupa-Gosvamin, the *Alamkara-Kaustubha* of Kavikarnapura, etc. The *Chhandomanjari* of Gangadas is the best metrical work in Sanskrit.

Special mention must be made regarding our contribution to Sanskrit Biographical Literature. Headed by Murari Gupta and Kavikarnapura's *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, this literature is really very rich in quality as well as quantity. Regarding our Kavya commentaries, *Bharata Mallika* is certainly the best. He excels Mallinath in his own way ; but it is only unfortunate that none of his commentaries except that on the *Bhattikavya* has as yet been published.

Sanskrit Grammar

The only Sanskrit Grammar for grammarians, and not for beginners, is the *Prayoga-ratnamala* of Purusottama and this work was composed by a Bengali scholar at Cooch Behar. It is absolutely undeniable, on the evidence of the MSS. materials in particular, that Bengal made the most substantial contributions to Sanskrit grammatical literature. Bengal is solely responsible for the gradual development of the Kalapa school, and she may really be very proud of her contribution to the gradual development of the Mugdhabodhi school as well. Out of the fourteen important commentaries of the Mugdhabodha, thirteen were contributed by Bengal alone. The *Rasavati Vritti* by Kayastha Jumara Nandin on the Samkshiptasara Vyakarana and the Nyasa commentary of Jinendrabuddhi on the *Kashika Vritti* of Vamana and Jayaditya exhibit the real brain-power of Bengali scholars.

Smriti

Our earliest Smarta is Gautama the Sutrakara. Navya-smriti flourished in our part of the country. Our Smartas headed by Brihaspati, Halayudha, Jimutavahana, Sulapani, Raghunandana, Govindananda, etc., are the best mediaeval India ever produced. Regarding the Prachina Smriti, Kulluka Bhatta of Bengal is regarded to be the best commentator on the Manava-dharma-Sastra. Bengal may boast of more than 500 Smartas who have contributed substantially to Smriti Literature.

Purana and Jyotisa

In these two branches as well, we have contributed not a little. Raghavananda Chakrabarti, Rajnarayan Vidyabhusana, Gauda Bhattacharya, Chiranjiva Bhattacharya and many others of Bengal are regarded as leading Jyotishins.

Indian Philosophy

Regarding Indian philosophy, it may be stated at the very outset that Navya Nyaya is the special forte of Bengal. Besides this, Bengal contributed most substantially to Uttaramimamsa, Purvamimamsa, Samkhya and Vaisesika as well. Sridhara, Bhavadeva Bhatta and Madhusudan Sarasvati of Bengal—to mention only a few—are rightly acclaimed as some of the most outstanding figures in the whole range of Indian philosophy.

Ayurveda

Bengal has not produced Charaka and Susruta but their best commentators flourished in Bengal. Madhavakara, Vijaya Rakshita, Srikantha Datta, Bhattara Harichandra, Chakrapanidatta, etc., are the greatest authorities on our Ayurvedic Science and they all flourished in Bengal. The importance of Chakradatta, Vangasena and Madhava-Nidana can hardly be overrated.

Sutrakara Palakapya, the greatest authority on Hasty-ayurveda, flourished in Bengal.

Regarding musical science, the *Ragamala* and the Sanskrit commentary of the Bengali work *Padamrita-samudra* may be acclaimed as important contributions of Bengal to this subject.

It is now high time to make a thorough and systematic investigation into the contributions of Bengal to Sanskrit literature. Right-thinking Bengalees must realise that they have not only been pioneers in many branches of Sanskrit learning but also contributed most substantially to a number of them and not a little to almost all the branches. Educational authorities of Bengal today must, therefore, devise ways and means for the continuation of the same tradition in our part of the country.

AMERICA DELIVERS THE GOODS

By PROBODH CHANDRA BANDYOPADHYAYA

INSULAR America stepped out before the world during the clash of arms and became possibly amazed at its dormant resources. She was the Allies' hope in the war and she has now much material reason for hope in the future. America's prodigious production landed first at the North African deserts had changed the course of the war and a recent 'Atlantic' report of the Middle East says, the call of the desert has become strong within them (a new generation of pioneers heading not towards west but east). American business has suddenly become acutely conscious of the Middle East. It is the call of the desert in which have been discovered fabulous deposits of oil. It is the romance of a market left intact in the war-ravaged world. Arab countries are hungry for American goods. The prolific and tantalising shipments of these goods for use of the American personnel have shown what amenities people should have. Tractors, agricultural machinery and fertilizers are naturally in heavy demand in an area that lives by agriculture. The climate claims refrigeration and air-conditioning. The Egyptian air-lines want planes, and Palestinian industry is desperately in need of machinery. Private automobiles which have undergone normal usage—there has been no rationing of petrol—are in demand for replacement. To name a few lesser items, radios, household electrical appliances, office equipment paint, fountain pens, lighters lipsticks and insecticides are the things the Middle East is looking for early delivery from America. This is a random list given by the *Atlantic Observer*.

Britain has not been able to promise early attention to these demands of an uncertain market. Britain has known the oil dividends but Arab countries have had very few demands for the general necessaries of life. They lived a different life in the deserts. But the army camps have infiltrated new ideas.

While the beginning of this year found the U.S. Committee for Economic Development proudly estimating that 52,000,000 Americans have been back to civilian jobs with only 2,000,000 unemployed and that reconversion is 90 per cent complete in many parts of the country, the Leader of the British House of Commons, Herbert Morrison, was possibly bewildered and declared :

> "We have not properly got used to (place) and often have to think twice when an automobile in low gear makes a noise like a siren . . . We still can't afford to light show windows at night or allow electricity to be used for advertising signs."

But American enthusiasm has its brakes. There are the sterling bloc restrictions but this barrier cannot but last for a short term. The long-term impediment is the low economic level of the countries. The people are unable to earn sufficient dollar exchange for the goods they want to purchase. Iran and Saudi Arabia are only free from exchange controls. Syria and Lebanon are under French dollar pool. Palestine, Trans-Jordan are British mandates and Egypt, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Iraq have sterling backing in international transactions. The Middle East market has always accounted for only a small proportion of Britain's export trade, because it was not in a position to pay for all that it should need. And when the sterling restrictions will be abolished, it is estimated that the Middle Eastern countries will be actually left with less dollar exchange than they are at present receiving from London. Granting of credit facilities will be no solution. The exporter will, of course, get paid but out of the pocket of the American tax-payer. There is no immediate possibility of increasing imports to United States to balance the United States exports. The present ratio is 1 : 3. Even then, Westinghouse, the electrical manufacturer, has created an import department and other concerns are opening offices to explore what items could be marketed more extensively in America. In order to balance the ratio the dollar must be earned by the people and the only course is to employ the natives of the soil in industries and projects to be financed by U.S. businessmen.

American oil holdings in the Middle East are virtually in the development stage. In Iraq, the Americans have substantial interests in the oil-fields and the oil concession in Bahrein is all-American, and Aramco (American Arabian Oil Company) owns the sole right to exploit the enormous oil resources of Saudi Arabia. Americans will set up refineries in Tripoli. Local labour and materials will be used for construction works and then the wages will also aid the purchasing power of the people.

Then there are the America-owned international air lines. Lines will pass through the Middle East. The U.S. Air Transport Command in fulfilment of wartime duties has finished primary work for opening up the Middle East to commercial aviation. The travel lines will be another potential source of dollar exchange for the area in the form of expenditures on construction work, wages to local labour and a new avenue, namely, expanded tourist trade. The Egyptian air line, the Misr Airways Corporation is likely to secure the monopoly right to pick up and land intermediate traffic—passengers from Cairo to Jerusalem, for example, but the overwhelming air superiority of U.S. will give her a sort of monopoly for traffic in the sky.

American Banks instead of going *via* British Banks to handle their Middle East business, are opening their own agencies. Idle American capital will be soon invested in sound indigenous concerns which will buy equipment in America and may serve as a channel for import of raw or half-processed materials. This lesson they appear to have learnt from the British merchants.

And this is the Middle East business and the background of the wire-pullings in the political doldrum in that area. Syria and Lebanon have now long U.S. envoy plenipotentiaries and other apparently diplomatic relations established meanwhile have not yet become news. Potsdam decided to make German foreign properties available for reparations and at the same time to ensure that such concealed interests as the I. G. Farbenundustire cannot later serve as a source of new aggression. But the authority of Russell Nixon, acting U.S. member of the German external property Commission, the U.S. State department, had tried to exclude the Russian from search and seizure in South-East Europe, the area specified to her, to exempt all Western Hemisphere including Argentine from the plan to seise German assets, to be lukewarm in its demands against neutrals, notably Spain. Four years of efforts to destroy

German interests in Latin America have met with best results in two countries, Brazil and Mexico, and worst in Argentine. 'Legal' grounds have stood in support of the State Department's slow movement. From Sweden has come demands for "satisfactory legal claims." These German assets with great potential energy for production are estimated at $5 billion. U.S. State Department says they amount to $1½ billion. America expands in the Middle East and hopes to get a good slice out of the German resources still thriving for recovery from the shock of the war and giving full employment to the people.

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CHANHU-DARO EXCAVATIONS, 1935-36

By G. F. LAKHANI, B.A. (Bom.), Dip., in Ed., Ph.D. (Edin.)

The excavations made at Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, twenty years ago, had revolutionised the ancient history of India. We came to know for the first time that prior to the coming in of the Aryans after 2000 B.C., India was not inhabited by wild people, but there flourished an advanced civilization on the banks of the Indus, which has come to be known as Indus Valley Civilization or Harappa Culture. But the intervening period of nearly 1000 years in the Indian history, (C. 2500 to 1500 B.C.) between the Indus Valley civilization and the coming in of the Aryans, has up till recently remained a mystery. No doubt the archaeologist's spade can throw a great light on this period, but unfortunately further excavations have not been undertaken on a large scale.

During 1935-36, however, Dr. Ernest Mackey, an eminent American archaeologist, already known to the Indian public as author of *The Indus Civilization*, with the permission of the Government of India, carried out some excavations at Chanhu-Daro in Sind, on behalf of the American school of Indic and Iranian studies and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Dr. Mackey's expedition was the first American archaeological expedition to India. The results of his work are embodied in the book which bears the same name which has been given to this article.

The Site

Chanhu-Daro which has not been fully excavated so far, lies a little over half a mile south of the modern village of Jamal Kirio near the town of Sakrand in Nawabshah District. The mounds are three in number and cover an area of 9 acres though their extent is considerably greater beneath the alluvium. They lie on the east bank of the Indus which flows at a distance of 12 miles now, although there is an ancient river-bed only 3 miles away. Mohenjo-Daro is situated on the west bank of the river and is 80 miles to the north-west of Chanhu-Daro. Thus 5000 years ago, both sides of the river harboured a civilization which has stirred the imagination of people all over the world.

The Jhangar and Jhukar Cultures

The largest and the loftiest mound at Chanhu-Daro has been excavated up to 17 feet and altogether four occupations have been unearthed. The uppermost stratum revealed hand-made pottery, made by some primitive wandering Gypsy community at an uncertain date. It was similar to the one found by Mr. Majumdar at Jhangar (43 miles, north-west of Chanhu-Daro) before. The second stratum revealed what has come to be called "Jhukar Culture," after the village of Jhukar near the town of Larkana in Sind where pottery similar to one found at this level at Chanhu, was first discovered. The third and the fourth occupations were similar to the Harappa Culture. In order to test what might be revealed at a still lower level, a large pit was dug in the side of the mound that had partly been cleared, till water level had been reached. In addition to the four occupations already referred to, three more occupations were revealed and according to Dr. Mackey "it appears not unlikely that the lowest will prove on further examination to antedate the earliest occupations reached at Mohenjo-Daro." It was also found that it was due to the floods that the towns had been deserted.

The people responsible for the Jhangar and Jhukar cultures were alien to those of the Harappa culture and to one another. The discovery of the former two cultures has been hailed as "a first step towards bridging the gap (C 2500-1500 B.C.) in the history of India before the coming of the Aryans."

Jhukar Culture

The people of the Jhukar culture arrived soon after the site was deserted by those of the Harappa Culture and they in turn had to leave the town as it was threatened by the river. It appears that these people entered India through north-west and wares similar to theirs have been found in Baluchistan. Among the things found are pottery, steel amulets and other handicrafts. As regards their houses, they were built of burnt bricks or matting.

Harappa Culture

It appears that during the Harappa period, Chanhu-Daro was a great bead-manufacturing centre. A large number of them in all stages of manufacture, and varying from the agate and carnelian nodules to completed beads are to be found there. Some of the beads found are exceedingly small; some of them when kept end to end run 40 to an inch. Their holes are so tiny that they could only have been threaded on a hair. It is a marvel how these beads were made.

Other articles found in abundance are toys, *e.g.*, fairly decorated pottery rattles, whistles shaped like hens, model carts of pottery of various shapes with humped oxen that drew them, etc. Two charming carts discovered are not very different from those used in India today. Like beads the carts are so common that it appears that the city not only satisfied the needs of Mohenjo-Daro and the area round about but used them for export also.

Chanhu-Daro was favourably situated for trade both by sea and land. It lay close to the once important

trade-route across the Khirthar Range only 37 miles away from the mound, very near to the modern town of Sehwan, to Baluchistan and it is quite reasonable to assume that the products went that way. The discovery of beads similar to those found in Chanhu-Daro, in Ur, Kish and other Sumerian towns, but in very small numbers, also suggests that they were exported there from the Indus Valley.

Other interesting articles found in plenty were copper and bronze objects, *e.g.*, utensils, adzes, aces, knives, chisels, daggers, hair-pins, razors and some female figurines. Quite a large number of weights which had been locally made, have been found. They have the same ratios as the weights at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

The sanitation of the town was as good as at Mohenjo-Daro. Houses which were strongly built had a well-planned system of latrines, bath-rooms and drains made out of pottery drain pipes. At the second Harappa level from the top a "hammam" or bath with a hypocaust beneath and a row of five openings has been discovered.

The absence of war-like weapons or any fortifications shows that like the people of Mohenjo-Daro, the people lived in peace with one another and with their neighbours. Their chief enemy then, as now with the Sindhis, was the changing river which turned out people from their hearths and homes several times and ultimately from the site itself.

The people of Chanhu-Daro were not so well-off as at Mohenjo-Daro ; they had also less of leisure. Whilst at Mohenjo-Daro, a large number of gamesmen and dice have been discovered their number is very small at Chanhu-Daro.

The discovery of a number of Kohl-jars containing paint for the eyes throws some sidelight on the customs of these people. Kohl was possibly used by both sexes for its medicinal and other qualities. There were also little pottery toilet stands with four short legs for feminine use. Among the other articles of toilet found was "a small stick of rouge with one end levelled by much use." An Indian maiden, 5000 years ago, was not after all an altogether different creature from her counterpart in the Indus Valley today.

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GORAKHNATH AND HIS PHILOSOPHY

By Prof. R. L. AHUJA, M.A.

Gorakhnath, the legendary Yogi-Saint of the Punjab, whom tradition has described as the saviour of Puran Bhagat, has only recently been rescued from medieval obscurity by historical and religious research. His personality is still wrapped up in a shroud of medieval mystery, and it has, so far, been found next to impossible to discover any facts of his life or to ascertain even approximately the date of his birth or death. He was a commoner, it is said, who sprang from a low class and inherited the disabilities of his birth, but by sheer force of high character and Yogic culture he stirred up the masses from "Assam to Baluchistan and from Ujjain to Afghanistan and beyond." While Briggs, and Cunningham on the authority of Mohsin Fani, the author of *Dabistan*, believe that Gorakhnath flourished not later than 1200 A.D. or probably a century earlier, Dr. Mohan Singh, for better and more convincing reasons, asserts that the Yogi-Saint lived and preached in the 9th and 10th centuries, probably during the early days of the Pratihara paramountcy (725). According to the latter authority, he was a Punjabi ; or at least, he adopted the Punjab, the land of his beloved followers, as his domicile and left it the mantle of his Yoga as well as his ashes and bones.

Gorakhnath came in the wake of Sri Sankaracharya (688-728), about half a century later, more as a follower, than a pioneer, but a follower who had the genius of a pioneer. Both were opposed to the cold formalism and ritualism of the Brahmans ; both stood for the revival of Upanishadic Hinduism among the ascetic orders ; both were learned enthusiasts and adept Yogis ; both were like Charakas, the wandering scholars and educators, mentioned in Brihad Upanishad, (III, 3, 1) and Shata-Bra., (VI, 2, 4, 3). Both were peripatetic teachers of religion, who in those days of slow means of communication, travelled in every part of India preaching their missions through the length and breadth of the country ; both organised, after the manner of the Buddha, bands of monks and founded monasteries thus establishing their missions on a firm footing. Both were philosophers and poets, mystics and religious reformers, though Sankar was a great master logician and a great controversialist. Both laid emphasis on knowledge, contemplation and devotion as the three essentials of self-realization, though Gorakhnath regarded Yoga also as the fourth *sine qua non* of the attainment. But while Sankar was a Nambudri Brahman of Malabar, born among the aristocracy of Sanskrit learning and culture, and addressed himself to the learned audiences of highly educated Brahmans throughout the country using Sanskrit as the vehicle of his sermons and religious propaganda, Gorakhnath, who had risen from the ranks, made his appeal to the masses and spoke to them in Devnagari, the *lingua franca* of those days, in accents which came home to their business and bosom. Following, further, the ancient tradition rather rigidly, Sankar excluded women from the body of his ordained monks, but Gorakhnath followed the Buddhist tradition and admitted widows or wives of his followers as female Yogis though they were not allowed to live in monasteries.

The teachings of Gorakhnath were simpler and easier to follow than the abstract philosophy of Vedanta and had, therefore, a greater hold on the masses, particularly on the Buddhists of Nepal and the common people of the north-west, wherein he won an extraordinary degree of popularity. Numerous shrines of Gorakhnath and the saints of several orders organised under his aegis are found in the Punjab hills ; in Kangra, Chamba and in the Submontane districts of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, Rawalpindi, and Sialkot. He is believed to have been born somewhere in this hilly region, and to have lived for some time at Peshawar. He is, further, believed to have been buried at Tilla,

25 miles north-west of the Jhelum on the highest point of an isolated line of hills in the Salt Range tract in the Punjab. There is a very old monastery there, the head of which is in possession of a deed granted by Akbar confirming earlier grants. The Nath Yogis of the monastery trace their spiritual lineage direct to Gorakhnath himself.

Gorakhnath himself spent twelve years at the feet of his Guru Machhendar Nath and drank deep at the fountain of the religion and philosophy of ages and emerged out as a great Yogi, and mystic. In the words of Cunningham, Gorakhnath taught that mental abstraction would etheralize the body of even the lowliest and gradually unite his spirit with the all-pervading soul of the world. He popularized Yoga among the masses as well as among the kings.

Gorakhnath attempted poetry in several metres and ragas as well as in *Gorakh Boddh* or "the Enlightenment of Gorakh." His literary influence was tremendous and a popular *genre* of Yoga literature both in Sanskrit and Hindi appeared in the wake of his *Boddh*. With its thought and imagery, reminiscent of Upanishads, and its vocabulary and verse forms, the *Gorakh Boddh* created a vogue and a tradition which continued down to comparatively modern times. The book is in the form of a dialogue between Gorakhnath and his Guru, which reminds one of similar dialogues in Upanishads and of the dialogue between Arjuna and Krishna. Even Guru Nanak, eight centuries later, came under its magic influence. The Guru visited Achal Vatala, in Gurdaspur district, where he had a long conversation with the followers of the Siddh order of Gorakhnath. In his *Siddh Goshta*, *Ratan Mala* and *Pran Sangli*, the influence of the *Gorakh Boddh* is clearly evident. Other books of the *genre* are *Kabir-Gorakh Gosht*, *Kabir-Ramanand Gosht*, *Ismail Boddh*, *Kabir-Boddh*, *Bhatrhari Gorakh Samvad*, *Dattatreya-Gorakh Samvad*, *Siva Gorakh Samvad* and *Ramanand-Gorakh Samvad*.

His Philosophy

The philosophy of Gorakhnath is fairly comprehensive and a happy reconciliation of realism and idealism. Its approach to reality is characteristically simple and plain. It says, to begin with, that, apart from the bare needs of existence to keep body and soul together, flesh has its own appetites or cravings, the gratification of which brings it pleasures or comforts. It seeks, therefore, the means of their gratification by employing the mind and several senses or organs of the body as its willing agents or tools. Asceticism of Gorakhnath, like that of the Buddha or Sankaracharya, consisted in the first place, in denying the flesh these appetites and cravings, which, by their very nature, are distracting and as such make contemplation or meditation rather difficult. The gratification of these cravings, moreover, affects the body and the mind in such a way as to render them addicts which are no longer capable of any intellectual or spiritual attainments :

(*i*) "From the desire rose hunger ; from hunger, food ; from food, sleep ; from sleep, death."—*G. B.*, 84.

(*ii*) "The man of the world lies low engrossed in the objects of the senses, while the Sannyasi rises high in the unknowable fortress." Gorakh says, "O [illegible], I have attained consciousness of the formless [illegible]."—*Ragu Bhairau*.

Further :

(*iii*) "He is a *sati* who conquers death : he is a *jati* who keeps ever young and retains the innocence of childhood in himself ; I eat easily digestible food and in little quantity," says Gorakh, "such is my body."—*Saloku*.

Food or diet forms an essential part of a person's physical or mental health and determines either. The control of body and mind must therefore begin with the control of diet :

(*iv*) "By eating sour things one loses one's vital elan ; by eating spicy things one grows old ; by eating sweet things various diseases crop up." Gorakh says, "O Siddhas, you should eat and drink properly and with great discrimination."—*Rag*.

Continence is another form of self-restraint and a very important means of attaining strength of character.

(*v*) "The tree by the river bank and the man by the side of woman, verily they cannot expect to last long. The restlessness, the unfettered activity of mind causes the back-bone to wear away and the body perishes.—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali*.

This mortification of flesh consists not merely in a negative act of self-denial or self-suppression but is chiefly concerned with the very elimination of such desires and could be attempted in two ways. Asceticism advocated from the very outset an attitude of negation which regarded the world with its events and objects as petty, low, ephemeral and vain, when contrasted with the eternal verities of life. The two cardinal virtues of this asceticism were, therefore, one positive, *contentment* and one negative, *non-attachment* :

(*vi*) "Contentment is the posture ; contemplation is the knowledge ; he (the young disciple) should try to rise above his physical being in his meditation."—*G. B.*, 98.

But the question is now to have contentment and contemplation and meditation that go beyond the physical, and further, how to bend the mind towards them.

(*vii*) "Contentment comes from fearlessness ; contemplation, from avoidance of attachment ; he (the young disciple) should meditate within his body to rise above the body ; by turning to the Guru one can bend one's mind to them."—*G. B.*, 100.

Further :

(*viii*) "By becoming unattached one can become fearless."—*G. B.*, 101.

Lastly,

(*ix*) "The mind is the Yogi ; let him live in self-transcendence ; the great elixir will come to him and he will enjoy all his pleasures ; the word of the Guru secures the patience to suffer pain."—*G. B.*, 126.

The other measure to eliminate desires is the adoption of a mode of life, a regimen of daily routine which subjected the body as well as the mind to a rigorous course of discipline. The ideal which was placed before the young disciple was :

(*x*) "Let the unattached live at the monastery or be on the road, resting in the shadow of the trees; he should renounce lust, anger, greed, attachment, and the great illusion of the world, that is, *Kam, Krodh, Lobh, Moha* and *Ahankar* ; he should hold the converse with himself and contemplate the unknowable, he should eat little and sleep less."—*G. B.*, 2.

The second aspect of Gorakhnath's asceticism is posture, and holds a very great place, indeed. It is Yoga, the end of which is consciousness, awakening or self-realisation.

(*xi*) "He that thinks that the highest goal is the control of breath ; he, that tries to know reality without self-realisation, are both ignorant persons."—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali.* (III, IV).

On the other hand :

(*xii*) "The consciousness of awakening is the home of knowledge ; and realisation is the door of the void."

(*xiii*) "When I got news of the home, the palace, I succeeded in purifying and controlling the vital air I acquired the vision. I realised, my wanderings ceased. Without the medium of the idol I glimpsed the unseeable, the unknowable, the unmeasurable as the Formless One."—*Ragu Bhairau,* (III).

Yoga is another name for mental discipline or a metaphysical type of intellectual culture.

It has four elements word, attention, discrimination and contemplation .

(*xiv*) (*a*) "Word is the Guru, attention is the disciple."—*G. B.*, 8.

"By another metaphor . Knowledge is the lamp ; the word is the light ; contentment is the wick in which oil resides."—*G. B.* 122.

Or

"The word is the seed, intellect is the soil, attention is ears ; discrimination is the eyes ; light is liberation ; refulgence, the salvation."—*Ibid.*, 10.

(*b*) "One (the young disciple), should sit, walk, speak and meet others with his *attention* controlled." *Ibid.*, 92.

But what is attention ? And what is discrimination ?

(*c*) "Right awareness is attention , independence is discrimination." *Ibid.*, 94

And their functions ?

(*d*) "*Attention* can hear without ears ; discrimination can see without eyes ; and contemplation can tread without feet."—*Ibid.*, 96.

Next to 'word' comes 'attention' or concentration which is a difficult process to acquire.

(*e*) "Patience goes slow ; evil desire goes fast ; attention revolves and truth is the find."—*Ibid.*, 124.

The young person who enters the trance or Samadhi has to encounter disturbance from without and evil desires from within ; and according to Gorakhnath :

(*f*) "He gets rid of disturbance through the air." —*Ibid.*, 68.

(*g*) "Through the recitation of the unrecited and unrecitable the mind gets rid of evil desires. —*Ibid.*, 102.

The Yogi, according to Gorakhnath, is one :

(*h*) "Who controls the mind and the air, who does not allow himself to be soiled by evil or lose himself through pride of virtue."—*Ibid.*, 132.

Meditation serves further a two-fold function :

(*i*) "Meditation is purification ; right thinking or discrimination leads to right action.—*Ibid.*, 102.

(*j*) "He, that burns away his body," says Gorakhnath, "without the fire of meditation, is an ignoramus !"

'Discrimination' or 'right thinking' born of independence, is necessary for right conduct which is based on the correct estimate of the values of life and on the correct estimate of the motives and conduct of others : Pride perverts judgment of oneself, and ignorance, that of others :

(*k*) "He, who calls himself a Yogi just because he has left his home and hearth;

"He, who does not look into the inner objective of a person ;

"He, who calls himself a knower just because he has read a few books ;

"He, who calls himself great, because he has accumulated wealth ;

"He who thinks the poor fit for enslavement ;

"He, who gives up a part of his possessions and proudly calls himself a charitable person ;

"He, who calls a man old just because his body has worn out or has suffered from age ;

"He, who claims greatness, because of his strong body ;

"He, who travels the path of discipleship with a delicate constitution ;

"He who does not seek to realise the supreme Truth, Essence ;

"He, who has resorted to silence not because he has become intoxicated with true knowledge :—

verily, says Gorakh all these err in judgment and live in self-deception.

—*Saloku in Jog Ram Kali.*

Speaking of *pilgrimage* to holy places Gorakhnath said :

(*l*) "Wander not, O Siddha, to other places ; within the body resides the Essence, the Truth, seek the one who speaks.

. . . . .

Gorakhnath was a mystic too. He interpreted the physical and metaphysical verities in a picturesque style which was later popularised by Guru Nanak :

(*i*) "As oil is in seed ; fire is in wood ; odour is in flower ; so does the spirit reside in the body —*G. B.*, 54

(*ii*) "The void is the temple ; the word (*Shabda*) is the door the light is the idol ; the flame is the Unfathomable."—*G. B.*, 120.

Speaking of the self, Gorakhnath says :

(*iii*) "The air-self comes and goes ; the mind-self is absorbed in the void, and the knowledge-self resides unchanged in three worlds."—*Ibid.* 128.

This is a metaphysical expression ; the one that follows is mystical :

(*iv*) "The moon is the mind ; the sun is the air ; in the void Time plays on the musical instrument (*tur*) ; and in the house of knowledge the five elements reside in equipoise."—*Ibid.*, 16.

And the vision of the Yogi is transcendental *par excellence* :

"Inside the Topmost, the music sounds ; age and disease and death have vanished ; with the Void has the cord of music got linked ; the Truth, the Reality, the Essence is now revealed as the sounding of the Divine Music !"



SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE BENGAL FAMINE OF 1943

BY PROF. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A.

THE famine took a heavy toll of human lives. The writer's Sample Survey in five villages* in Bengal records high figures of mortality. The all-district (Faridpur) figuers of birth and death in 1943 are also very revealing. The vital statistics covering the district for five years from 1939 onwards are given below :—

Vital Statistics of the District of Faridpur

Year	Total birth	Total death	Deaths due to— Malaria	Cholera	Small pox	Other causes
1939	80214	48311	13763	1984	244	20848
1940	87514	59080	20965	1622	83	20907
1941	80175	70374	29443	5483	370	20536
1942	64107	80174	36674	8322	97	23044
1943	53786	100117	50532	7778	586	31409

From the above table, it is clear that from 1941 onwards the birth rate continued to fall, and it reached the bottom in 1943, when, however, the death rate mounted the highest. Barring the figures of death from Cholera in 1942, the famine year of 1943 reveals the highest number of deaths due to each one of the causes of mortality in all other years from 1939 onwards.

In the five sample villages, the writer covered 592 families consisting of 2915 members in all, who were alive on the 1st of January, 1943. In course of one year, *i.e.*, by the 1st January, 1944, as many as 446 persons died. They constitute 15·3 per cent of pre-famine total. Death occurred in 268 out of the said number of families, *i.e.*, 592. Of 446 persons dead, 256 died of starvation pure and simple ; this means that they died through gradual devitalisation due to continuous fasting over months. While they lived, some of them had their negligible share of that filthy substance called *Gruel* ; but a temporary and inadequate sustenance was more often sought to be derived from wild fruits and roots and weeds and all sorts of non-edibles which, however, in the end, were all exhausted. This is how 256 persons were *starved* to death after growing emaciated and rickety. Then, again, 146 persons died of various diseases resulting from starvation, in addition to two cases of suicide apparently caused by pangs of starvation. The diseases that were commonly associated with fasting were Dropsy, Beri-beri, Diarrhoea, Dysentery, etc. The following chart will indicate the causes of deaths :

Starvation	256
Dropsy or Beri-beri	74
Diarrhoea and Dysentery	50
Cholera and Small-pox	20
Suicide	2
Total	402

There were, however, 44 more deaths in the year caused by natural diseases, that is, diseases not so peculiarly associated with famine and fasting as in the cases enumerated above. The classification of such diseases is as follows :

Pneumonia	1
Kal'a Zar	6
Malaria	21
Others	16
Total	44

Regarding desertion, it may be observed that in some cases some individuals singly deserted the native village obviously in search of food elsewhere, the family being left behind. In other cases the whole family as a unit trekked away after some of its members had died and when all attempts at procuring food failed through. So, in all, 204 persons deserted their native villages and had not returned when the enquiry was held during the summer of 1944. What is more striking is that in course of one year (1. 1. 43 to 1. 1. 44), 90 families out of a total of 592 were wiped off. This was due to the death as well as desertion resulting from famine conditions. Of these families that got extinct, 20 per cent were agricultural and 80 per cent non-agricultural. It may, therefore, be said that in those five villages, the rural landless labour class suffered more than the peasants.

DISEASE AND EPIDEMIC

The district-wise figures as well as the figures obtained through our Sample Survey serve to record an abnormal state of public health in Faridpur in the famine year of 1943. The epidemic of Malaria broke out towards the end of the year ; other diseases overtook the people right from the middle of the year. The following figures would indicate that Malaria and Kal'azar cases continued to increase in the year following the famine, while Cholera attack subsided remarkably in 1944 :

Number of Cholera attack and of Malaria and Kal'azar cases treated in Treatment Centres and Charitable Dispensaries in Faridpur District

Year	Cases of Cholera attack	Death from Cholera	Total cases treated : Malaria	Kal'azar
1939	2841	1984	78147	7044
1940	2460	1571	147302	8535
1941	9920	5394	342057	15615
1942	9600	8117	272112	13260
1943	10083	7479	338754	9689
1944	1948	1803	956205	13251

In some of the annual reports of the District Board Charitable Dispensaries, the following overall stereotyped remark is entered :

"Malaria was prevalent in 1942, 1943 and 1944, probably due to insufficient drainage as a result of silting up of rivers and accumulation of water-hyacinth in this area."

* Dist. Faridpur, Thana Kotwali, Villages—(1) Tambulkhana, (2) Betberia, (3) Rankali, (4) Greda, (5) Ishan-Gopalpur.

This explanation can be only partially true. No rational, full explanation is available. An expert medical opinion reveals that previous to 1941 (since when Malaria became very widespread), microscopic examination of blood gave out only 5 per cent to 10 per cent Malignant Tertian (M.T.) Malaria parasites; the rest consisted of the Benign Tertian type. But during 1941 to 1943 period it was found that there were 50 per cent to 60 per cent M.T. infection due to reasons unknown (for, how Anopheles bred and spread was not investigated). This, its was contended, was the reason for the sudden increase in the number of Malarial patients. As to the very high figures of Malaria in 1944, they may be taken to indicate the after-math of the famine, the inevitable result of famine-time devitalisation.

In the villages of our Sample, the diseases common in 1943 have been already named. More specifically, these are (1) Starvation fever, *i.e.*, fever due to unusual fasting and malnutrition, (2) Dropsy or Beri-beri, (3) Diarrhoea, (4) Dysentery, (5) Scabies, (6) Cholera and (7) Small-pox. The last two did not break out in any virulent epidemic form in the villages of our Sample, although, of course, they covered 4·4 per cent of the total deaths (excluding deaths from natural causes). All told 2583 persons or 88·6 per cent of the total population on the 1st January, 1943, fell ill during 1943, only 332 or 11·4 per cent remaining free from illness. The period of illness for each of those falling ill was counted in course of the investigation. The total period equalled 15948[illegible] months for all the persons that fell ill in 1943. Thus the average period of illness for each of the sick persons consisted of 6·1 months as against the normal period of probably two months in the pre-famine malarial season per annum

ECONOMIC LOSS SUSTAINED

(a) *House and Movable Property* : In January 1943, all the 592 families had their own houses,—some made of corrugated tins, most others made of mud and straw; only 6 families had brick-built houses. By January, 1944, 103 families or 17·4 per cent of the total, were turned homeless. Out of the total of 592 families, 30 sold out the whole of their houses; 73 families entirely lost their houses due partly to selling and partly to inclemency of weather coupled with lack of repair-work. Apart from these 73 families, 6 others also sold part of their houses without, however, being rendered homeless. The total number of rooms or sheds sold was 141 against a total cash value of Rs. 5668-8 in the place of an estimated fair market price amounting to Rs. 14170. Again, nearly 99 per cent of the families that had any movable property, sold or mortgaged either the whole or part of their bed-steads, utensils, ornaments and other items. The total cash-value realised and the probable fair price of the things sold, came up to Rs. 7320 and Rs. 22000 respectively. The economic loss in this connection is measurable by Rs. 14680, which amount was presumably pocketed by middlemen or buyers themselves. The number of families that were entirely stripped of all their movable property was 576 out of 592. No account, of land sale or mortgage or lease, etc., is given here.

(b) *Live-stock* : The cultivators' plight will, however, be somewhat realised from a study of the following figures : On the 1st of January, 1943, all the 592 families taken together, had 647 bullocks, 361 cows, [illegible] calves and 9 horses; during the next twelve months 288 bullocks, 128 cows, 71 calves and 6 horses were sold out with a view to tide over the distress. The respective sale prices were Rs. 10462, Rs. 4128, Rs. 945 and Rs. 141. The prevailing market prices ought to have fetched in all, Rs. 25000, Rs. 12000, Rs. 2700 and Rs. 400 respectively. Their eagerness to sell coupled with a weak bargaining power obviously made them agree to accept such low prices.

(c) *Plough and Plough-cattle* : Out of 592 families, nearly 398 families lived on agriculture. Altogether, they owned 282 wooden ploughs of which 42 were sold in 1943 at a price of Rs. 49-8. Thus at the beginning of 1944, there were 240 ploughs against a total number of 359 bullocks, which showed a shortage of 121 bullocks, the ratio being 2 bullocks to each plough. It was found that the shortage was sought to be partially covered by utilising milch-cows for tilling the land in the spring of 1944. Milch-cows, however, were no equal substitutes for bullocks. The result of such an experiment (at least in 16 families) proved disastrous on two counts : first, the tilling of the land was perfunctory, as by habit or strength or stamina, the cow is usually no match for a bullock for purposes of cultivation; the prospect of a good harvest could, therefore, naturally be put at a discount. Secondly, under the severe strain of pulling the plough, harrow, etc., milch-cows, so employed, ceased to produce milk as before. This partly aggravated the growing scarcity of milk in those areas in 1944.

(d) *Indebtedness* : Debts incurred by the villagers in 1943 will not be discussed here in all their details. Suffice it to say that their indebtedness mounted high in the year under review. The figures of total debts contracted in 1943 solely to cope with wants came up to Rs. 28510 in all. All the 592 families did not, of course, have to borrow. Still, however, averaging on the basis of the total number of families, the amount of debts per family was equal to Rs. 48-8. The burden per each indebted family obviously, therefore, was much heavier than Rs. 48-8 can indicate. In January, 1943, the total debts for all the families stood at Rs 20951. Thus, indebtedness more than doubled itself in 1943, and that due to the famine alone. Rent and tax dues for 1943 have not been included in the figures given in this paragraph.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE AS A WHOLE

Major J. C. Jack, I.C.S., Settlement Officer of Faridpur between 1906-1910, who conducted economic investigation on an extensive scale covering the whole of the district, has, while discussing the results of his inquiries in his book called the *Economic Life of a Bengal District*, classified families according to their condition as it appeared to the naked eye of the investigator. The classification was a four-fold one and was as follows : (1) In comfort, (2) Below comfort, (3) Above starvation and (4) In starvation. To the naked eye of the present investigator it appeared that out of 592 families surveyed, 28 were in comfort, 35 below comfort, 102 above starvation and 427 in starvation, the families that were wiped off having been placed in the last category.

The standard adopted by Mr. Jack was this : *Comfort*, according to him, implied a condition in which the material necessities of life could be fully satisfied.

According to this standard, none of the 592 families, except six, could be said to be living in *Comfort* in 1943 or in 1944. Still, however, the number of families found to be living in *Comfort* has been quoted as 28, simply because the present investigator, in making the classification, had to bear in mind the then background, namely, the devastating famine. Thus, a condition in which the material necessities of life could be "fully" satisfied would be impossible of attainment during abnormal times like the year 1943 or 1944. Therefore, a certain leniency had to be observed for placing such families in the class of *comfort* as had their material necessities a little more than "barely" satisfied.

Starvation, want or indigence, according to Mr. Jack, implied a condition in which, the family had "just sufficient to keep itself alive and no more." If one were to follow this definition of starvation, then, in that case, not less than 90 per cent of the families should have been classed as living in starvation. For about 90 per cent of the families in the villages surveyed were, even as late as June 1944 (not to speak of the year 1943 as a whole), unable to make their both ends meet. But, the figure for *starvation* families has been quoted so low, namely, 427 or 72·1 per cent. This is done in view of the fact that *Starvation* of Jack's definition and starvation that was actually experienced by the people in 1943 in those villages, meant altogether different things: the latter meant actual fasting or living on roots and weeds and other things that can never be normally edible. When, therefore, it was found that a family was getting at least one meal a day (which was, of course, not "just sufficient" to keep itself "alive", but "just sufficient" to make it steadily get "ruined"), it was placed in the class of "starvation".

According to Mr. Jack, *below comfort*, implied a state in which the income and material condition approximated more nearly to those of families living in comfort than to those families living in indigence; and *above starvation, want, or indigence,* implied a condition in which the income and material conditions approximated more nearly to those families living in *starvation, want or indigence.*

The findings of this writer reveal the following percentages of classifications on the basis of the above definitions:

(i)	In comfort	4·7 p.c.
(ii)	Below comfort	5·9 p.c.
(iii)	Above starvation (want)	17·22 p.c.
(iv)	In starvation (want)	72·1 p.c.

The respective percentages calculated by Mr. Jack were 49·5, 28·5, 18 and 4 for cultivators, and 47, 27, 20·4 and 5·6 for non-cultivators.

Combining the percentage classifications made by the present writer and by Mr. Jack with those made by the new Settlement Officer (1940-42) in Faridpur district, we get the following table:

Classifications	1904-1910 Mr. Jack (cultivators)	New Settlement (1940-42)	1943-44 Present writer
(i) In comfort	49·5%	27·8%	4·7%
(ii) Below comfort	28·5%	28·2%	5·9%
(iii) Above starvation (want)	18·0%	20·6%	17·22%
(iv) In starvation (want)	4·0%	23·4%	72·1%

From the above table it becomes obvious that the economic condition of the people in the district of Faridpur has progressively deteriorated during the last 40 years. But one thing should be borne in mind, the result of the present writer's investigations as given in the table above, concerns only 592 families inhabiting 5 villages in the district, which may or may not be true of the district as a whole during the famine year of 1943. This remains to be examined subsequently.

———:O:———

FOLK-SONGS OF DANGI BHILS

By Dr. D. P. KHANAPURKAR, M.A., Ph.D

THE wild, hilly country of Dangs shelters "the most savage of the Bheel clans, the Bheelas of Dangs."[1] Though situated between the fertile lands of Gujarat and hills of Khandesh, "the Dangi Bheels are the most uncivilised of all the wild tribes."[2] Due to isolation from the modern influences, "the Dangees represent an unadulterated race."[3]

In spite of the above characteristics, the Dangi Bhils have at least one thing in common with other aboriginal tribes. And that is their love for dancing and singing. They are so much fond of it that they spend most of their moonlit nights, dancing to the tune of *kahali* and *tur*. It is a grand sight to see them keeping tune to the *kahali* music, bending forward and backward, while wheeling round the players in an irregular circle. In some of the special dances like *Thakrya* dance, performed in the monsoon the dancers imitate the movements of a peacock that dances with joy at the sight of rain. At each refrain the dances move forward and then backward like a peacock, while the players sing:

(1)

Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to Mother Earth.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to Mother cow.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to Mother Kanasari (corn-spirit).
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to the Sun and Moon.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to the shining stars.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to the Morning Star.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to the clouds.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to Hanaman.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to Buffalo-god.
Deathless is your body, oh, peacock !
I bow to father and mother.

1. Wilson, *The Aboriginal Tribes of the Bombay Presidency*, p. 33.
2. Capt. Graham, *The Bheel Tribes of Khandesh*, p. 1.
3. R. B. Rowney, *The Wild Tribes of India*, p. [illegible]

The Bhils love to recite with zeal and passion, the deeds of valour, performed by their forefathers, who were branded as dacoits and plunderers by the government. Their exploits have found a place of honour in the hearts of Bhils. They never miss an opportunity of singing such ballads, when an occasion arises. One such ballad is given below :

(2)

Oh, boy, Cimana !
Where were you born ?
You were born in Kocargaon village.
The boy Cimana wanders
Like a blazing torch.
He started a rebellion
On the boundary of Bhendavad village.
Bhendavad was encircled,
The sowcar was caught,
On his chest was placed the foot.
His nose was cut and ears too.
Sahib came to know.
He took out troops
Cimana ran away
To the corner of Bhendabad village he went.
He became friendly with the *Patil* of Bhendabad
Cimana was enticed with wine.
The Sahib came
The house was encircled.
The boy Cimana was caught
Handcuffs were put on him
His feet were tied
He was taken to Nasik city
And shut up in the prison.
The Sahib imprisoned
The boy Cimana
But a day arose
When Cimana fled away.

It is not always that the Bhils are serious. They have got a lighter vein too, though it becomes pungent, when describing an officer who is always a calamity to them. They express their open disdain for the officers, even in the songs :

(3)

Patil has gone to office
He has gone to office.
In comes a government servant
He demands a fowl immediately
He turns arrogant and abusive.
Patil is not at home
He has gone to office.
In comes the government officer
He demands the rations immediately
He becomes arrogant and abusive.
Patil is not at home
He has gone to office.

(4)

Build a bungalow !
Oh, sepoy ! Build a bungalow for me.
Make windows in that bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! Make windows for me.
Make a passage for air
Oh, sepoy ! make a passage for air.
Place a chair in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! place a chair for me.
Bring cup and saucer in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! bring a cup and saucer for me
Have a mirror in the bungalow
Oh, sepoy ! have a mirror for me.
Let me see my face (in the mirror)
Oh, sepoy ! let me see my beautiful face.

And all the above things are executed by the sepoy, at the cost of poor Bhils. It is really they who carry out the orders of the Sahib through the agency of the sepoy.

The following song enumerates the divisions of Dangs and the important persons staying therein :

(5)

Whose abode is *Zavada* division ?
Zavada division is the tax-collector's abode.
Whose abode is *Vaghai* division ?
Vaghai division is the Dewan's abode.
Whose abode is *Pipri* division ?
Pipri division is the Chief's abode.
Whose abode is *Ahawa* division ?
Ahawa division is Sahib's abode.

The songs play an important part in social functions like marriages. No Bhil marriage procession wends its way through the forest without the accompaniment of songs. No marriage is celebrated without the songs in which the bride's party demands something, and is courteously refused with humorous excuses by the bridegroom's party. The following songs are a few specimens :

(6)

Beat the drum
Let somebody beat the drum.
Tie the queen-brand rupee in your torn cloth.
We shall walk a couple of miles, a couple of miles.
We shall wed the daughter of a big man.
Beat the drum
Do beat the drum.

(7)

In the home of *Ambadya*,
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.
Go, tell your father and mother
To build a bungalow.
Whom does it become ?
It becomes officers.
In the house of *Ambadya*
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.
Tell *Rajabhau*, to decorate the village
Tell *Rajabhau*, to get ready *kahali* (band).
Whom does it become ?
It becomes big men and officers.
In the house of *Ambadya*
Pipal tree makes a rustling noise.

(8)

Why is there not a car
In the bridegroom's house ?
There was a car
But he got tired of it.
Why is there not a horse
In the bridegroom's house ?
There was a horse
But a sepoy with impudence took it away.

(9)

Oh, brother ! why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there are nice *sarees*.
Oh, mother ! why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there is a big house.
Oh, sister-in-law, why am I married
In a stranger's land ?
You are married in a stranger's land
Because there are vast fields.

The first two songs, given above, describe a marriage procession and reception to the bridal party. The third song offers excuses for not possessing a car and a horse. The last song points out motives, underlying the selection of a bridegroom, belonging to a distant place.

These are but a few specimens from a vast store of folk-songs current among the Dangi Bhils.

ARE THE BENGALI HINDUS GETTING POORER ?—YES

An Analysis of the Number of Assembly Voters During 1920-1945

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., F.R.S.S.

The main qualifications of electors or voters in Bengal for the territorial constituencies of the Indian Legislative Assembly (under the Montague Constitution) are the payment of cesses or union-rates or municipal taxes of Rs. 60 in Calcutta, Rs. 10 in Howrah, Rs. 5 in other municipalities, Rs. 5 as union-rates or cesses ; or assessment to income-tax on not less than Rs. 5,000.*

* See *Indian Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules*, Schedule II, Part III—Bengal.

These qualifications are much higher than those of the (now defunct) Bengal Legislative Council under the 1919 Reforms. The corresponding qualifications for the *old* Bengal Legislative Council were payment of Rs. 24 in Calcutta, Rs. 3 in Howrah, Re. 1-8 as in other municipalities as municipal taxes ; and Rs. 2 as union-rates and payment of income-tax on any amount.

The Southborough Committee on Franchise estimated in February 1919, the number of the Bengal Council electorate to be as follows (see p. 55) :

Urban	
Non-Muhammadan (11 seats)	88,000
Muhammadan (6 seats)	18,000
Rural	
Non-Muhammadan (30 seats)	700,000
Muhammadan (28 seats)	422,000
	12 28,000

The non-Muhammadan electorate was estimated to reach a total of 788,000 ; and the Muhammadan a total of 440,000. The actual numbers of electors as registered on the rolls were, however, as follows :

		Non-Muhammadan	
In	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	541,189	..	..
1923	557,914	..	..
1926	593,414	29,803	623,217
1929	647,001	32,087	679,088
		Muhammadan	
In	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	465,127	..	..
1923	463.386	..	..
1926	522,892	7,103	529.995
1929	628,560	8,884	637,444

It will thus be seen that the estimate made by the Southborough Franchise Committee was a slight *under*-estimate (about 6 per cent) as regards Muhammadans ; and a considerable *over*-estimate (about 4 per cent) as regards non-Muhammadans (mainly Hindus). The estimate of 788,000 was not even reached ten years later even by including the newly enfranchised female voters.

The relative growth of the two electorates is best expressed as increase or decrease in percentages over the figures of the previous roll. They are as follows :

	Non-Muhammadan		*Muhammadan*	
	Males	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
1920-23	+3·1	..	—0·4	..
1923-26	+6·2	..	+13·0	..
1926-29	+9·1	+7·7	+20·3	+25·3
Total	+19·6	+7·7	+35·2	+25·3

The growth of the Indian Legislative Assembly electorate in absolute numbers during the last 25 years from 1920 to 1945 has been as follows :

		Non-Muhammadan	
In	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	128,004	..	..
1923	134,877	..	..
1926	145,147	12,319	157,466
1929	157,361	13,436	170,797
1934	163 585	16,107	179,692
1945	172,772	17,774	190,546
		Muhammadan	
In	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
1920	53,935	..	..
1923	45,401	..	..
1926	60,844	2,447	63,291
1929	73,396	2,854	76,250
1934	86,223	4,094	90,317
1945	135,750	8,059	143,809

The comparative growth of the two electorates is expressed in the table below as increase or decrease in percentages over the figures of the previous electoral roll :

	Non-Muhammadan		*Muhammadan*	
During	*Males*	*Females*	*Males*	*Females*
1920-23	+5·4	..	—15·9	..
1923-26	+7·6	..	+36·0	..
1926-29	+8·4	+3·0	+20·6	+5·4
1929-34	+4·0	+20·0	+17·6	+45·5
1934-45	+5·6	+9·9	+57·4	+96·8
Total	+35·0	+44·8	+152·2	+235·8

Part of the increase noticed is due to the growth of the respective populations of the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans. Let us try to eliminate the effect of this first. The actual population strengths of the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans at the different censuses during the relevant period have been as follows :

	Bengal	
Census year	*Non-Muhammadans*	*Muhammadans*
1921	21,492,900	25,210,802
1931	22,617,924	27,497,624
1941	27,301,091	33,005,434

From the above absolute figures we calculate the percentage increases :

	Persentage increase of—	
During	*Non-Muhammadans*	*Muhammadans*
1921-31	5·1	9·1
1931-41	20·8	20·0
1921-41	26·9	30·9

As the electoral rolls are based on payments of qualifying taxes "during and for the previous year," there is a time lag between the electoral roll and the actual population. Thus the electoral roll of 1920 represents the state affairs as on the 31st March, 1919.†

On account of the high mortality during the Influenza epidemics of 1918 and 1919 there was actual decrease of population in some large areas. So we

† See in this connection the writer's *Use of Vote*, pp. 5-[illegible].

would *assume* that the increase of population since 1919 is better represented by the rate of increase during 1921-31 than by that during 1911-21. The over-all increase or decrease during 1911-21 is made up of (*i*) increase during 1911-17, (*ii*) decrease during 1918 and 1919, and (*iii*) increase during 1919-21. We would further assume that during 1941 and 1942 the rate of increase has been the same as between 1931 and 1941 ; and that during 1943 and 1944 there has been no growth of population. This later assumption is in favour of the Muhammadans. For according to the Bengal Government publication *A Plea for the Rehabilitation of Bengal's Rural and Industrial Economy 1944* of the fourteen subdivisions *very severely affected* by famine, as many as twelve are Muhammadan majority (over 70 per cent) ones ; of the twenty-five *severely affected* by famine, eighteen are Muhammadan majority ones. The number of famine deaths amongst the Muhammadans is, it is feared, *thrice* that of the Hindus. There have been numerous famine deaths and deaths due to after-effects of famine ; but we believe that among the economic class from which the Indian Assembly electors are recruited there have been fewer deaths. For our limited present purpose we, therefore, take that the normal growth of population during the years 1943 and 1944 has been completely neutralised by the effects of famine. Of course, this is an assumption, but an assumption which is largely in favour of the Muhammadans.

The estimated population growth of the Non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans is, therefore, estimated to be as is shown in the table below.

The method of estimate is this : During 1921-1931, the Non-Muhammadans have increased by 5·1 per cent; so each year they have increased by 0·5 per cent and during the *three* years 1919-1922 they must have increased by 1·5 per cent on the assumption that the rate of growth after the Influenza epidemic is the same as that recorded between 1921 and 1931. Similarly for the periods 1922-25 and 1925-28. The growth during 1928-33 has been estimated in two stages ; that during 1928-31 is taken to be $3 \times 0{\cdot}5\% = 1{\cdot}5$ per cent, and that during 1931-33 is taken to be $2 \times 20{\cdot}8/10\% = 2 \times 2{\cdot}1\% = 4{\cdot}2\%$; and the total is shown as $(1{\cdot}5 + 4{\cdot}2) = 5{\cdot}7\%$. The growth during 1933-1944 also has been estimated in two stages : that during 1933-1942 is taken as $9 \times 20{\cdot}8/10 = 9 \times 2{\cdot}1 = 18{\cdot}9$ or 18·7 more accurately ; and that during 1943 and 1944 as *zero* on the assumptions we have made.

Similarly the rate of growth of the Muhammadans has been estimated for the inter-electoral rolls revision periods. As there is time-lag of about one year between the electoral roll and the population, we have taken the population as it was one year earlier than the roll and estimated the population growth accordingly.

During	*Estimated growth of— Non-Muhammadans*	*Muhammadans*
1919-22	1·5%	2·7%
1922-25	1·5%	2·7%
1925-28	1·5%	2·7%
1928-33	5·7%	6·7%
1933-44	18·7%	18·0%
1919-44	31·2%	35·0%

Deducting these percentages from the percentage growth of the respective electorates, we get the following figures of "Net growth" of the electorates due to causes economic and otherwise other than that due to mere population growth. The electorates shown below are the *old* Bengal Legislative Council and the Indian Legislative Assembly electorates.

COUNCIL

Percentage growth of the Non-Muhammadan

	Electorate Male	Electorate Female	Population	Net growth Male	Net growth Female
1920-23	+3·1	..	1·5	+1·6	..
1923-26	+6·2	..	1·5	+4·7	..
1926-29	+9·1	+7·7	1·5	+7·6	+6·2
1920-29	+19·6	—	4·5	+15·1	—
1926-29	—	+7·7	1·5	—	+6·2

Percentage growth of the Muhammadan

	Electorate Male	Electorate Female	Population	Net growth Male	Net growth Female
1920-23	−0·4	..	2·7	−3·1	..
1923-26	+13·0	..	2·7	+10·3	..
1926-29	+20·3	+25·3	2·7	+17·6	+22·6
1920-29	+35·3	—	8·1	+27·2	—
1926-29	—	+25·3	2·7	—	+22·6

ASSEMBLY

Percentage growth of the Non-Muhammadan

	Electorate Male	Electorate Female	Population	Net growth Male	Net growth Female
1920-23	+5·4	..	1·5	+3·9	..
1923-26	+7·6	..	1·5	+6·1	..
1926-29	+8·4	+3·0	1·5	+6·9	+1·5
1929-34	+4·0	+20·0	5·7	−1·7	+14·3
1934-45	+5·6	+9·9	18·7	−13·1	−8·8
1920-45	+35·0	—	31·2	+3·8	—
1926-45	—	+44·8	28·2	—	+16·6

Percentage growth of the Muhammadan

	Electorate Male	Electorate Female	Population	Net growth Male	Net growth Female
1920-23	−15·9	..	2·7	−18·6	..
1923-26	+36·0	..	2·7	+33·3	..
1926-29	+20·6	+5·4	2·7	+17·9	+2·7
1929-34	+17·6	+45·5	6·7	+10·9	+38·8
1934-45	+57·4	−96·8	18·0	+39·4	+78·8
1920-45	+152·2	—	+35·0	+117·2	—
1926 45	—	+235·8	+29·5	—	+206·3

If we now consider the figures of "Net growth" of the two electorates obtained after eliminating the growth to the increase of respective populations, we find that between 1920 and 1929 the Non-Muhammadan electorates for both the old Bengal Council and the Assembly have been *increasing* ; and that after 1929 the Assembly electorate (the figures for the Council are wanting) has been *decreasing*. In the case of the Muhammadans, barring the first period of 1920-23, the electorates have been *increasing* and increasing *at a much greater rate* than the corresponding Non-Muhammadan ones.

Let us analyse the figures of "Net Growth" further. The following tables are self-explanatory :

COUNCIL

Period	Net growth of— Muhammadans Males	Females	Non-Muhammadans Males	Females	Advantage (+), or disadvantage (—) in favour of Muhammadans Males	Females	Rate per year Male	Female
1920-23	—3·1	..	+1·6	..	—4·7	..	—1·6	..
1923-26	+10·3	..	+4·7	..	+5·6	..	+1·9	..
1926-29	+17·6	+22·6	+7·6	+6·2	+10·0	+16·4	+3·3	+5·5
1920-29	+27·2		+15·1		+12·1		+1·3	+1·8
				ASSEMBLY				
1920-23	—18·6	..	+3·9	..	—22·5	..	—7·9	..
1923-26	+33·3	..	+6·1	..	+27·2	..	+9·1	..
1926-29	+17·9	+2·7	+6·9	+1·5	+11·0	+1·2	+3·7	+0·4
1929-34	+10·9	+38·8	—1·7	+14·3	+12·6	+24·5	+2·5	+4·9
1934-45	+39·4	+78·8	—13·1	—8·8	+52·5	+87·6	+4·8	+11·0
1920-45*	+117·2	—	+3·8	—	+113·4	—	+4·5	—
1926-45	—	+206·3	—	+16·6	—	+189·7	—	+10·0

The decrease in the number of Muhammadan electors in 1923, both to the Council and to the Indian Assembly, cannot now be accounted for. The Bengal Government in their Memorandum before the Simon Commission could not account for this decrease. Assuming, therefore, the decrease to have been *accidental*, if we combine the figures for the periods 1920-23 and 1923-26 we may get a truer perspective. We then get the following table :

Rate of Advantage +, or Disadvantage —, per year in favour of the Muhammadans over the Non-Muhammadans in—

Period	*Council* Males	Females	*Assembly* Males	Females
1920-26	+0·2	..	+0·8	..
1926-29	+3·3	+5·5	+3·7	+0·4
1929-34	..	..	+2·5	+4·9
1934-45	..	..	+4·8	+11·0

A consideration of the above table shows that the advantage is not only in favour of the Muhammadans, but that it is increasing rapidly. Not only more Muhammadans are becoming rich or attaining such economic status as to come within the electoral ambit or either the Council or Assembly as the case may be, but the *pace* of becoming rich is increasing rapidly. The slight decrease in the pace between 1929 and 1934 may be accounted for by the world-wide economic depression of the early thirties. The above table only proves that the Muhammadans are becoming richer ; it does not demonstrate that the Non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are becoming poorer.

A closer study, however, of the last but one table shows that the "Net growth" of the non-Muhammadans had been *positive* for both Males and Females up to 1929. In between 1929 and 1934, it became *negative* for non-Muhammadan Males only ; and in the period 1934-1945, it became so for both Males and Females. This means that the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are becoming poorer. We give below a portion of the above table, and calculate the rate of becoming poorer or richer :

Period	*Net growth of Non-Muhammadans* Males	Females	*Rate per year* Males	Females
[illegible]	+3·9	..	+1·3	..
[illegible]	+6·1	..	+2·0	..
[illegible]	+6·9	+1·5	+2·3	+0·5
[illegible]	—1·7	+14·3	—0·3	+2·9
[illegible]	—13·1	—8·8	—1·2	—0·8

The figures obtained for 'rate per year' prove that the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, are not only becoming *poorer*, but the pace of becoming *poorer* has increased from —0·3 to —1·2 *i.e.*, the pace has increased *four* times. The sudden rise in the case of females between 1929 and 1934 may be explained by *benami* transfers in favour of females during the world-wide economic depression of the early thirties. On the other hand, the decrease among the Males cannot be explained by any hypothesis of *benami* transfers from males to females. The total non-Muhammadan electorate in 1929 was 1,70,797 and in 1934 it was 1,79,692—an increase of 5·3 per cent. During the same period the population has increased by 5·7 per cent ; so the over-all "Net Growth" for both males and females is —0·4 per cent. The Non-Muhammadans as a whole must have been becoming poorer during this period.

In our above discussion we have used the term Non-Muhammadan as synonymous with the Hindus ; as the Hindus form 97 per cent of the non-Muhammadans.

The advantage which both the Muhammadan males and females have over the non-Muhammadans in the matter of "Net Growth" is generally greater in the case of females. At first sight it may seem that this is due to their more liberal law of succession ; for among the Muhammadans both sons and daughters inherit, while among the Hindus sons only inherit. But we are inclined to think that is due to something else than the difference between the two laws of succession. Of course, we do not want to be dogmatic in this matter. Analysing the statistics given above, we get the following table :

Proportion of female voters to every 1,000 male voters

Year	Non-Muhammadan	Muhammadan	Difference
		COUNCIL	
1926	50·2	13·6	36·6
1929	49·6	14·1	35·5
	—1·2%	+1·0%	
		ASSEMBLY	
1926	84·9	40·1	44·8
1929	85·9	39·1	46·8
1934	98·2	47·6	50·6
1945	102·7	59·3	42·4
	+17·5%	+19·3%	

Ordinarily one would expect the proportion of females to increase with the lower property qualifications. But the facts are otherwise. For among the non-Muhammadans, mostly Hindus, the proportion is about 50 per mille for the Council and 85 for the Assembly level; among the Muhammadans, the corresponding proportions are 14 and 40 respectively. The difference between the two levels seems to be constant for each of the communities as is illustrated by the following figures:

Proportion of female voters to every 1,000 male voters

Year	Council	Assembly	Difference
Non-Muhammadans			
1926	50·2	84·9	34·7
1929	49·6	85·6	36·0
Muhammadans			
1926	13·6	40·1	26·5
1929	14·1	39·1	25·0

At the higher level the proportion is greater among both the non-Muhammadans and the Muhammadans. This is not likely to be due to any peculiarity in their laws of succession.

On the other hand, the differences in proportion between the two communities as noticed in the last but one table, both at the Council and at the Assembly levels, tend to remain more or less constant. This fact points out that there is something basically different between the two communities. The increase in the proportion of female voters to male voters during the last 20 years from 1926 to 1945 in the two communities is almost the same, being 17·8 per cent in the case of the Hindus and 19·8 per cent in the case of the Muhammadans. To what this is due we do not know. Is it due to the increasing habit of holding property *benami* in the name of female members of the family to avoid the operation of income-tax and other taxing statutes? Is it due to avoid the operation of insolvency laws? This point requires closer and further investigation.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

AHIMSA or SHRIMAN-MOHAN-GITA: *By Prof. Indra, M.A. The Minerva Bookshop, Anarkali, Lahore. 1945. Pp. viii + 166.*

Prof. Indra has chosen a distinctly original method for the presentation of Gandhiji's teachings. He has taken the Bhagavadgita as his model, and composed his book in the form of an imaginary discourse between Rabindranath and Andrews on the one hand, and Rajendarprasad and Gandhiji on the other. The Sanskrit verses are arranged in eighteen chapters; and the subjects dealt with are Non-Violence, Truth, Fasting, The Conception of God, Alleviation of the Misery of Ignorance, Disease, Poverty, Untouchability and so forth. The last chapter contains an exposition of Gandhiji's ideal social order or Ramrajya. The Sanskrit used is simple, and can be easily committed to memory by the average reader. The English rendering by Surendra Devi is clear and accurate.

The essentials of Gandhiji's teachings have been, on the whole, chosen with discrimination; but there are just a few points to which the reviewer feels called upon to draw the attention of the author by way of suggestion. Where Gandhiji speaks, the phrase *Sri Bhagaban-ubacha* has been used. Now this jars upon one's ears; and would hurt Gandhiji himself more than anyone else. It would have been much better to use the simple proper name.

In describing the technique of non-co-operation, it has been rightly said that Satyagraha becomes fully successful when a change of heart has been effected in the adversary (VI-8). But it has also been said elsewhere that the purpose of withdrawing co-operation from one's adversary is to punish him, or treat him with contempt. 'The boycott of an aggressor is the severest silent punishment to him,' (III-14), or 'The meanest of aggressors can be struck down on earth by the application of non-violence' (III-17). We believe there must be something wrong here. As far as we have understood Gandhiji, his call is for non-co-operation with evil and not with the evil-doer; and the purpose of the non-co-operation is to evoke the best in him so that the Satyagraha may afterwards give him his hearty co-operation. He, therefore, refuses to be party to a wrong, and bears with fortitude all the punishment which the evil-doer can today shower upon him in his blindness. His object is never to 'punish' the wrong-doer into submission by the withdrawal of co-operation.

Then again, with regard to the economics of self-sufficiency, it has been stated that villages should be self-sufficient and self-reliant. That is all right; but with regard to India Gandhiji has been made to say, 'Taking in view the plenty of my country, I see no justification for its dependence on other countries.' (XIV-33). So far as we are aware, Gandhiji has never thought in terms of narrow nationalism. Of course, he wants every small economic unit to be self-sufficient with regard to the production of the vital necessaries of life; but he also knows, and approves of the fact, that the world is progressing towards voluntary interdependence between state and state. Only, that interdependence, in order to be really beneficial, should be based, not on force, but on willing effort of units which all enjoy an equal status. Gandhiji has never thought of the welfare of India apart from the welfare of humanity taken as a whole; and

he has claimed that India should be free so that she can place her moral, as well as *material*, resources at the service of humanity. Now, that is a part of his teachings which needs more emphasis than is usually accorded to it.

We sincerely hope that the learned author will take into consideration these two suggestions when a revision of the work is duly called for. We feel however confident that the book will form a very good and useful introduction to the ideas of Gandhiji. Some improvement is called for with regard to the printing in future.

THE PARDHANS OF THE UPPER NARBADA VALLEY: *By Shamrao Hivale. With a Foreword by Verrier Elwin. Published for "Man in India" by Geoffrey Cumberlege at the Oxford University Press, 1946. Pp. xvi + 230. Twelve plates and twenty-seven figures. Price Rs. 12-8.*

By profession, the Pardhans are story-tellers, musicians and entertainers, who live in a sort of symbiotic relationship with the Gonds of Central India. Shri Shamrao Hivale has spent thirteen years of his life among them, not as a disinterested observer, but as one who has shared the life of the tribe fully, employing his talents in order to understand them as well as help them towards a better life as far as possible. This has given him an insight which is denied to more formal students of Anthropology.

The book is divided into eight chapters bearing the following titles: Introduction, The Tribal Organization of the Pardhans, The Pardhan at Home, The Pardhan's Profession, The Pardhan as Priest and Prophet, The Pardhan as Lover and Poet, The Pardhan in Life and Death, The Pardhan and his Family. Students of Cultural Anthropology may be inclined to complain that sufficient details are not available in the book for use in connection with problems of Diffusion, Contact or Historical Reconstruction, although such details are not wanting where the author deals with social organization or ceremonial life. But they should not overlook the fact that the present book belongs to the new school in which cultural facts are examined principally in their functional relation to the physical and spiritual needs of a people. From that point of view, Hivale's book will undoubtedly remain a very valuable addition to current ethnographic literature in India.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

SARAT CHANDRA: MAN AND ARTIST: *By Dr. S. C. Sen Gupta. Published by Saraswaty Library, C 18/19 College Street Market, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

It is an exceedingly well-written book presenting a homogeneous account of Sarat Chandra's life and work and weaving in the appropriate biographical details to show their mutual interactions.

The arrangement of the shorter stories is both original and illuminating, bringing out clearly the subtler variations from story to story in the treatment of the one major problem, the retarding factors at work in some of them and the degree of success attained as the author succumbed to or triumphed over these obstacles. I particularly appreciate author's observations on *Grihadaha*, embodying Sarat Chandra's half-bewildered perception of the last enigma in feminine love, the last web of self-delusive sophistry in the soul of a woman who does not know herself aright. To my mind, however, it seems that the balance between Mahim and Suresh has hardly been held even, Achala's relations with Suresh never reach even momentary stage of stable equilibrium, never the phase of acceptance; it has always been represented as an uneasy and unreconciled surrender to necessity. The real reason why she kept house with Suresh seems to be her conviction of the inexorability of Mahim's character. She never shows any interest in the domestic arrangements and seems not to have a single taste in common with her [illegible]; not a word of tenderness escapes her lips even on the eve of the last farewell. Her one night surrender may have been faciliated by an unconscious core of desire and acquiescence; but it was not led up to by a latent streak of tenderness in their mutual relations. Excepting for one brief moment when Achala asks Suresh to take her away from her village home, she never made any positive appeal to him. The source of her love for Mahim remains equally inexplicable, a parade of her fidelity to the plighted word is the motive force that binds them together. All these thoughts generate in me a doubt that Achala was incapable of love, her rigidity and undemonstrativeness had a strange spell of fascination, but her life with either Mahim or Suresh is curiously bleak and negative. Her wavering suspense between her two lovers and her failure to respond to either seems more the result of a core of icy frigidity in her soul which not even the most impetuous tenderness can touch and melt than that of genuine passion poised so precariously between opposite attractions as to condemn itself to frustration and immobility.

The concluding chapter is also very well-written, as also the interpretation of the character of Jibananda in its curious combination of unbridled sexuality and philosophic detachment. He seems to me to have a strange affinity to Villon, the rascally poet of the French Renaissance, with the difference that Jibananda is a philosopher and not an artist. The present work is a notable contribution to our study and appreciation of Sarat Chandra and some of Dr. Sen Gupta's conclusion will rank as definitive judgments.

SRIKUMAR BANERJI

POST-WAR BANKING IN INDIA AND A CASE FOR LEGISLATION: *By Mr. R. M. Mitra, B.A., A.I.I.B. Published by Messrs. A. Mukherjee & Co., Calcutta. Pages 172. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The author has discussed the growth of banking in England and has compared it with the slow growth of banking in this country under peculiar circumstances. Influence of war and inflation on Indian Banking have also been dealt with. The author admits that legislation is necessary to give right direction to the banking business that has made some headway during recent years, particularly during the war. But the proposed Bill for controlling Banking business does not get full support from him and he gives his reasons for it. He apprehends that unless the proposed bill is sufficiently altered in certain respects, the banking of the country is likely to suffer rather than flourish. He is an advocate of the principles of guidance, warning and protection so far as the banking legislation is concerned and as such he considers the proposed Bill as a bit too stiff. While admitting some of the contentions of the author, we have to opine that time has come for a drastic legislation to regulate banking and to protect the depositors' money and any further delay is fraught with consequences which no lover of the country's prosperity through Banking will desire. Both the Bank Bills, 1944 and 1946, are given in the Appendices with observations of the author for certain modifications.

This is a timely publication which contains the views of a practical banker, who is not only acquainted with the routine of day to day administration but has an outlook for the future.

A. B. DUTTA

THOUGHTS ON THE GREAT QUEST: *By Heramba Ch. Maitra. Published by Asok Kumar Maitra 65, Harrison Road, Calcutta. To be had of General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., 119, Dhurrumtolla Street, Calcutta. Cloth-bound. Pp. 121. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a collection of essays written and published by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra at different times. This is the first collection and is necessarily small. The publisher holds out the hope that a second and fuller collection of Principal Maitra's writings will follow soon.

As Principal and as professor, Maitra occupied a unique position in the academic world of his day. The present reviewer was one of his many pupils during the first decade of the present century and still remembers the great veneration with which Principal Maitra was looked upon by his pupils, his colleagues and the public at large. The integrity of his character, the high moral principles which he inculcated and followed in practice and his scrupulous and extensive scholarship won for him this high place in the educational world. Time has not abated the respect for him of those who ever came into personal contact with him.

The essays published here reveal the moral teacher in their author and show a religious fervour which was characteristic of him. But it is religion leavened with spiritual insight and philosophical acumen. Such a book will probably be a little out of tune with the type of literature that is flooding the market now. Yet it has a permanent value and deserves the attention of the thinking public and should be held in the same high esteem which its author enjoyed in his lifetime.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

STUDIES IN SRI AUROVINDO'S PHILOSOPHY: *By Dr. S. K. Maitra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Benares Hindu University. Pp. 160. Price Rs. 3.*

The growing literature on Sri Aurovindo's Philosophy is a proof that it has caught the imagination, not only of the students of philosophy, but also of their professors. The book, under review, is a notable addition, and contains a series of six learned studies contributed to some leading periodicals by Dr. Maitra, who is the head of the department of philosophy in the Benares Hindu University. These studies faithfully interpret Sri Aurovindo's views on religion of the future, problem of evil, conception of intuition, prophet or the Superman and the status of man. The first study makes an interesting comparison between Aurovindo and Bergson.

The author is a staunch admirer of Sri Aurovindo; but his appreciation, we are afraid, lapses into exaggeration when he does not hesitate to call the celebrated yogi of Pondichery, the most creative thinker of the present-day East, as the latter, in Dr. Maitra's view, has the same prophetic vision like Manu, Yajnavalkya or Vyasa. Dr. Maitra further asserts that, if the bridge of thoughts and sighs, which spans the history of Aryan culture has its first arch in the Veda, it has its last in Sri Aurovindo's *Life Divine*. In this connection we are constrained to observe that one, having even a nodding acquaintance with the Vedic thought, will decline to express such an unrestrained appreciation. Dr. Maitra's assertion that Aurovindo's philosophy is in full accord with the Vedas and Upanishads is far from true; for, he himself points out that in the former, matter as well as spirit are regarded as real. According to Aurovindo, even matter is Brahman. This doubtlessly shows that Aurovindo's philosophy has a definite pragmatic bent, in contradistinction to the Upanishadic thought which reveals the purest form of Brahmavada and the illusoriness of the sense-world.

Sri Aurovindo has been very unfair to Samkar when he remarks: "Samkar's wordless, inactive self and his *Maya* of many names and forms are equally disparate and irreconcilable entities." "The real monism, the real Advaita," reiterates Aurovindo "is that which admits all things as the one Brahman and does not seek to bisect Its existence into two incompatible entities, an eternal truth and an eternal falsehood, Brahman and not-Brahman, Self and not-Self, a real Self and an unreal, yet perpetual Maya." It is regretted that the Advaita is misunderstood as Mayavada by an original thinker like Aurovindo. We humbly submit that the Advaita is emphatically Brahmavada and it never teaches maya as an entity as Aurovindo wrongly thinks. According to Vedanta, the knower sees Brahman only, and not the mayik show as held by Goudapada. But to the ignorant, who do see the phenomenal appearance and not Brahman out of nescience, the theory of maya is advanced, not as an explanation, but as a statement of facts. This is admitted by Aurovindo's interpreters in a way when they say that Samkar's characteristic note is one-sided affirmation of the Spirit. We do not lag behind any of Aurovindo's admirers in genuine appreciation of Aurovindo and his original contribution to philosophical thought; but that does not deter us from pointing out the glaring limitations of his philosophy and his wide differences from Samkar, the foremost exponent of the Advaitavada. To a critical and unbiased student, Sri Aurovindo's philosophy is, at best, an amalgam of Indian and European thought with a distinct pragmatic leaning. In this age when world-thought tends to mingle together, it is a unique attempt at harmonisation.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FAMOUS LETTERS & ULTIMATUMS TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT: *Edited and compiled by Durbar Singh. The Hero Publications, 6, Lower Mall, Lahore. Pp. 204. Price Rs. 3-12.*

This is a collection of seventeen famous letters written by our public men to different Viceroys and Governors, etc. It contains Tagore's letter to the Viceroy renouncing his Knighthood, Gandhi's open letter to Lord Reading, Syamaprasad's letter to the Governor, etc. The Editor, in short notes, has explained the background of each of the letters. This has enhanced the value of the collection many times. The printing and get-up is well.

PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF AUDITING: *By R. B. Bose, M.A., B.Sc., B.Com. Published by A. Mukherjea and Co., 2, College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 167. Price Rs. 3-12.*

With the growing industrial development of India, joint-stock companies are going to play an important part; and auditing as a profession is becoming more and more important. This is a handy book containing all that an average Indian student should know on the subject from the very first principles right up to the implications of the Indian Companies Act. It should be in the hands of all students. One suggestion we have to make: the author should have given the references to various law reports in the Table of Legal decisions.

J. M. DATTA

BENGALI

SASWATA PIPASA: *Published by Katyani Book Stall, 203 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 331. Price Rs. 4.*

MAYAJAL: *Published by Romesh Ghosal, 35 Badur Bagan Row, Calcutta. Pp. 260. Price Rs. 4.*

The two novels by Rampada Mukherji are taken together for review, as both of them form parts of the same story, the latter being complementary to the former.

The titles of the books signify respectively *The Eternal Thirst* and *The Bond of Delusion*, which bind us subtly to hold on to our everyday life with fond affection for mother Earth and to play our mortal parts well in our assigned spheres of life, not only ungrudgingly but cheerfully amidst the trials and tribulations of life, without any thought of escapism. If we read the story in this context, it will unfold itself in all its charm and beauty; otherwise a casual reader may miss much of the inherent charm underlying the story, for he will find in it no grand romance of a love-story, no attempt at analysing or solving any social or political problems of life nor is there any artistic handling of the story so as to create tense dramatic situations or un-

solved problematic triangles, which are the general characteristics of a great novel. Still the two novels are classic in their own way, just as the *Pather Panchali* of another great novelist, Bibhuti Banerji, rightly claims to be one of the best novels in Bengali literature.

Regarding the particular aspect of the story, it depicts in *Saswata Pipasa* a vivid and glowing picture of the social life that existed in our Bengal village in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The simple joys and sorrows, the quiet and peaceful surroundings of village life, the unostentatious but intense life enjoyed by the villagers are portrayed with the minutest details and painted in a graceful halo of colour. With the beginning of the twentieth century the quiet and placid domestic and social life of the village is disturbed by the advent of new ideas and customs and the transition period ushering in the hectic days of Swadeshi movement spreading through the innermost recesses of the country is described in *Mayajal* skilfully, as reflected in the characters of the new generation.

The story has been narrated by the author picturesquely, characters are all drawn in a living manner and the style is limpid and delightful.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

PRITAM KI GALI MEN: *By Rajaji Maharaj Gurdasram Sahab. Pustaka Bhandar, Patna. Pp. 80. Price Re. 1.*

This is a "litany" of love of the Lord consisting of thirty-one "stanzas." Though written in prose, they have the *passion* of poetry. The style has the vividness of the Vaishnavite singer-*cum*-saint of the Middle Ages. Love is luminosity of the soul,—this is the strain of the author's ecstatic song. *Pritam Ki Gali Men* is a mystical manual, which every devotee of the Divine would like to have on his shelf.

G. M.

RUPAYE KI KAHANI: *By D. D. Birla and P. N. Sinha. Published by Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 304. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This informative and interesting story of the Rupee, written in simple Hindi, is divided into two parts: the first written by Mr. Birla, deals with the various forms of currency, exchange, inflation, its value and devaluation, etc., and the other, written by Mr. Sinha, deals with the history and development of the currency-system. The book is ably written and is, perhaps, the first of its kind in Hindi and is useful equally for the layman as well as the professional.

M. S. SENGAR

MARATHI

RAJYOGINI: *By Purshuttam Mahadeva Vaidya. Navaras Karyalaya, Indore City. Pp. 76. Price Re. 1.*

This is a short play, in two Acts, dealing with the heroic deeds of the patriot-queen, Ahalyabai Holkar, of Indore, who is the heroine of every Hindu student of Indian history. It is replete with historical events (as against imaginations and inferences, as so often is the practice of some playwrights) and historionic effects. It can serve easily, therefore, the purpose of a primer in the passion and philosophy of patriotism, with its multicoloured skein of sentiments and sacrifice.

G. M.

KANNADA

BENDRE VANGMAYA DARSHANA: *Edited by H. G. Joshi Esq., B.A. (Hons.), Galgali. Published by Ramacharya Kakhandiki, Editor, "Nirbhaya," Jamkhandi. Pp. 4+2+89. Price Re. 1-4.*

DATTA SAHITYA: *Editor Shri Shimpi Linganna. Published by M. Gopal Krishna Rao of [illegible] for [illegible] Press, Dharwar. Pp. [illegible]. Price Re. 1-8.*

The two books under review are two laudable attempts at the critical and constructive appreciation of Mr. Bendre's poetical works and other literary productions. Shri Bendre by his unswerving loyalty and steadfast devotion to Kannada muse for over two decades has succeeded in carving out for himself a niche in the galaxy of the great. The Editors of the two booklets in question availed themselves of the occasion of Shri Bendre's fiftieth Birthday celebration to pay their humble tribute to the poet of their choice. Without putting forth any audacious and pretentious claim of having seen and presented all about Bendre, the Editors have done well in glancing over the few striking aspects of Bendre's works. Of the two books, the latter contains a more elaborate and detailed review of Shri Bendre's various literary productions. Pandit Keshava Sharma of Galgali, has given us a beautiful analysis of Bendre's poetic inspiration in Bendre's *Pratibhavilas*—an essay contributed by him to the *Bendre Vangmaya Darshana*. The books in question are indeed very helpful additions to the spate of critical reviews of Bendre's poetry that have appeared in recent weeks.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

MADHUP: *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Pp. 170. Price Rs. 3-4.*

Madhup has fought as a Lieutenant in the Indian Army in North Africa in Auchinlec's Army. He has returned to India on leave. His real name is Kirti Kumar. As a Madhup (Bee), he has sucked the juice of many flowers, but a flower called Mrinalini makes him fall really in love. She tries her best to keep him at arm's length but at last succumbs. Their repartees are full of vigour. The whole atmosphere of the story is, however, unreal and the society amongst whom this love story is placed is something alien to the ordinary Hindu society, thoroughly Anglicised; what else could there be when the characters are aristocrats and race-goers?

NITYA PRIYA: *By Raj Hans, Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Cloth-bound. Illustrated. Pp. 196. Price Rs. 3.*

The friction as to the ideals of marriage, between old and new *i.e.*, East and West, is emphasised in this story by means of incidents which when stated plainly look very ugly. A girl marries a rich husband, so that her costly artistic tastes may be satisfied. After some years' happy married life, the husband meets with an accident resulting in loss of virility. The wife is yet young and beautiful. They, therefore, decide to go their own way, and as if, that was not enough, the husband acts as a pimp to his wife, so that her sex-hunger may be gratified. The wife too like a butterfly, flies from flower to flower promising to remain constant in love in her heart or mind to one, but allowing her body to be used by others too. As a contrast, another girl constant in love, both in body and mind, is presented who marries one of the lovers of the inconstant girl, and becomes happy. The stilted, artificial life led by these society people, is graphically described when the reader is allowed to glimpse into the bath-room of the unfaithful wife, a bath-room which is a thorough Anglicised contraption, and rarely to be found anywhere else except in the house of millionaires. The intimate knowledge shown by the author of the details of the life lived by the rich in Bombay at the Taj Mahal Hotel or on the Race-course, Bombay and Poona, or in places where they go for a change, Nasik or Deolali, strikes one to be almost first-hand.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Modern Poetry

Rabindranath Tagore's original Bengali article on modern poetry has been translated into English by Indira Devi Chaudhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The first part of the article is given below :

I have been asked to write something about modern English poets. It is by no means an easy task. For who will define the limit of the modern age with reference to the almanac ?—It is not so much a question of time as of spirit.

After flowing straight on for a time, the river takes a sudden turn. Literature likewise does not always follow the straight path. When it takes a turn, the turn must be called modern. Let us call it *adhunik* in Bengali. The modernity depends not upon time but upon temperament.

The poetry to which I was introduced in my boyhood might have been classed as modern in those days. Poetry had taken a new turn, beginning from the Poet Burns. The same urge had brought forth many other great poets, such as Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley, Keats.

The manners and customs prevalent in society are known as social usage. In some countries these social customs completely suppress all the freedom and variety of individual taste. There man becomes a puppet, his conduct conforms meticulously to social etiquette. It is this traditional and habitual way of life that society appreciates. Sometimes literature also falls into a groove for long periods ; and whosoever wears the sacred marks of perfect literary style, is looked upon as a saintly person. During the age of English poetry that followed Burns, the barriers of style were broken down, and temperament made its debut. "The lake adorned with lotus and the lily" is a lake seen through the special hole of official blinkers fashioned in the classic workshop. When a daring writer removes those blinkers and catch-pharses and looks upon the lake with open eyes, he also opens up a path through which the lake assumes manifold aspects to many eyes and various fancies. But classic judgment cries "fie for shame" on him.

When we began to read English poetry, this unconventional individualistic mood had already been acknowledged in literature, and the clamour raised by the *Edinburgh Review* had died down. Be that as it may, that period of our life was a new era of modernism.

In those days, the hall-mark of modernism in poetry was the individual's measure of delight. Wordsworth expressed in his own style the spirit of delight that he realised in Nature. Shelley's was a Platonic contemplation accompanied by a spirit of revolt against every kind of obstacle, political, religious or otherwise. Keats' poetry is wrought of the meditation of creation of beauty. In that age, the stream of poetry took a turn from outwardness to inwardness.

The deepest feelings of a poet's heart strive to attain immortality by assuming a lovely form in language. Love adorns itself. It seeks to prove its inward joy by its outward beauty. There was a time when humanity in its moments of leisure sought to beautify in various ways that portion of the universe with which it came into contact. This outer adornment was the expression of its inner love. Where there is love, there can be no indifference. In those ways, in the exuberance of his sense of beauty man began to decorate the common articles of daily use. His inner inspiration lent creative power to his fingers. In every land and every village household utensils and the adornment of the home and person bound the heart of man, in colour and form, to these outward insignia of life. Many were the ceremonies evolved by man for adding zest to social life ; many the new melodies, new arts and crafts in wood and metal, clay and stone, silk, wool and cotton. In that age, the husband designated his wife as his "beloved disciple in the fine arts." Then it was not the bank-balance that constituted the principal asset for the married couple in the work of setting up house,—the arts were a more necessary item. Flower-garlands must not be woven anyhow, young women knew how to paint the ends of their *saris* of China silk, skill in the art of dancing was especially taught, and was accompanied by lessons in the *vina*, the flute and singing. There was spiritual beauty then in human intercourse.

The English poets with whom we came into contact in my early youth, saw the universe with their own mind's eye ; it had become as it were their personal property. Not only did their own imagination, opinions and tastes humanise and intellectualise the universe, but they moulded it according to the heart's desire of each individual poet. The universe of Wordsworth was specially Wordsworthian, of Shelley Shelleyan, of Byron Byronic. By force of creative magic it became the reader's universe also. The joy that we felt in that particular poet's world, was the joy of taste in the hospitality of that particular world's aroma. The flower sends its invitation to the bee through its distinctive scent and colour, and sweet is that note of invitation. The Poet's invitation also possessed that spontaneous charm. In the days when the chief bond between man and the universe was one of individuality, the personal touch in the invitation had to be fostered with care, a sort of competition had to be set up in dress and ornament and manners so as to show oneself off to the best advantage.

Thus we find that in the beginning of the nineteenth century, the tradition which held priority in English poetry of the previous age had given place to self-expression of the individual. And this is what was called modernism in those days.

But nowadays that modernism is dubbed Mid-Victorian senility and made to recline on an easy-chair in the next room. Now is the day of the harsh modernism of lopped skirts and lopped hair. Not that powder is not frequently applied to the cheeks and rouge to the lips, but it is done in public, with unashamed bravado. It is proclaimed that the days of illusion are over. There is illusion at every step of the Creator's creation, and it is the variety of that illusion which plays so many tunes through so many forms. But science has thoroughly examined its every pulse-beat, and declares that at the root of things there is no illusion ; there is carbon and nitrogen, there is physiology and psychology. We old-fashioned poets had taken illusion to be the main thing and these to be the by-products. And, therefore, we must confess we had striven to compete with the creator in spreading the snare of illusions through rhyme

and rhythm, language and style. In our allusions and suggestions there was some play of hide-and-seek, we were unable to cast aside that veil of modesty which adorns the truth, while it does not contradict it. In the coloured light that filtered through its filmy haze, the dawns and evenings appeared to us in a beauty that was as tender as that of a new bride. The modern Duhshashan, engaged in disrobing publicly Draupadi the universe, is a sight we are not accustomed to. Is it mere force of habit that makes us feel uncomfortable? Is there no truth behind this sense of shame? Does not Beauty become bankrupt when divested of the veil which conceals not but reveals?

But the modern age is in a hurry, and has no time. Livelihood has gained the upper hand of life. Man has to race through his work and rush through his pleasures in the midst of a crowd of accelerating machines. The human being who used to create his own intimate world at leisure, now delegate his duties to a factory and rigs up some sort of provisional affair on the spur of the moment to suit his needs, according to some official standard. Feasts are gone out of fashion, only meals remain. There is no urge to consider whether life is in harmony with the mind or not, for the mind of man is engaged along with the crowd, in pulling the rope of the huge Juggernaut car of livelihood. Instead of music, there issue from his throat hoarse shouts of "Push, boys, push". He has to spend most of his time in the company of the crowd, not in the world of his own fellows. His mentality is the mentality of the hustler. In the midst of all this bustle he has not the will power left to bypass ugliness unadorned.

Which path must poetry now follow then, and what is to be her destination. It is not possible nowdays to follow one's own taste, to select, to arrange. Science does not select, it accepts whatever there is as existing; it does not appraise it by the standard of personal taste nor embellish it with the eagerness of personal attachment. The chief delight of the scientific mind consists in curiosity, not in forming ties of relationship. It does not regard what I want as the main point, but what the thing in itself exactly is, leaving me out of the question; and without me, the preparation of illusion is unnecessary.

Therefore, in the process of economising that is being carried out in the department of poetry in this scientific age, it is adornment that has suffered the biggest cut. Finicky selectiveness in the matter of rhyme, rhythm and words is now become almost absolute. And the change is not taking place smoothly, but in order to break the spell of the past, it has become the fashion to repudiate it aggressively. It is like trying to set bits of broken glass on the top in an uncouth and ugly manner, lest the selective faculty by force of habit should enter the house by jumping over the garden-wall. A poet writes: "I am the greatest laugher of all, greater than the sun, than the oak-tree, than the frog and Apollo." "Than the frog and Apollo," this is where the bits of broken glass come in. For fear someone should think that the poet is arranging his words sweetly, prettily. If the word "sea" were used instead of "frog," the modernists might object to it as regular poetising. That may be so, but mentioning the frog is by a long way much more regular poetising of the opposite kind. That is to say it is not introduced naturally, but is like treading on your toes intentionally. That is the modern fashion.

But the fact of the matter is, the days are gone when it was generally accepted that the frog could not be admitted into gentle poetry on the same footing as other creatures. In the category of reality, the frog belongs to a higher class than Apollo. Nor do I wish to regard the frog with contempt. What is more, in an appropriate context, the croaking laugh of the frog might be juxtaposed with the laugh of the poet's beloved, even if she objected. But even according to the most ultra-scientific theory of equality, the laugh that is the sun's, that is the oak-tree's, that is Appollo's, is not that of the frog. Here it has been dragged in by force, in order to destroy the illusion.

Indians in South Africa

Perhaps in no other part of the world is the racial problem so profoundly disturbing as it is in the Union of South Africa. Race dominates every aspect of life there. Dr. Prakash Chandra writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

The Europeans, Asiatics and Negroes live side by side but they have failed to evolve a common meeting ground and the differences between them are most striking. The population is nearly ten millions and a half. Of this, 70 per cent are Negroes, the Europeans number 21 per cent and Indians whose total strength is 2,10,000 barely 2·5 per cent.

A wide chasm separates the Europeans from the non-Europeans. The former enjoy many social privileges, social services, and educational facilities which are denied to the coloured peoples. All political power rests in their hands. So far as Indians are concerned, they do not possess even elementary civic rights. As Sir Zafarullah Khan said, "Indians in South Africa are almost in the position of being a stateless people. They cannot vote. They have to live in defined residential areas. They can hold property only on a restricted basis. Their children cannot attend normal South African schools. And they are not admitted as citizens, although many of the families have been settled there for generations." A more elaborate picture was drawn by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, a former High Commissioner in South Africa, who stated that the Indian community in that country was "deprived of representation in local bodies and public services, in Parliament as well as in the Universities, denied admission even to hotels, cinemas, theatres, places of culture no less than of amusements, and subjected to a colour bar for which neither modern nor ancient history affords any precedent whatever." While European children receive free education, no provision exists for the teaching of 20,000 Indiin children of school-going age, let alone tuition-free instruction. Indians contribute as much to the finance of the country as the white residents but do not figure on the rolls as municipal or parliamentary voters. Apparently, the theory of 'no taxation without representation' has only a limited validity.

Leaving aside the Orange Free State, where the Indian population is negligible, the position in the rest of the three provinces of the Union is as follows. In Natal, where the Indians are most numerous—five-sixth

of their number is confined to this area—they exercise at present neither the municipal nor the provincial franchise. The latter was withdrawn just fifty years ago; the former comparatively recently. In the Transvaal, Indians have never enjoyed any franchise at all, municipal or provincial. They possess both in the Cape Colony and have the right there of being represented on the municipality by a Fellow-Indian. As for the right of electing candidates for the Senate or the House of Assembly of the Union Parliament, it is conspicuous by its absence. The laws expressly require that the voters must be British subjects of European descent.

It is not only that political rights have been held back from the Indians. Repeated efforts have been made to dislodge them from their economic position.

The latest measure of this kind is the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Bill which has received its second reading only recently. This bill is to replace the notorious Pegging Act which was due to expire at the end of March, 1946, and whose object was to segregate the Indians from the Europan population. In a sense, the new bill is worse than the old. Whereas the Pegging Act applied only to Durban, the new legislation extends to the whole territories of Natal and the Transvaal. Indians are being prohibited from exercising the right of acquiring property either for residential or investment purposes in these regions, except in certain areas set aside for them. Apart from the social stigma implicit in the bill, it will have serious economic consequences. Indians living in demarcated zones outside towns and cities will tend to get isolated from the European and the native populations. This will affect their means of livelihood and will lead in course of time to their economic extinction.

The obnoxious bill has been sugar-coated with the gift of an illusory franchise. South African Indians are to be accorded the right of electing representatives to the Union Parliament and the Natal and Transvaal Provincial Councils. But the franchise is worthless because it suffers from three grave defects. First, the qualification is high. Secondly, Indians are to be registered on a separate roll instead of sharing the common roll with the Europeans. Finally, and this is the most preposterous feature of the provisions, though Indians may vote, they cannot stand for election and must be represented by Europeans. The last stipulation places the Indians on a par with the Bantus who though eight million strong are represented on the South African legislature by three gentlemen with the whitest skin. It is thus clear that the bill offers a mythical political status in exchange for substantial economic rights which are taken away.

It is amazing that Indians should be subjected to discriminatory treatment in what happens to be a part of the British Empire but it has been a characteristic policy of the Dominions to be fairer in their dealings with the Whites, though belonging to a different nationality, than with the coloured races. While they have received European immigrants, all of them, with the exception of Newfoundland, have excluded Orientals by one means or another. In some of the States of the Commonwealth of Australia, Asiatics are disqualified from voting and from obtaining leases in certain irrigated lands. The same continent is anxious to increase her population by the importation of 70,000 immigrants yearly but they must be British, Scandinavians, Swiss or French and not Indians, Chinese and the Javanese. In Canada, too, in British Columbia, Asiatics are denied the franchise. The late Srinivasa Sastri explained how on one occasion his appeals to the fair name of the Empire drew the impatient remark from the Prime Minister of that province that he had no use for it, if it involved [illegible] are most far-reaching and flagrant in the Union of South Africa. India and South Africa have made common sacrifices on battlefields for ostensibly common ideals but as Mr. Polak asked in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian*, "Is not the race and colour bar, is not the policy of racial segregation, more reminiscent of the Nazi-Fascist doctrine of super-race than the ideals of the United Nations?"

It would be interesting to discuss the origin of the bill against the background of local conditions.

First of all there is the social factor. The Indians and the Europeans belong to two different civilisations and speak languages utterly divorced from each other. Superimposed is the political fact that the Whites have ruled coloured peoples for the last two centuries. This gives them an air of superiority which any autocrat would bear towards his subjects, regardless of race. The economic factor is even more important. Indians went to South Africa not because they were themselves eager but because their presence was felt to be in the interests of South Africa. It seemed to be impossible to exploit fully the Natal coast-belt without indentured labour. The Government of India was opposed to the arrangement but was eventually prevailed upon to sanction the emigration. So the Indians went and brought prosperity to Natal. Many remained and others followed, both free and indentured labourers. Their work on the sugar and tea plantations yielded magnificent results so that Natal today is known as the Garden Colony of South Africa. But in due course, the Indian with his lower standard of living, began to threaten the European in some of the occupations of which he had previously a monopoly. It was then that Indians came to be regarded in Lord Milner's phrase as, "strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them." More recently Indians have been thoughtless in their business dealings. They were obviously imprudent in buying up European property during the war in the heart of Durban. Finally, the racial and political set-up of the country has to be taken into account.

Most of the Whites in South Africa are Boers, the descendants of Dutch farmers who employed Negro slaves from West Africa to till their fields and watch their herds.

They are the people who never yielded when the British came but preferred to trek into the interior as national groups in order to safeguard their independence. Intensely self-conscious, they have not the capacity of developing feelings of appreciation and friendliness towards the people springing from a different racial stock. The mass of the British inhabitants are English as in Australia—not Scotch as in Canada and New Zealand—and the English are well-known for their reserve and insularity.

The principal political parties are the United party, the Nationalist party and the Dominion party. None of the three represents a liberal outlook on the racial question. But the two foremost leaders of the United party, Premier Smuts, and Mr. J. H. Hofmeyr, Minister of Finance, are personally sympathetic towards Indians. The latter has made no secret of his disgust with the colour bar. Dealing with the relations between Europeans and Asiatics in South Africa, he once observed, "It is hardly a matter for argument that in this field our record, when judged in the light of Christian principles, scarcely bears examination. The self-interest of the European brought the Indian to South Africa; self-interest has sought to get rid of him from the country; self-interest, in so far as this cannot be achieved, is determined to keep him in what is regarded as his place." These politicians, however, have to reckon with their followers and the opposition parties. The

Nationalists led by Dr. Malan are openly hostile to Indians and the Dominion party has affiliations with the Natal Europeans who are really responsible for anti-Indian legislation.

The delicacy of Field Marshal Smuts' position is obvious from the speeches made over the second reading of the bill. He was almost apologetic in defending the hotch-potch character of his bill. "Now when land rights of Natal Indians were being limited," he stated, "it was only fair that they should be given some political status." He made no attempt to defend the representation of Indians by Europeans but explained that the communal franchise had been modelled on the Indian pattern. "I think, therefore, that it does not lie in the mouth of Indians to say,' he asserted, "that the separate electoral system of South Africa will be an insult to them." Here is warning to the champions of retrograde devices that what they do here in India may recoil on their heads elsewhere. In spite of the insistence of Field Marshal Smuts that the bill should be passed as a whole, Col. Stallard, the leader of the Dominion party, suggested that the two parts should be moved separately. He expressed himself in favour of the land-tenure restrictions but opposed the grant of franchise to Indians. Their admission to the Assembly, he pleaded, would endanger the structure of South African society. Similar was the line taken by Dr. Malan. While accepting the principle of segregation, he tried to shelve the franchise issue by seeking to make the Government to agree to the appointment of a joint committee to which the racial problem in all its aspects was to be referred.

The Indian community in South Africa is naturally upset and is doing all that it can to prevent the implementation of the Act.

In its endeavours, it has the fullest support of the High Commissioner, the Government of India, and all the political parties in this country. But the interest which India takes is bitterly resented as interference in the internal affairs of the Union. In an angry article, an African newspaper writes, "The Indians in the Union behave like citizens of India and seek consolation and support there. Good, then let us send them back to their home—India." The real fact is that in spite of their being settled in South Africa for over eighty years, Indians are not yet recognised as citizens of South Africa and that so long as they are treated as aliens in the land of their birth and adoption, they have a perfect right of appeal to India as their protector. Indeed, the effort to clothe them with a fictitious franchise is itself motivated by a desire to prevent the Government of India from interceding on their behalf. It is realised that India will soon be strong and independent, when her nationals abroad could be unfairly treated by a foreign Government only at its peril.

When Sir Shafaat Ahmad laid down his office. Indian public opinion demanded that no successor should be appointed. Failure to fill the post would, it was hoped, open the eyes of the world to the atrocious crime which was beng perpetrated in South Africa. The Government of India, however, was more optimistic and Mr. R. M. Deshmukh was sent out. He has been unable to improve the situation. The reasonable proposal of the Government of India that a round table conference should be held between the representatives of India and South Africa to find a settlement has been rejected by Field Marshal Smuts on the specious plea that the matter is a domestic concern and it is improper to call in the aid of another Government in solving it. Driven to extremity, the Government of India has given notice of the termination of its trade agreement with South Africa and is seriously considering the recall of the High Commissioner. Meanwhile there remains one final remedy, and that is an appeal to the United Nations Organisation.

The demands of the South African Indians are the demands for elementary democratic rights which should be enjoyed by all living in democratic countries. All that they are asking for is the franchise, not the truncated but the real thing, the opening up of provincial barriers and freedom to buy property and live wherever they like. If these are not granted, they are determined to resort to passive resistance, and as the late Srinivasa Sastri pointed out, they will be fully justified in seeking honourable suicide in preference to ignominous surrender.

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Indo-American Amity

America will have a much higher appreciation of India when the million American soldiers and Red Cross girls return; they are bound to take back a better impression of India than most Americans have had in the past. Judith Ames Appasamy writes in *The Aryan Path* :

There has not been much cultural contact between America and India in the past, due probably to America's great distance, to the lack of good literature on India, and also perhaps to the fact that India was a subject nation of another great power. Missions and missionaries have been one great link, but their primary purpose has been to impose their culture, not to absorb Eastern culture. Their presentation of India in America has not always been fair. But they have done some good. They have started social reform to improve educational facilities among Indian women, who are now taking part in the nation's politics, forming clubs and societies for the uplift of Indian women. Women can usually be depended upon to take the lead once they are made conscious of ther importance in the scheme of things. The greatness of a country depends upon the treatment of its women. That is why the co-educational system in America is the best in the world. Travancore is a good illustration of this. It is the only state in India which has tried the co-educational system ; with the result that one finds women from Travancore all over India, ho'ding very high positions.

There has never been any exceptionally good book written on India, at least not in English. *The Rains Came*, *Indigo* and *A Passage to India* are about the best so far ; but nowhere nearly as good as Dr. Lin Yutang's or Pearl Buck's books on China. Most writers on India in the past spent so much time looking for the rubbish or the bizarre, that they entirely overlooked the really beautiful and charming pattern of India. There is no book which brings out the joint-family system of India nor is there any good novel of school or college life in India, of the type of *Tom Brown's School Days*. Any

American who is a total stranger to India and who wants to know something about this great land could not do better than read *Introduction to India* by Moraes and Stimson (an Oxfird University Press publication), or *My India, My America* by Dr. Shridharani. It is a pity that one or both of these books could not be made compulsory in every American school.

If, like the Rhodes Scholarships, which take American and other students to England, or like the Boxer Indemnity Fund which takes a large number of Chinese students to America, some such set of scholarships could be founded for Indian students, it would make for much better amity between India and America. Some of the reasons why Indian students have not gone to America in the past are the great distance and the huge outlay required to go there ; also the fact that the United States is a very costly place in which to live. Students have been rather encouraged to go to Great Britain, partly due to the specialised educational system prevailing in India and also because Indian students have come back from America with revolutionary ideas. This war has changed a great deal of that. Another great factor that has kept Indian students from going to America has been her unfriendly immigration laws, which have never been fair to Asiatics. Her excuse, of course, has always been that their standard of living is lower. In this matter, the Americans who are sojourning in India could and should help change or modify these laws.

Indian students should be encouraged to go to America for their higher education.

The American system of education is much better than that which prevails in India and which only fits the students for routine desk work. It has a freer interplay of ideas between the teacher and the students. And it brings out the best in every student and fits him for taking his place in a democratic world. One great contribution that the American educational system could make to India is teaching the "dignity of labour." There is in America no snobbery or looking down on a poor student who has to work his way through college. On the contrary, he is praised and honoured for it, (a system of self-help is being tried in some American-managed Indian colleges, but it is not quite the success that it is in America). India has a lot to learn from America's realistic outlook, her attitude towards progress and her giving an opportunity for everyone to rise or to develop towards self-realisation. India, on the other hand, has all her vast experience to give in exchange for speed and scientific research.

But India and America have much in common. They are both great countries of vast distances, varied climates and equally varied racial characteristics. The peoples of both countries have an intense love for democracy and independence. It begins to look as if India is on her way to getting her independence and she needs America's help more than ever to get firmly established and to make a success of it. America can help India organise herself. India is composed of four hundred millon individuals who have no idea of co-operation. Team work, as we understand it in the West, is completely foreign to Indian ideas.

Americans find it extremely difficult to understand the caste system in India. One of their stock phrases is "How can India expect to get her independence as long as she has the caste system ?" Every country since the dawn of creation has had and still has a caste system, though not always called by that name. It is known in the West as "colour prejudice" or "racial prejudice." The Rev. J. C. Heinrich in his book, *The Psychology of a Suppressed People*, says, in writing on untouchability in India, "The problem has striking parallels to the Negro problem in the United States."

At present there is no central bureau which can arrange for exchange professorships. Several in America would be only too glad of the chance to spend a few years in India. The same could be said of several men who are teaching in India. As there is Yale in China, if we could have a Harvard or a Columbia in India, it would be very good for both countries. An exchange of cultures is greatly needed. More good-will missions are also needed between America and India.

Leonardo da Vinci

Leonardo da Vinci is undoubtedly one of the greatest geniuses which our humanity has produced. C. Jinarajadasa observes in *The Theosophist* :

> All in Europe and America know that he is one of the supreme painters of the Italian School. But he was more than a painter ; he was also a sculptor, an architect, a musician, a mechanician who planned flying craft, an engineer who built castles and canals, and a deep inquirer in the spirit of modern science into all aspects of Nature.
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> There are many great painters and scupltors who have expressed themselves with another aspect of their character. Michael Angelo was not only a sculptor and painter, but also a poet. William Blake is better known as one of the great mystic poets than as painter. Giordano Bruno, the philosophical revolutionary, has written some of the finest sonnets in the Italian language.
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> But in Leonardo we have the unique combination of an artist and a scientist who was profoundly imbued with the idea that it was necessary to know Nature in all her varied manifestations, in order that he might be a truly great painter and sculptor. Hence his study of the anatomy of the muscles, bones, etc., not only of human beings, but of birds, insects and other creatures. All the time he desired to know Nature "as she is," before he reproduced her in painting or sculpture. His

many notebooks, wherein he drew all he observed, are scattered now in the Royal Palace at Windsor, the University of Oxford, the British Museum, and in various collections of Europe and America. But throughout them all he insists upon the fact that there must be rigid truth to Nature.

"From his earliest days he had flung himself upon that study with an unprecedented ardour of delight and curiosity. In drawing from life he had early found the way to unite precision with freedom and fire—the subtlest accuracy of expressive definition with vital movement and rhythm of line—as no draughtsman had been able to unite them before. He was the first painter to recognize the play of light and shade as among the most significant and attractive of the world's appearances, the earlier schools having with one consent subordinated light and shade to colour and outline. Nor was he a student of the broad, usual, patent appearances only of the world; its fugitive, fantastic, unaccustomed appearances attracted him most of all. Strange shapes of hills and rocks, rare plants and animals, unusual faces and figures of men, questionable smiles and expressions, whether beautiful or grotesque, far-fetched objects and curiosities, were things he loved to pore upon and keep in memory. Neither did he stop at mere appearances of any kind, but, having stamped the image of things upon his brain, went on indefatigably to probe their hidden laws and causes." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica.*)

Leonardo is different from Hindu sculptors and painters of the past and of today. The attempt of the Indian artist is to reveal the "idea," and he pays very little attention to "form."

One characteristic of the best type of Greek Art was, especially in sculpture in which it was famous, to embody a great Divine Idea. Thus, all the great artists in their statues of Pallas Athene or Minerva, though they might model from a girl or a woman, tried to convey Pallas Athene as a Divine Concept of the Archetypal Mind.

The artistic message of Leonardo has influenced all Western artists profoundly. For, fundamentally it was that the form and the life are *one*, and that the more one knows the details of the form, the better one can represent the life, provided of course one has the quality of genius. In Indian philosophy it is known that *Purusha* and *Prakriti*, Spirit and Matter, Life and Form, are interblended and can never be separated. It is since the time of Leonardo that all Western schools of painting and sculpture insist on the student studying anatomy or drawing from a model, so as to see the interplay of light and shade as it should be on a properly moulded limb or face. It *is* possible, as the Greeks attempted, to bring a wonderful inspiration to Art by blending the Idea with the Form, since both are of God.

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The Horse and Cow Culture of Aryans (1600 B.C.-700 A.D.)

Writing about the role of domesticated animals in Indian History in *Science and Culture*, M. S. Randhawa observes :

The Horse :There is no evidence about the presence of the domesticated horse in India prior to the invasion of Aryan Nomads about 1600 B.C. We do not find any figure of horse in the seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, nor any bones have been recovered.

Peake and Fleure are of opinion that the horse was first tamed in the Steppes of Central Asia and South Russia. This immense grassland runs from Galicia, South Russia around the Caspian Sea, Russian Turkestan, with a narrow extension reaching the Sea of Okhtsk. The west part of this steppe was inhabited by descendants of Solutrean men, while the eastern part, for long uninhabitable due to glaciation, was later on inhabited by Mongols. Probably the horse was tamed by the inhabitants of these steppes, where Erzewalskis horse is still found wild. Though we have no positive evidence of the horse before 2000 B.C., it is inferred that the horse was domesticated before 5000 B.C. along with other animals.

In India the domesticated horse was brought by the Aryan invaders about 1600 B.C. These Kshatriyas or horsed-warriors defeated the elephant-armies of the natives of India. Their advantage lay in superior weapons of warfare, the trained horse and the sword. As Peake and Fleure remark, "The training of the horse for war, and of milch-mares as a source of an exceptionally complete food must have worked an immense advance, giving the herdsman a power over great spaces, and enabling him to organize vast stretches to gratify his ambitions and to meet his needs." After acquiring command over the horse, the Nomad horse-men marched into peripheral fertile lands of Iran, Mesopotamia, Southern Europe, India, and China, probably driven by a drought. The domestication of the horse caused a great crisis in human history which may be compared to the invention of the steamship and later on of the aeroplane in modern times. The ancient civilisations of India and Syria, based on the elephant, buffalo, sebu and the ass, were shaken to their foundations and ultimately crumbled before the onslaught of the horse and the sword. The horse was used by the Aryan Nomads for management of herds of cattle, sheep and goats in the grassland of the southern steppe, and it served a new purpose in the peripheral fertile lands. The Aryans found that not only sheep and goats but subject people can be just as well controlled with the aid of the horse. If a rebellion broke out, it could be more speedily crushed than was possible with the aid of the elephant.

The horse conquered Northern India and finally demonstrated its superiority in warfare over the elephant in 326 B.C. when Alexander invaded the northern Punjab. By the Kushan period about first century A.D., the horse had established his superiority over the elephant as far east as Mathura. On a lintel discovered from Mathura we see a procession of horse with the elephant humbly following behind. However, the acme of the horse period reached in the thirteenth century under the Mongols whose horse empire stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Black Sea. From fourteenth century onwards we see the importance of land transport decreasing as compared with sea transport with the improvement of the sailing ship. The final military use of the horse was made by the Marathas of Shivaji in the close of the seventeenth century and they played a conspicuous role in the dismemberment of the Moghul empire. From eighteenth century onwards the role of the horse as an empire builder and empire destroyer had ended and the sailing ship and finally the steamship and cannon had placed the future of the world in the hands of the Europeans.

The Ox and the Cow : While the buffalo takes delight in swimming in ponds and wallowing in mud, the ox and the cow have an aversion for water and never bathe in ponds. This indicates their origin in a dry environment and they could not be natives of monsoon jungles of India. The ancestor of present day cattle, *Bos primigenius* Bojanus, roamed all over Europe and Asia excepting the peninsulas of Arabia, Hindustan and Malaya in the Pleistocene. *Bos primigenius* Rutimayer was prominent in the rich Sivalik fauna of Northern India. Slowly the European and the Asiatic members differentiated, the former having forward-pointing horns, while the latter had inward pointing horns. Falconer and Cautley found a wild variety of *Bos primigenius* which they named as *Bos nomadicus* of the Indian Pliocene. The cow and the ox were domesticated in the mountainous country of Afghanistan and Central Asia, probably earlier than the horse. Peake and Fleure are of opinion that the cow could have been only tamed by people of mild and gentle manners such as those who live in mountains. It may, however, be mentioned that the presentday Afghan living in a dry country is by no means mild, though his ancestors in the comparatively wet phase of their history were certainly milder, otherwise they would not have gone in for Buddhism with so much zeal and ardour. The domestication of the cow must have taken place before 5000 B.C., for we find the existence of a dairy cult at Ur in Mesopotamia at about 4000 B.C.

Humped bulls and cows are frequently seen in the seals of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa as long ago as 3250-2750 B.C. Baini Prashad is of opinion that the Indus people had domesticated the hamped Zebu. There is no support for this view excepting the fact that domesticated humped cattle were found at Mohenjo-Daro about 3250 B.C. Domestication is a long process and it must have been started two or three thousand years earlier. It might very probably have been done in the mountainous regions of Baluchistan, Iran and Afghanistan. Considering that, according to the work of Vaivlov, this region was one of the centres of origin of cultivated wheats, it is likely that it was also the original centre of domestication of the humped Indian domestic cattle. Its appearance in the Sind Valley two thousand years later appears to be a subsequent event.

The art of food production by means of ox-drawn iron-pointed plough was brought to India along with the horse by Aryans about 1600 B.C. The warrior herdsmen of Central Asia introduced a more efficient method of food production in India, and their dominance over the Elephant and Buffalo civilization of ancient India is as much due to ox-drawn iron-tipped plough as to the horse. It may, however, be mentioned that they did not regard the cow as sacred, and bulls and heifers and horses were sacrificially eaten.

Liberty to Live

Lila Ray presents in an article in *The Aryan Path* Gandhiji's economic solution in its fundamental simplicity and promise :

Lord Acton said that liberty itself was the end of all government. To say that any people is not fit to be free is to say that they choose to go unclothed, to die of starvation and diseases bred of starvation and to see their children naked and dying of starvation and diseases bred of starvation. It is to say they prefer to go without medical aid and without education, that they prefer poverty and death to prosperity and life. Does any one dare say that those who died in their hundreds of thousands in the Bengal famine of 1943 and in the Nazi concentration camps died because they were free to live ?

"Your President," said Gandhi to Louis Fischer in 1942, "talks about the Four Freedoms. Do they include the freedom to be free ?"

The problem is to find a form of association which will actually make the free development of each the condition of the free development of all, which, while securing to each that freedom, will defend it and protect him with the whole common force. Such is our world that the obvious, right, simple thing appears to be the most difficult to accomplsh. Tom Paine wrote bluntly, ". . . make governments what they should be and they will defend themselves." The defence question is much exaggerated. People are easily quietened by it into the acceptance of something less than their due. The atom bomb makes no fundamental difference. It is only a question of degree. The game is the same though the stakes have been raised. Where and when the community is the realisation and fulfilment of the individual liberty of each of its members, men will voluntarily defend it with their lives and brains. Where the community is not that, conscription and a standing army and atom bombs will be necessary.

The community has always represented the liberty of some of its members and they have been its defenders.

Where large armies are needed they provide the commanders. The number has varied with the social pattern, being smallest in despotism and largest in democracy, smaller in aristocracy and larger in oligarchy. In none of the great modern societies do all have liberty. Partial liberty cannot content any people permanently. Monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy and the rest, where and when they have existed, have been tolerated not because they were good in themselves but because at a historical moment they may have happened to be the lesser of several evils. In their inception they have been arrangements for mutual protection but have hardened into tyrannies on the one hand and slaveries on the other, replacing liberty by licence, duty by privilege.

Democracy, which is the nearest we have got to the solution of our problem, is regarded by many as a failure and other expedients are being sought. Political democracy has not worked as well as expected chiefly because it has been combined with economic plutocracy, having been instituted at a time when people had not become as conscious of the working of economic forces as we are today. Now we know economic plutocracy and political democracy are incompatible. The assumptions behind them are contradictory. The contradiction can be resolved either by the suppression of democracy or the suppression of plutocracy. The first means political retrogression, the second, an economic revolution involving the abolition of capitalism. Fascism rescued capitalism from the dilemma by suppressing democracy and keeping economic relationships unchanged. Communism changed the economic relationships from those of a plutocracy to those of an oligarchy and suppressed political democracy as well. For the dictatorship of the proletariat *is* a dictatorship, the dictatorship of an oligarchy. It was regarded, by both Marx and Lenin, not as a desirable but as unavoidable in the transition to a classless society. They overlooked the fact that no dictatorship ever dare abdicate.

In England socialism is now attempting to pass from a plutocratic to an oligarchic economy while retaining political democracy and social aristocracy.

Another attempt at a solution is being made by Mahatma Gandhi. His approach to the problem, aimed likewise at the supersession of plutocracy, is very different. Reviewing the history of feudalism Lord Acton wrote : "When men found a way of earning their livelihood without depending for it on the goodwill of the class that owned the land, the landowner lost much of his importance and it began to pass to the possessors of movable wealth." Now when men find a way of earning their livelihood without depending for it on the good-will of the class or the state that owns the instruments of production, the capitalist and the state will lose much of his and its importance and that importance will begin to pass back to the producers. Gandhi has found it. Lenin, acting on the suggestion of Marx and Engels, converted plutocratic ownership of the means of production into state ownership. But that ownership became important only when instruments of production attained a size and a price that precluded their ownership and operation by individuals or small groups. The capture of the state assumed overwhelming importance when it came to mean the capture of the ownership of the means of production.

Gandhi's procedure is to put into the hands of men instruments of production that are small, light, cheap and as efficient as modern technical knowledge can make them, which they can both operate and own, thus transforming mass production into production by the masses, the proletarian into the independent producer, incidentally abolishing the labour market. This way a point can be reached when capitalists will find themselves with large unprofitable holdings on their hands, and most of their importance gone. The present crisis in world society will have been by-passed. The state will shrink to its normal size, its pathological swelling will subside. Its normal healthy function as the servant, not the master, of man will be restored. This is the "withering away" of the state which Marx desired and Lenin hoped would come to pass, how or when they did not and could not know. One thing is certain. It will be, in the words of Gandhi, "infinitely superior to anything we have now." It is economic democracy. With social and political democracy, it makes a new social arrangement, completing the democratic pattern. Call it "total" democracy if you must. It is not totalitarian. Let us see how much nearer it brings us to our goal, to what extent it can make man, not money or land the measure and master of all things.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Palestine—The National Home of the Jews

On reading the article "Squaring the Circle in Palestine" by St. Nihal Singh in the June issue of *The Modern Review* and the one entitled "Is America Fair to Islam," in the Foreign Periodicals section of the July issue, the reader has by now formed a fair idea of the Arab-Jewish controversy over Palestine. With a view to furnish him with further elucidation about the affair we quote below relevant portions of "Hearings of the Inquiry Committee," published in the *Jewish Frontier*, April, 1946, from the speeches of Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben Gurion, who most eloquently and fervently plead before the Inquiry Committee, the justice of the Jewish claim to have a National Home and to establish a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine :

Testimony of Dr. Chaim Weizmann

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the Committee of Inquiry, needless to say, I feel a very great responsibility resting on me at this moment to try and explain to the Committee as best I can the problem which torments us for so many years, and which is causing considerable difficulty to those who are responsible for helping carry into effect its solution.

Not only the British Government, but all those nations which have been associated with the Government in approving the Mandate, in initiating the policy, in helping it on its way in the first stages, in a sense bear a certain responsibility. The fact that the League of Nations is already dissolved, or about to be dissolved —I don't know whether its final meeting has already taken place—doesn't absolve the nations of that responsibility, and I thought I might most respectfully remind you of it.

As a people, as a race, as a collectivity, the Jews are homeless, and this homelessness and the unchanging attachment of the Jews to Palestine did not begin with Hitler. It existed many, many years, many centuries before Hitler was ever thought of, long before this hideous tragedy had been enacted on us, the tragedy which would seem utterly incredible fifteen or twenty years ago.

About 6 000,000—I needn't go into it, it is sufficiently known to you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen—Jews were murdered in cold blood, and the number of Jews was reduced from 17,000 000, roughly, to something like 11.000,000 of whom I believe more than 6,000,000 today inhabit English-speaking countries.

The distribution of Jews today in round figures is, in the United States about 5 500.000, perhaps slightly less ; in the British Empire, 750,000, in the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand. In Palestine it is something in the neighborhood of 600,000. So together it is about 6¼ million out of 11 million ; so roughly 60 per cent of the Jews find themselves in English-speaking countries or directly under English administration.

"Historical Connection"

Those statesmen who were responsible for the Mandate and for the Balfour Declaration were not dreamers. They were perhaps among the finest statesmen of that period. Mr. Churchill, Mr. Lloyd George, Clemenceau, President Wilson—all those who took part in the framing of this policy—they reckoned with this peculiar position of the Jews, which I have tried to paint for you, and I'm afraid, much too inadequately. They realized that the Jews have a right to collective self-expression, like everybody else—that the existence of a national home, if and when it is established and well-founded, would give poise and satisfaction and would render the Jew less unstable, even in the countries where he enjoys equality of treatment. He would feel collectively that he has found self-expression in Palestine.

They also realize that Palestine appeals powerfully to the Jews because there was an unbroken connection between the Jews and Palestine—unbroken for thousands of years, not only in the moral and religious sense, but literally a physical bond. With the exception of one or two periods—the period of the Crusades where the Jews were more or less wiped out, and the subsequent Mongol invasion of Palestine—there were always Jewish communities in Palestine and a certain amount of Jewish agriculture in Galilee. These communities were not sterile ; they were communities with a very considerable intellectual activity, which spread far beyond the confines of Palestine. And whenever there was the faintest possibility of going back, there was a movement, a literal physical movement, despite great difficulties. There was a movement from Spain, a movement from Turkey, a movement from Germany, from Poland, from England—always ships were carrying pilgrims to Palestine to come to settle there, to live there, sometimes to die there, and to teach the word of God, which spread far beyond the frontiers of Palestine.

This was realized and this was taken into account and this was embodied in the Mandate for Palestine.

Well, it may interest you that in a handbook published, if you please, by the Foreign Office, which cannot be suspected today of particular Zionist proclivities, in 1920, there is the following statement :

"The Zionism of the Bible is far anterior to the exile of Israel—even the first exile. It dates back to the pre-historic days of Israel in Egypt, and Moses was the first Zionist."

The Jewish Commonwealth

Now I know that I have touched at present on the most difficult problem, in saying that all we shall do in the transition period is merely a means to an end, the end being the Jewish State. I know that at the beginning of this great experiment, with which I had a considerable amount to do, we were told by those who initiated this experiment, by those who prompted it, "Well, we will call it a National Home. It is a somewhat vague term, but if you Jews use the opportunity which is offered to you it will eventually become a Jewish State." That was said to me repeatedly, that was repeated only recently by great British statesmen. And in spite of all that, all of these promises, not by just anybody but by responsible British leaders and statesmen, and American leaders and statesmen, the White Paper stands. We are still illegal immigrants in coming here, and we are hunted out if we come, and we have no free movement in this country.

I recognise quite fully that what I ask for will meet with considerable opposition on the part of the Arabs, and I know there may be Arabs present, opponents or friends or whatever they are; I think probably opponents, but there is no counsel of perfection in this world, and there is no absolute justice in this world. What you are trying to perform, and what we are all trying in our small way to do is just rough human justice, and I think the decision which I would like this Committee to take, if I dare to say this, would be to move on the line of the least injustice, and injustice there is going to be, and if you weigh up on the one hand how the Arabs have emerged out of this war—I do not begrudge it them—they have emerged with so many kingdoms, at any rate two kingdoms, four republics; they will have six seats in UNO, one seat in the Security Council. To speak quite frankly, which may be forgiven, and at my age it may be permitted to be frank, I do not know if it is commensurate with what the Arabs did during this war. What is the number of their casualties? Have they suffered so much? If you compare it with our sufferings, with our casualties, with our conribution, I say there may be some slight injustice politically if Palestine is made a Jewish State, but individually the Arabs will not suffer. They have not suffered hitherto. On the contrary, economically, culturally, religiously, the Arabs will not be affected, not because we are so good—perhaps something may be said for the character of the Jew who has gone through hell for thousands of years, and it would stultify his own history if when he gets his slight chance he starts persecuting the Arabs. We know what it is to be a minority, we know it only too well. But there is something quite different. The Arabs have a perfect guarantee that, whatever Palestine may be, it will only be an island in an Arab sea, and the Arabs will not need to appeal or to have separate guarantees inserted in the Treaties; the mere weight of their existence in organised States would prevent any Jew from doing them injustice even if he wanted to, and I am sure he does not want to. The position of the Arabs as a people is secure. Their national sentiments can find full expression, in Damascus, and in Cairo, and in Baghdad, and in all the great countries which will, I hope, some day build up an Arab civilisation which will equal the ancient glories of these people. Palestine is to the Jews what Baghdad, Cairo, and Damascus all rolled together are to the Arabs, and I think the line of least injustice demands that we should give Jews their chance, which, when carried out, will, I am sure, eventually lead to an understanding and to harmony between these two races, which are, after all, akin.

Testimony of David Ben Gurion

WHY JEWS COME TO PALESTINE

There are now some 600,000 Jews here, more than one-third born in this country, some of them living here for many centuries, not only in the towns. There are Jewish fellaheen, peasants who have lived here for centuries. . . . But the majority of us were not born in this country; I am one of them. We came from all parts of the world, from all countries, and we came not only from countries where Jews were persecuted physically, as in Nazi Germany, Poland, Yemen, Morocco, Tsarist Russia, Persia, Fascist Italy. Many of us came from free countries where Jews were treated as citizens, and there was no persecution, like England, the United States of America, Canada, the Argentine, pre-Nazi Germany, Soviet Russia, France, Egypt and other countries. Why did they come? What is the common denominator which brought all these people, whether from Nazi Germany or from England, whether from Yemen or from Egypt? That is what I want to tell you.

The first thing which brought them over, all of them, was to escape dependence and discrimination. I do not mean anti-Semitism. There was a great deal of talk in your Commission about anti-Semitism, and many of our people were asked to explain its origin. . . . It is for you gentiles to explain. But I am not concerned with anti-Semitism, it is not our business. I am concerned with the question why Jews have come to this country, and have come not only from countries where they were physically persecuted. They came because they felt it was unendurable to be at the mercy of others. Sometimes the others are excellent people but not always, and there is discrimination, not necessarily legal or political or economic, sometimes it's merely moral discrimination, but they do not like it as human beings with human dignity. They do not like it, and they do not see how they can change the whole world.

THE LOVE OF ZION

That is one reason why we want to come back here; there is another reason. It is love of Zion, a deep passionate love, the love of Zion. There is no parallel to that in all of human history. It is unique, but it is a fact; you will see it here. There are 600,000 of us here because of that deep undying love of Zion.

In evidence given to you in America, an American Arab, I believe it was John Hazam, said there was never any Palestine as a political and geographical entity, and another American Arab, a great Arab historian, Dr. Hitti, went even farther and said, and I am quoting him, "There is no such thing as Palestine in history." I agree with him entirely; there is no such thing in history as Palestine, absolutely, but when Dr. Hitti speaks of history it means Arab history. Arab history was made in Arabia, Syria, Persia, and in Spain and North Africa. You will not find Palestine in that history.

However, Arab history is not the only history; there is world history and Jewish history, and in those histories there is a country named Judea, or as we call it Eretz Israel, the Land of Israel. We have called it Israel since the days of Joshua, the son of Nun. There was such a country in history, there was and it is still there. It is a little country, a very little country, but that little land made a deep impression on world history, and on our history, because that country made us a people; our people also made that country. No other people in the world made this country; this country made no other people in the world. Today we are again beginning to make this country, and again this country is beginning to make us.

This country was the scene of many wars, of Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines and others, but it gained a place in world history, just as in Jewish history, because our people created here, perhaps a limited, but a very great civilization. This country made us a very exclusive people on one side and a universal people on the other; exclusive in its attachment to its history, to its national and religious tradition; very universal in its religious, social, and ethical ideas. We were told there is one God in the entire world; that there is the unity of the human race, because every human being was created in the image of God; that there ought to be and will be brotherhood and social justice, peace among peoples. These were our ideas; this was our culture, and because of this, the country took its place in world history. We created here a book, many books; many were lost, many remained only in translation, but a considerable number, some twenty-four, remain in their original language, Hebrew, in the same language, Mr. Chairman, in which I am thinking now, when I am talking to you, and which the Jews in this country speak. We went into exile, we took that book with us, and in that book which was more to us than a book, we took with us our country in our hearts, in our soul, and these three, the land, the book, and the people are one for us for ever. It is an indissoluble bond. There is no material power which can dissolve it, except by destroying us physically.

India and American Opinion

In an article under the above caption in *The Asiatic Review*, April, 1946, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., bitterly complains about the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of facts in America over the British Government in India, straining the good relations between two white nations. The reader will form his own judgment as to his allegation of false propaganda by the Indians in America :

Any speaker endeavouring to present the British point of view about India to an American audience will receive a courteous and friendly hearing. He may be enthusiastically applauded if he is eloquent and forceful, or if he has an attractive personality. But at question time he is likely to become aware that, while some listeners, usually of the older generation, share his views and appreciate the gravity of the issue, a much larger, and sometimes clamorous, section is quite unconvinced, and derides any attempt to whitewash what is regarded as an outworn and discredited imperialism.

At the close of a crowded meeting in an American city, when the chairman thanked an eminent British speaker for his talk on India's problems, and politely invited him to come again, a voice from the audience piped up, "But not till you have given India freedom."

This typifies the widespread sentiment, especially among younger people, that Britain's control in India is wholly discreditable. The belief is that the British conquered India by force ; that they have ruthlessly exploited the country for centuries past and still systematically drain off its wealth ; that they have done little for the people's welfare ; have artfully fomented dissensions between Hindus and Muslims, and between the Indian States and Provinces, in order to retard political unity ; and that they now hold 400 sullen millions in slavery, refusing to grant the independence for which they are ripe. During the war the indictment was barbed with the thought that the lives of American boys were being needlessly sacrificed because an unfree India was incapable of a worthy war effort. Now the bogey is that unless British imperialist rule is speedily ended another and a far worse war, involving unwilling America, will assuredly break out in a few years' time between the coloured peoples of the Orient and their white oppressors.

The prejudice no doubt stems in part from the George III incident and all that followed. It reflects the basic American ideas as to democratic freedom, the inalienable rights of man, and the immorality of the government of one people by another, because government derives just powers only from consent of the governed. But the real issues of the Indian problem have been obscured, and ill-will against Britain has been fanned by subtle propaganda for political ends. The main object is to induce the United States Government to intervene and urge Britain to "give freedom" to India, or, in other words, to hand over the reins forthwith to the Congress Party organisation.

There are two conspicuous propaganda agencies in America which support the aspirations of the Indian Congress Party—namely, the India League of America and the National Committee for India's freedom.

The former was organized in 1937 in order to "interpret India and America to each other." It publishes a monthly bulletin, called *India Today*, which purports to "present a brief synopsis and interpretation of authentic and significant news from India." The character of this sheet can be appreciated from perusal of any one of its issues. The prevailing themes are Britain's insincerity, reluctance to surrender tyrannical power, and subtle exploitation of internal cleavages.

In 1942, the League engineered the publication of a full-page advertisement in the *New York Times* of September 29, proclaiming that India is America's business, and urging that President Roosevelt and Generalissimo Chiang-kai Shek should recognize the interest of the United Nations in India's dilemma, and use their good offices to bring about the country's immediate independence. The advertisement was signed by fifty-seven Americans prominent in various walks of life, but no names of Indians appeared on the list. The idea, perhaps, was that the campaign would commend itself more to the American public if it were organized, conducted and controlled by Americans, the India League remaining in the background, and discreetly leaving in American hands all action which might have a bearing upon party politics in the United States. The list of signatories illustrates the diversity of interests, political, educational, ethical and journalistic, which were lined up in support.

India League speakers throughout the country, talented Indians and Americans in unison, continually hammer at the theme of Britain's obduracy and perfidy, and they have now captured the credulity of a large section of the American people. Americans are eager for information about India, its peoples and its problems, and anxious to know what role India is destined to play in the East, but quite naturally they are more ready to believe what a Congress Party Indian tells them about his country's politics than what the British may say by way of rejoinder. The Congress Party claims to represent all Indians who desire and work for independence, and asserts that all Indians are united against the British. The League leaders are therefore anxious to avoid verbal polemics with any Indian visitors to the United States, and sometimes bring strong influence to bear on such persons, even if they have come for purposes unconnected with politics, in order to induce them to disparage British rule.

The National Committee for India's freedom was founded in Washington in 1943. There is not much cohesion between the Committee and the India League, but they have a common purpose, to oust Britain from India. The Committee's publication, *The Voice of India*, is more substantial than *India Today*, but its tone is similar. The stated object of the Committee is to make the voice of India heard in Washington "just as the voices of all the other nations are heard there," in spite of the fact that there is an Agent-General for the Government of India in residence.

Congressman Coffee, speaking at a meeting sponsored by the Committee on January 25, 1944, said, "I am proud as an American to identify myself with the cause of India's freedom, and also because it is a military necessity." It would be hard to imagine a

British politician making a similar public utterance in London ; for instance, about betterment of the condition of the people of Puerto Rico.

At a similar meeting held in Washington on January 29, 1945, a resolution was passed in the following terms :

"This public meeting of the citizens of Washington, D.C., calls upon the United Stated Government to represent to the British Government, who are our allies, the desirability of the immediate release of the tens of thousands of political prisoners who have been imprisoned in India without any trial ; and further to follow up this necessary preliminary to help achieve India's constitutional freedom now, in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. We believe such action to be necessary both for speedy victory in the Far East and for the achieving of a lasting peace."

The agitation gained powerful reinforcement in 1944, through the strange leakage of a Report by Mr. William Phillips to President Roosevelt on the Indian situation in which he backed the Congress Party doctrine and disparged the Indian Army. Senator Chandler added *fuel to the fire by quoting in the Senate what he said was an official cable from India to London about the* incident.

The Committee and the League put forth their utmost efforts at the Hot Springs I.P.R. Conference, and at San Francisco, in order to bring the cause of India's freedom to the attention of the delegates.

Their protagonist was a lady member of the Congress Party, Mrs. Pandit, who was paying a private visit to the United States with the concurrence of the Government of India. She freely aspersed British rule and policy, and claimed also to champion the enslaved peoples of Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and the Netherlands East Indies, thereby casting obloquy upon France and Holland as well as England.

Such obtrusive and tactless advocacy probably tended to alienate rather than to enlist sympathy in responsible quarters, but the campaign is trumpeted abroad by the authors, animosity is spurred, and the canker spreads.

Another activity was sponsored, in 1945, under the auspices of the National Committee, by Mr. Gobindram Watumull of Honolulu and Los Angeles, to collect data about Indians residing in the United States and to help the movement for immigration rights.

On the cultural side the new body is reported to be promoting the foundation of professorships and tutorships to be held by Indians at American Universities, and also of travelling scholarships to enable Indian students to come to this country in greater numbers. These are essentially laudable objects, but since candidates for both the tutorial posts and the travelling scholarships will naturally require backing from the Congress Party agencies, new outlets will be available for anti-British propaganda, and new facilities for enlisting impressionable youth.

The movement for American mediation in the Indian question is supported by many prominent citizens and influential bodies in the U.S. These include members of the extreme right ; persons with leftist or communist sympathies ; quondam isolationists and supporters of "America First"; religious pacifists who aim at the elimination of the colonial system ; idealists who would obliterate racial differences and group distinctions, in pursuit of universal brotherhood ; and many others. The constitute the raw material from which a nation-wide impulse could be started, and for this reason the Indian issue now seems likely to become an element,

and perhaps an exploitable influence, in American domestic politics.

The agitation has, of course, received no official countenance or encouragement. The President and his spokesmen have at various times emphasized that it is not possible to "confer independence' on any people ; that advances in political freedom must be achieved by each nation primarily through its own work and effort ; and that complete statehood can only be reached through periods of educational preparation and of training by the practice of more and more self-government.

But unfortunately no unofficial presentment of facts or argument seems to shake the concrete American prejudgment of Britain as the Pharaoh of India, or alter the conviction that India and the Philippines are classic examples of the wrong and the right way to handle dependent peoples. No consideration is directed to the question whether, if Indians were to reach agreement about their future Constitution, they would regard as "freedom" such a set-up as the Philippines are likely to have when the promise of independence is implemented in 1946—hedged, as it must be, with reservations as to United States requirements in the fie'ds of strategic defence, control of foreign policy, and economic relationship.

So a mirage of the Indian problem continues to attract the gaze of young America. Bad feeling against the British is engendered, with corresponding unpleasant reactions in the British Commonwealth.

Suspicion and mistrust beget invective and acid retort, and thus the friendship and co-operation between two great guardians of world peace may deteriorate. The peril is imminent and real. What can be done about it ?

India's future destiny is a problem of political science which needs to be approached without emotional prejudice and to be studied in the dry light of history, with due regard to international relationships and the trend of human development. Issues are involved which will affect the happiness of a large part of the world's population. Grievous penalties might follow upon mistaken diagnosis or untimely experiment. Mistakes have been committed, and wrongs done, by the British, but they have led the peoples of India a long way on the road to nationhood, and whatever the merits or demerits of Britain's tutelage may be, American criticism of it may be pointed, as between brethren, but need not be venomous.

Anti-Indian Propaganda Abroad

The Voice of India, April, 1946, gives us the following information about anti-Indian propaganda by the British in American magazines:

The April issue of the *National Geographic Magazine* carried an article by Peter and Frances Muir under the caption "India Mosaic." It is a pity that the authors chose to peddle their subtle propaganda through the beautiful pictures accompanying the article. Their political comments are reminiscent of Miss Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*. They have catalogued and eulogized the blessings of the benevolent British rule that abolished suttee, built railroads, and, if you please, abolished famine. This, in face of the tragic fact that not long ago three million Indians perished in the Bengal famine—which the authors attribute entirely to the Japanese conquest of Burma and the curtailment of rice supplies from there, completely ignoring the fact that administrative incompetency has been blamed both by non-officials and officials for the aggravation of famine. They do not seem to be aware that a new famine is haunting India's perennially semi-starved millions. No one is blaming the British for deliberately

creating famines, but is it necessary to hand them bouquets for the elimination of famines from India?

The authors play up the anti-Congress leaders like Jinnah, who is hailed as leader of ninety million Muslims; Ambedkar, as leader of sixty million Untouchables. And of course, Gandhi is referred to as a shrewd psychologist who adopted renunciation because it appeals to the Indian masses.

We regret that a magazine like the *National Geographic* should lend its pages for such insidious political propaganda. However, we recall that once the editors used an article on India from Lord Halifax, the British ambassador to Washington; in spite of its scholarly tone, its approach to the entire political problem of India was thoroughly British and not impartial.

Sir Frederick Puckle has contributed an article in *Foreign Affairs* of April, 1946, under the caption "The Pakistan Doctrine: Its Origins and Power." It attempts to analyse the relationships between Hindus and Muslims against the historical background. It recognizes that at certain periods attempts at synthesis of two religions and two ways of life were made, but by and large the attempts were unsuccessful. It seeks to explain, if not completely vindicate, the present demand for Pakistan in terms of the Muslim fears of Hindu domination, and in terms of the Muslim sense of superiority toward Hindus. According to the writer, "Historically Pakistan has a basis in the pattern which was emerging in India when British intervention checked natural developments."

We cannot here go into any elaborate analysis of the historical background nor explain the basic weakness of Sir Frederick's thesis. It is enough to point out that the writer does not anywhere let the reader know that there are vast numbers of Muslims, even in spite of Jinnah's vociferous campaign for Pakistan, who are not yearning for Pakistan. And significantly enough, Sir Frederick does not even hint that his own government and his own people were very largely responsible for accentuating the differences between Hindus and Muslims. It is they who introduced the system of separate votes for separate communities, who deliberately encouraged Jinnah as sole spokesman of India's ninety million Muslims, who, in fact, sought to crush the Congress and boost every sectarian element in India, with the hope that jointly they could be used to counteract the growing national demand for freedom. Pakistan is the inevitable result of Britain's policy of divide and rule. On the eve of their declared willingness to depart from India, the British have created there a situation that will take Indians years to disentangle.

Watumull Scholarship Awards

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles announces the award of twelve scholarships this year to the graduate students listed below who were chosen from among a large group of applicants.

1. *American History, Government and Foreign Policies*: Mr. Devavrat Nhanubhai Pathak, M.A., Bombay University.
2. *Agriculture*: Mr. Sankatha Prasad, M.Sc., Benares Hindu University.
3. *Education*: Mr. Salamat Ullah, M.Sc., B.T., Aligarh Muslim University.
4. *Education*: Miss Binapani Roy, M.A., Lucknow Univ rsity.
5. *Economics and Sociology*: Mr. T. M. Joshi, M.A., Bombay University.
6. *Political Science*: Dr. Hanam Singh, M.A., Ph.D., Lucknow University.
7. *Home Economics and Nursing*: Miss Sushila Maneklal Kusumgar, M.A., Indian Women's University, Ahmedabad.
8. *Applied Physics*: Mr. Kantilal M. Gatha, B.Sc., Electrical Engineering, Benares Hindu University.
9. *Applied Chemistry*: Dr. Madhab Chandra Nath, D.Sc., Dacca University.
10. *Sanitation and Public Health*: Dr. P. R. Venkataraman, Ph.D., Bombay University.
11. *Education*: Miss Hari Valiram Vaswani, M.A., Benares Hindu University.
12. *Public Health*—Maternity and Child Care: Dr. (Miss) Ganga F. Lakhani, M.B.B.S., Punjab University.

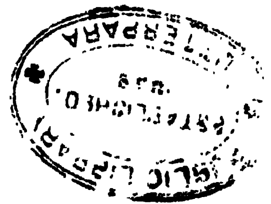
All of the above are lecturers, instructors or full professors in Indian Universities, and will return to those institutions to teach for at least three years after studying here.

The foundation will arrange for the admission of its scholars into those American universities and technological institutes which offer the finest courses in the subjects the scholars have chosen for research. Since transportation is apparently easing up, it is expected that all students will be able to reach the United States early in the fall of this year.—(*The Voice of India*)

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NOTES

The Interim Government

India has taken the first hurdle in her race for independence, through the formation of the Interim Government by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Many difficulties, great and little, lie ahead, but none of them should be insurmountable if the Congress keeps true to its ideals. Needless to say, the most difficult task ahead will be to meet and unravel the communal tangles that are being continuously woven through the intransigence of the Muslim League. British Imperialism has left many legacies of evil import for this country but nothing so virulently poisonous as this revival of mediaeval religious animus. This virus was injected into the veins of Indian Nationals by Viceroys Curzon and Minto and developed into a deadly pest through the fostering of successive Viceroys and their bureaucratic officials until it became a raging plague during the regimes of Irwin (now Halifax) and Linlithgow, the real foster-parents of the Muslim League.

The Congress in the past has committed many errors and anomalies in dealing with the deadly evil of communal strife, the most heinous being its acts of omission. Instead of fighting this evil, the Congress has tried compromise, in between long periods of ostrich-like deliberate refusals to see the impending danger. The results have been disastrous, needless to say. The present situation, which is ominous, calls for extreme vigilance and firmness tempered with moderation. The real danger lies in overlooking the fact that the Muslim League is the last hope and the last throw of British Imperialism in keeping a stranglehold on Indian Nationalism. The League cannot exist without the active and powerful aid of British interests and, *per contra* British domination over the political and economic affairs can never be eliminated so long as the Muslim League is allowed to proceed along the path it has chosen. There is no hope that by merely postponing the evil day we shall ever get rid of this deadly disease that has eaten into the vitals of a large section of our compatriots. On the other hand, if the Congress starts back-sliding while in the Interim Government, there is no saying as to how deep in the abyss it will land the country. There must be no false ideas about "generosity," no theatrical staging of the "Prodigal Son" act. What is there to be generous about? Every Muslim Indian is entitled to 100 per cent of his birth-rights, be he Muslim Leaguer or Nationalist. But every Hindu—including the Sikhs—Parsi, Christian or Buddhist, is likewise entitled to 100 per cent of his birth-rights. Neither Pandit Nehru nor Lord Wavell have any obligation to deprive Peter in order to placate Paul, and any settlement which is not on a truly democratic basis would be dishonourable and illusory. Let not Pandit Nehru be misled by the so-called "appeals to generosity" and the Devil's advocacy in the British press, at home and abroad. *Let him remember the role played by the British press in China during 1931-39.*

We conclude by extending our felicitations to Pandit Nehru on his formation of the Interim Government. He has chosen an excellent group of colleagues in whose hands the country's interests would be safe. There is the question of co-operation from the Permanent Officialdom who are not used to working always in the interests of the people. But there is the inherent discipline in the services and if the Chief Executive puts his weight behind the Cabinet decisions—and we see no reason to doubt that he will do so—then the work should soon proceed smoothly. The portfolios so far announced are:

External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations: Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.
Defence: Sardar Baldev Singh.
Home including Information and Broadcasting: Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.
Finance: Dr. John Mathai.
Communications: Mr. Asaf Ali.
Agriculture and Food: Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

To Our Readers

We owe an apology to our readers for the late publication of this issue of The Modern Review. *The Postal strike, the deliberate hold-up in working and subsequent strike by the Press Employees Association of Calcutta placed great difficulties in our path during July and August. The terrible riots that followed put a complete stop to our work, situated as our office is in one of the storm-centres. Work was at a complete standstill until the 28th of August and even today we are working with a depleted staff and drastically restricted working hours. We hope to be able to take up the slack within the next few weeks, but in the meanwhile we must ask for some indulgence from our constituents.*—THE EDITOR.

Labour : Mr. Jagjivan Ram.
Health, Education and Arts : Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan.
Legislature, Posts and Air : Syed Ali Zaheer.
Industries and Supplies : Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.
Works, Mines and Power : Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose.
Commerce : Mr. C. H. Bhabha.

The responsibilities that this Cabinet will have to shoulder will be very great and very soon it will have to face momentous decisions. They are assured of the support of hundreds of millions of this country's nationals and this fact should enable them to meet all exigencies and emergencies without any hesitation.

The Calcutta Riots

The Muslim League Supreme Council met in Bombay and on the 29th of July declared for "Direct Action." 16th August was fixed as a day for the initiation of the movement. Fiery speeches containing thinly veiled threats of Civil War and drastic action against "Quislings" followed. The League Press and the League spokesmen started a tirade against the Congress in particular and Hindus in general. In Calcutta, the League papers started stepping up their programme of incitement causing great apprehension amongst all Nationalist circles.

Then followed the declaration of August 16th as a public holiday in Bengal and Sind, the two provinces where Pakistani Ministries were in power. In Sind, the Governor, being a veteran I.C.S. man, knew what would be the consequences of such a holiday, and further the Chief Secretary of the Province was a dutiful person. The holiday was therefore declared to be illegal and was cancelled without anything untoward happening. It is to be noted here that the Governor of Sind, who approved of this action on the part of his Chief Secretary, is far from being anti-Muslim League—indeed, on the contrary. The Governor of Bengal being a newcomer could not even imagine what was being planned and as for his advisers, the less said for the present the better.

The Nationaist members of the Bengal Legislative Council expressed great concern at this ominous move on the part of the Bengal Ministry and the Leader of the European group added his support to the voice of opposition. But the Chief Minister was unconcerned, since he was safe with his British-given majority, and as for the life and liberties of the Hindus in Bengal, what concern was that of the Muslim League? He uttered some airy remarks about the holiday being "a far better way of avoiding conflicts than persons going round and throwing stones at shops or dragging out people from trams, buses and motor cars and burning those and thereby enforcing their wishes," added a few lies about the Congress and then steam-rollered the opposition's motion out of existence. No promises were made, indeed no notice was even taken of the demand for the protection of the non-League section of the public in Bengal. Ever since the day when British Bureaucracy, acting through its major-domo Ramsay Macdonald, had delivered the Province of Bengal into the hands of the Muslim League, oppression and enslavement of the Hindus of that province had been the main objective of the Pakistan Movement, and Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy saw no reason to deviate from the programme. If anything untoward happened, the League spokesmen would utter lies till they were blue in the face, blaming the Hindu, like the Wolf blamed the Lamb in *Aesop's Fables*. The "Holiday-makers" would naturally escape punishment and their holiday enjoyment would be further enhanced through the booty they would amass through their gentle pastime of "hunt the Hindu." And since all true-blue Britishers would be pleased any way with this fresh Pakistani insurance against "Quit India," so why bother?

Meanwhile, the programme of incitement reached new heights. Pamphlets and circulars were distributed broadcast amongst the hirelings and the fanatic camp-followers of Mr. Jinnah. An extract from one such pamphlet will serve as a fair example.

> In our history the month of Ramjan is sacred to Islam and in the Koran this month has been held in the highest esteem. The Koran was revealed in this month and Mohammad was accepted as Prophet in this month.
>
> In this month of Ramjan, the first open war between Islam and Kaffers started and Mussalmans got the permission to wage Jehad against and *kill the Kaffers* and Islam secured a splendid victory. In this Ramjan month we were victorious in Mecca and *idol worshippers were eliminated*. In this month, the foundation of Islam was laid. According to the wishes of God, the All-India Moslem League has chosen this sacred month for launching this Jehad for achieving Pakistan.*

Lorry loads of Muslim Leaguers, some of them in green uniform, began going round the city and its outskirts shouting slogans of Jehad (holy war against infidels) and uttering war-cries of Pakistan. Non-Bengali Muslims were prominent in this parade, which became more and more intensified as the day approached.

The uneasy dawn of the 16th found large bands of "processionists" armed with long sticks, iron rods, bludgeons and sharp weapons parading the city all over with League flags. Any shop that was even partially open was immediately stoned and the shopkeepers belaboured. Vehicular traffic was forcibly stopped and the passengers beaten up. Sikh taxi-drivers were a special target and even lone cyclists did not escape. Any resistance merely increased the fury of the "peaceful processionists," looted shops, cracked heads and stab-wounds being the reply given to protests or remonstrances. *Police were significantly inactive, indeed the City was totally innocent of police protection.* The first case of violence was at Manicktola corner where a poor milk-man was assaulted, his milk spilt and utensils smashed up. A Hindu-owned sweetmeat shop nearby was looted, broken up and the shop-keepers assaulted. Similar occurrences happened all over the City, the Leaguers bludgeoning the non-Leaguers into submission without the slightest interference from the police.

Having thus succeeded in terrorising and driving the Hindus off the streets the joyous processionists then went to the *maidan* where a mammoth meeting was in session soon after mid-day. Pakistan flags and

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* The above is an extract from an Urdu pamphlet published by Mahammad Usman, Secretary, Calcutta District Muslim League, and printed at Eastern Art Press, 12, Balai Dutta Street, Calcutta. Mr. Usman is the Mayor of Calcutta at present.

Jehad banners there were in plenty, but they were outnumbered by far by the long-sticks, bludgeons and daggers that the "peaceful processionists" carried with them. Fiery speeches were delivered inciting the listeners to a frenzy and a Jehad (holy war) was declared on the (Hindu) infidels. The vast gathering split into large mobs uttering frenzied howls and brandishing their weapons. These then streamed into the main thoroughfares breaking open Hindu shops and murderously assaulting the poor unfortunate Hindus they could find. The arrangements were perfect for the programme of loot, arson, rape and murder and truck-loads of goondas armed with dangerous weapons and incendiary material were rapidly sent to the more distant parts to reinforce the local hooligans. Soon the city was ablaze from North to South and from East to West. The telephone wires were jammed with frantic appeals for police-aid from Hindus of all sections of the city, *but these appeals were disregarded in toto.* Even where by chance there were some police, they seldom did lift a finger, excepting in certain instances where they bestirred themselves in gleaning some loot. In some cases the police present are alleged to have said that they had orders not to interfere in such political demonstrations. *It is possible that the higher European executive of the police had decided that the 16th August demonstration would be a golden opportunity to "learn" the Hindu to protest against police shooting and beating up school-boy processions.*

The Hindus of Calcutta gradually realized that denial of police-aid was part of the programme. It was not as if there were not enough force at the disposal of the authorities. Armed police and Anglo-Indian armed sergeants were there in plenty, sitting idle and twiddling their thumbs. And further there was a sufficiently large military force available at a minute's notice. *Indeed if malice, lust and cretinism had not prevailed and prompt action had been taken in the afternoon of the 16th then thousands of Hindu and Muslim lives and fifty to sixty million rupees worth of property would have been saved.*

The situation soon became precarious for the Hindus all over Calcutta. The entire city was at the tender mercies of tens of thousands of armed ruffians mad for loot, rape and murder. Their Fuehrer had declared a Jehad, and thousands of gangsters had been imported to reinforce them. Further they seemed immune from the action of Law, for, the police had so far been mostly lookers-on.

After the initial panic had subsided, the Hindus in desperation began to gather together in defence groups and fierce resistance was given to the bands of desperadoes that were attacking the Hindu areas. Soon resentment at this black treachery began to mount high and in certain areas retaliation began. By nightfall of the 16th the city was transformed into an Inferno resounding with the cries of the dying and wounded and the fierce battle-cries of the attackers and defenders. Curfew was declared but no definite attempt at the restoration of law and order was noticeable. The sky reflected the glow of a hundred fires while the streets were almost completely blacked out due to the streetlamps not being lit. To cap all the telephone service broke down almost completely.

Mass butchery started with the early dawn of Saturday, while loot and arson spread like wild fire all over the city. The police had let the situation deteriote till it was completely out of control and yet military aid was not called for. As the day lengthened Hindu retaliation began to mount high, till by evening, the attackers became the attacked with determined bands of Hindus attempting to break through into the predominantly Muslim localities. It was only then, late in the evening of the 17th, that the League authorities asked for military aid for the police, which was instantly forthcoming. Military action began against the Hindus, for the protection of the Muslims, and many Hindus were shot down in the remote sidestreets, where no disturbance had taken place, during the early hours of the 18th. But this was stopped after strong protests were registered with the authorities. Meanwhile, the Hindus in Muslim areas were left mostly to their fate, though volunteer rescue groups began to function with the help of sympathetic military patrol officers.

The carnage continued for two more days until the military took matters entirely into their own hands and very large forces were employed in penetrating deep over a widespread area. The situation was brought under control only after the direction and control of affairs relating to law and order had virtually passed out of the hands of the League Minister-in-charge of Law and Order, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, and his henchmen in officialdom.

Panic continued and still continues, and hardly a day passes without some unwary Hindu or Hindus being stabbed in the back. Restoration of peace is nowhere in sight nor does there seem to be any organised attempt at it. Peace committees are being formed, it is true, but they are composed in the main of persons on whom people have little faith, if any at all.

There is not enough space in these columns to give fuller details of this horrible catastrophe, and indeed, full assessment of the damage. in lives and in property and treasure, has not yet been made. The casualties amount to between six to eight thousand killed and fifteen to twenty thousand wounded while the value of property looted and destroyed amounts to anything between five to seven crores of rupees, Hindu property, looted, damaged and destroyed, being nearly 90 per cent of the total.

The League spokesmen, from Mr. Jinnah downwards, are trying to place the blame for this horrible orgy of death and destruction at the door of the Congress. This was only to be expected as it follows the League pattern of planning. But if the matter had not been so tragic, one should have been amused by the ludicrous side of this brazen lie. If the Congress in Bengal had really possessed even one-twentieth of the capacity for organization attributed to it by such accusations by the League, then Nationalism in Bengal would not have been in the terrible predicament it has been placed in during the last ten years. Indeed, excepting for the press reports of the interviews of a few of the leaders with the Governor, the people of Calcutta had no reason to be even aware of the existence of the Congress during the first few fateful days. The League has unwittingly paid a great compliment to the Congress in general and the B.P.C.C. in particular, and the Congress should be thankful for it.

An Enquiry Commission has been appointed, and all nationalist organizations in Bengal should throw off their lethargy and discharge at least a fraction of their

duty to the public, on whose loyal support they have been capitalising. We have no hesitation in condemning all suggestions for boycotting the Enquiry Commission as being idiotic. Nothing might come out of it, but all the same the fullest possible bulk of evidence should be placed on record, and all steps should be taken to prevent tampering with evidence and the suborning of witnesses. Those who have suffered should be assured of support and thus helped towards throwing off their defeatist attitude.

Whole volumes might be written on the terrible happenings during the Great Riot. We have neither the time nor space available for recording them excepting for a few salient features. One is the strange apathy of the police towards Hindu suffering and the disinclination of the keepers of Law and Order to call in the Military, until the tables had been turned. Another point is the complete immunity that the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and, excepting a few rare cases, even the Indian Christians enjoyed during the riots. There was a minor attack on the *Statesman* offices, but that was probably a mistake committed by imported ruffians, who were probably checked as soon as those in command arrived on the scene. This immunity is significant since the Direct Action was stated to be directed primarily against the British by the League "High Command."

Hospital Admissions of Riot Victims on August 16

Much play has been made by the League of the supposed "fact" that "By about noon on Friday (the 16th August), the Mussulman injured formed the largest number in the Campbell Hospital, that by the end of the day more than 75 per cent of the total 350 admissions in the Medical College Hospital were Muslims. Of the total admissions on the first day in all hospitals of Calcutta—taking into account the first fifty admissions in each hospital—the Muslims were by far the larger number," etc., etc. Needless to say that like all statements of "facts" by the League, here also the premises are false as well as the deductions. Our information is that the three biggest hospitals show the following record :

Medical College: First case, brought at 7-15 a.m. —a Muslim carpenter. He was stabbed in Keshab Sen Street, a thickly populated Muslim area mostly inhabited by Muslim *goondas.*

Second case—a Hindu, brought at 7-35 a.m.

Total for August 16—435. Muslim 207; Hindu 176 and *unknown* 52.

Campbell Medical Hospital: On 16th August—first admission at 9 a.m. (Hindu); second, at 9-30 a.m. (Hindu); third, at 9-30 a.m. (Muslim).

Within 11 a.m. total cases brought 14—Hindus 7 and Muslims 7.

Total cases on 16th August, 132.—Hindus 67 and Muslims 65.

Carmichael Medical College Hospital: On 16th August—first admission at 7-45 a.m. (Hindu); second, at 8-30 a.m. (Hindu); third, at 9 a.m. (Hindu); fourth, at 9 a.m. (Hindu); fifth, at 9-30 a.m. (Hindu); sixth, at 9-30 a.m. (Muslim).

Total admission up to 12 noon on 16th August, 16. (Hindus 11 and Muslims 5).

Congress Resolution on Calcutta Riots

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution on the Calcutta Riots. The resolution was released for publication on August 31 :

> The Working Committee have read with deep sorrow reports about the recent happenings in Calcutta in connexion with the observance by the Muslim League of Direct Action Day on August 16 and on subsequent days. They deplore the serious loss of life and property and condemn in particular the acts of brutality committed against defenceless persons, especially women and children. The Committee offer their sympathy to the innocent sufferers of whatever community and party and call upon them to meet the situation with courage, forbearance and fortitude.

On July 29, the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution deciding upon direct action. In support of the resolution, inflammatory speeches were made, and subsequently speeches and statements and pamphlets by responsible members of the League and Ministers, and articles in some League newspapers have served to inflame a large section of the Muslim masses.

The Government of Bengal declared August 16 a public holiday in spite of protests, and thereby gave an impression that the observance of August 16 was enjoined by the Government and that persons not joining in the observance could claim or get no protection from the Government.

It appears that processionists carried big bamboo sticks, swords, spears, daggers and axes which they brandished when ordering people to shut their shops from the early morning of August 16 and mercilessly assaulted anybody who declined or hesitated to close his shop. Stabbing and looting started early in the day and guns are said to have been used by hooligans in many places. Murders in most brutal circumstances, looting and burning of houses on a large scale followed and lasted for three or four days, resulting in the death of several thousand persons and the looting and burning of property worth crores of rupees.

There was practically no police, or traffic police, to be seen on August 16 and even the precaution of sending foot and mounted police to accompany processions, as is done with Moharram and other processions was not taken ; even when police were available they rendered no help to peaceful citizens, and frantic appeals for help to officers in charge of police stations were not heeded and the people were told to save themselves as best they could. The curfew order was not enforced, even after it was proclaimed, for the first two nights. Although no transport was available to the public, hooligans used motor lorries. Petrol was freely used for committing arson. Houses and furniture and other articles were smashed or burnt and whatever could be removed was carried away. Dead bodies littered the streets and many dead and dying persons were thrust into manholes of underground sewers or thrown into the river.

The military were not called out till long after the havoc had commenced. In some places even the police participated in looting. After the initial orgy of murders, loot and arson, Hindus and others

retaliated and indulged in reprisals wherever they could and a large number of Muslims were killed.

It is satisfactory to note, however, that in the midst of mutual slaughter and inhuman barbarities, there were cases where Hindus gave shelter to Muslims in distress and Muslims gave protection to Hindus in difficulty.

The Committee are concerned to note that communal tension in other places has increased and conflicts resulting in murders have arisen. There is a general apprehension that this may extend and, unless checked in time, may become very widespread. It is the primary duty of every citizen to prevent this and of every Government to maintain peace and ensure protection to its peaceful citizens.

In view of the very serious nature of the riots, the like of which has never before happened in any part of the country, it is essential in the opinion of the Working Committee that a thorough inquiry be held by an impartial tribunal which can command the confidence of the public into the circumstances preceding August 16, the incidents of that day and the following days and the steps taken by the Government, both before and during the riots, to meet the situation.

The Working Committee place on record their opinion that the Government of Bengal utterly failed to maintain peace and give protection of life and property to peaceful citizens.

The Committee realize that the wounds inflicted not only on the bodies but also on the spirit and self-respect of the people will take long to heal. Nevertheless, they appeal to them to forget and forgive and to utilize this terrible experience for re-establishing goodwill and friendly relations, which have been so rudely disturbed during recent times, between the different communities. The Working Committee are of opinion that the communal problem cannot be solved by intimidation and violence, but by mutual understanding, friendly discussion and, if necessary, by agreed arbitration.

The "Statesman" on Calcutta Riots

The *Statesman,* responsible for expressing British opinion in Calcutta, was unsparing in its condemnation of the Bengal Government on whose shoulders the blame for the great carnage was squarely and fairly put. A few relevant extracts from its comments made on different dates closely following the event are given below. The *Statesman* can never be accused of Hindu leanings, foremost in the support of the British community in Bengal and their spokesman, this newspaper has always been a champion of the League, markedly so during the Cabinet Mission negotiations. In the light of the remarks, the hollowness, falsity and dishonesty of the statement made by the Muslim League can be easily gauged. On August 18 under the caption "Calcutta's Ordeal," the *Statesman* writes:

> The Government of Bengal has failed lamentably in judgment and executive ability. By forcing a general holiday on the public on the Muslim League's day of direct action it has brought about the consequences that many feared. Their fears were vigorously set out by the Opposition in the Legislative Council, and would have been vigorously set out and supported by a large vote in the Assembly *had the Chair not rejected an adjournment motion.* From early on Friday there was violence in the streets, which increased rapidly in the early afternoon as processions made their way to the big demonstrations on the *maidan.* Ruffians in the crowd armed with lathis knocked pedestrians and bystanders about, bands of ruffians ran about the city in lorries to assault people and smash up property.
>
> The full story of what happened cannot be told yet. The sum of tragedy known at the time of writting is over 270 killed, more than 1,600 injured, about 900 buildings on fire, much looting in many parts of the city. Direct action day has given the city two days of horror. Violence was feared, though not on so unrestrained a scale, when the Government decided on action that was certain to produce inflammatory language and communal clashes in the streets. There was, however, some assurance from those arranging the demonstration that it would be peaceful and orderly, though when a holiday was announced and explained as a precaution against clashes in the streets that might lead to larger disturbances it was obvious that Ministers themselves were dubious. That being so, it was incumbent on them to take precautions against a breakdown of civic order. This, it was expected, would be done. The degree of their failure to think and act rightly is visible all over Calcutta today.
>
> Police and firemen have had an overpowering task. In places the mob was so vicious that it would not let the firemen work. Calcutta is a large city; its protectors against violence and disaster cannot be everywhere at once. *It was obvious from an early hour that some of those who were set on disrupting the city's peace were privileged.* The bands of ruffians rushing about in lorries, stopping to assault and attack and generally spreading fear and confusion, found the conveyances they wanted. On a day when no one else could get transport for their lawful occasions these men had all they wanted; *it is not a ridiculous assumption that they had been provided for in advance.* Nor is it straining probability to believe that the groups and individuals who roamed the streets shouting about a Jehad, an observation we make from our own hearing, made things very much worse than they might have been. (Italics ours.—Ed., *M.R.*)

On August 20, the *Statesman* repeated what it wrote two days ago, and under caption "Disgrace Abounding," made the following comment:

> On Calcutta's horrible ordeal we gave verdict two days ago. Owing however to the difficulties of producing and distributing a newspaper in the stricken city, that verdict could not reach all our readers. We condemned unsparingly the Bengal Government for lamentable failure in judgment and executive ability.
>
> That verdict we repeat. The origin of the appalling carnage and loss in the capital of a great Province, we believe the worst communal rioting in India's history, was a political demonstration by the Muslim League. Bengal's is a Muslim League Ministry. No other major Indian Province possesses one—for Sind hardly counts, being small and politically peculiar. Of all India's provincial Minis-

tries, the Bengal Ministry, therefore, as the outstanding League Ministry, should have been the most scrupulous in ensuring that such a political demonstration caused no disturbance. Maintenance of law and order is any Ministry's prime obligation, and the obligation on the Bengal Ministry, in fulfilment of the League's declared policy of keeping *Direct Action Day* peaceful, was unique.

But instead of fulfiling this, it undeniably, by confused acts of omission and provocation, contributed rather than otherwise to the horrible events which have occurred. No balanced person would charge it with having deliberately planned a catastrophe of such magnitude. Nevertheless, in retrospect, its conduct before the riots stands open to the inference—not only by its political opponents—that it was divided in mind on whether rioting of some sort would be good or bad. Whatever truth such ugly inference may contain, the Ministry's utter, hideous failure to prevent what, for its own honour's sake and that of its party, it should have been at particular pains to avoid, is in any case blatant. It has fallen down shamefully in what should be the main task of any Administration worth the name. The bloody shambles to which this country's largest city has been reduced is an abounding disgrace, which owing to the Bengal Ministry's pre-eminence as a League Ministry, has inevitably tarnished seriously the All-India reputation of the League itself.

In a second editorial on the same day, the following remarks were made which indicates that previous preparations had carefully been made. Specific allegations of goondas having used even the Chief Minister's special petrol permits have also been made in the Calcutta press and as yet stand uncontradicted. The *Statesman* writes :

This is not a riot. It needs a word found in mediaeval history, a fury. Yet "fury" sounds spontaneous, and there must have been some deliberation and organisation to set this fury on its way. The horde who ran about battering and killing with 8 ft. lathis may have found them lying about or bought them out of their own pockets, but that is hard to believe. We have already commented on the bands who found it easy to get petrol and vehicles when no others were permitted on the streets. It is not mere supposition that men were imported into Calcutta to help in making an impression.

On August 21, this newspaper again wrote :

The present Muslim League Ministry's primary responsibility for the bloody shambles to which its capital has been reduced is, as we indicated yesterday inescapable. Whether, nevertheless, it can contrive to remain unaltered in office, is the question. Already, in view of the manifest administrative breakdown that has occurred, speculation turns naturally towards the provision for breakdown in the constitution under Section 93. Whether, in fairness, this Section should be applied is, however, unfortunately not at the moment only a provincial problem. It must depend partly on what policy the Congress party followed towards Muslim representation in the new Central Government. But if Section 93 is not applied, and the present Bengal Ministry succeeds in remaining unchanged in power, then assuredly it would be held in active hatred and contempt, would be an object of sustained fear and detestation, in the eyes of disquietingly many of the Province's inhabitants—for the things done, and not done, in Calcutta this month cannot reasonably be expected to be soon forgotten. Such a sentiment, widely entertained towards an established Administration throughout a populous Province, would be a matter of all-India concern.

On August 22, the *Statesman* once again returned to the charge and commented :

The group of incompetents, or worse, who owing to their office necessarily bear primary responsibility for the communal carnage in Calcutta, a catastrophe of scope unprecedented in India's history, have been insufficiently seen or heard in these grim days. We mean the Ministry. The Governor has broadcast twice. Conferences have been held by an impressive galaxy of local officials. But the Muslim League Ministers, the men upon whom, because Ministers, and because the rioting arose from a Muslim League political demonstration, inescapably rests much guilt for the rioting's appalling results—the slaughter or wounding of anything up to 15,000 people, mainly the innocent poor of all communities, and gigantic financial loss—have not yet taken the initiative of meeting the Press, although the Chief Minister, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, has made a broadcast on recent events.

We refrain from quoting the comments of other newspapers in and outside Bengal, for they too express the same sentiments. The remarks of the *Statesman*, a Friend of the League, ought to be sufficient to give out some part of Calcutta's public mind which experienced the horrors of the three-day carnage.

District Magistrate's Duty

"Had the District Magistrate of Abbotabad, by midday on Sunday, July 28, taken a graver view of the possibilities of the situation, the subsequent events would not have happened"—this view is expressed by the Frontier Government reviewing the enquiry report submitted by the special officer, Mr. A. N. Mitchell, on the communal riots at Abbotabad on July 28. Mr. Mitchell's report has been published along with the Frontier Government's resolution on it. The Frontier Government have recorded the opinion that the District Magistrate had failed to discharge his duty as a public servant in refusing to receive a representation from the public.

The alleged rape on a minor Muslim girl by a Sikh shopkeeper on July 27 was the starting point of the trouble, says the report. Irresponsible actions and words for the most part of youngmen of the Muslim community intensified an atmosphere of fear and hatred. The ill-judged action of the Sikhs reacted on the excited Muslims. The lack of information available to the District Magistrate to which his refusal to interview Sikh deputations contributed, resulted in less than the necessary precautionary measures being taken. The available police force was inadequate and overstrained. The border line between mischief and crime is always a narrow one and when necessary impetus was given, it was speedily overstepped by the Muslim crowd. The

Sikhs paid for their errors by injuries and three fatal casualties.

It requires to be repeated in conclusion that an early anticipation of the trend of events by the district authorities which would have been possible, had the sources of intelligence been efficient and an early display of considerable military force in the absence of adequate police, combined with obvious goodwill of the leaders of all communities could have prevented all but the earliest individual assaults on the Sikhs.

It has been amply demonstrated that resolute and impartial action taken in time by the local authorities, specially by the District Magistrates, can prevent a lot of mischief either of a communal or of a criminal character. In the Bengal mofussil, which at the present moment a haunting ground for criminals and communalists, it has been seen that peace can be maintained even with the help of the existing force at the command of the local authorities.

Conviction of Sheikh Abdullah

Sheikh Abdullah, President of the Kashmir National Conference, has been convicted and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. While pleading not guilty to the charge of sedition against him in court, he said, "I stand by whatever I have said or written in regard to the fundamental rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. My trial for sedition is something more than a personal charge against me. It is in effect the trial of the entire population of the State." The Kashmir Government have betrayed a lamentable lack of foresight. They have failed to realise that it is no longer possible to put down popular aspirations for self-government by the application of force.

Referring to the recent statements of policy made by the British Government both regarding India and the Indian States, he said, "It was an inevitable consequence that the old sanads, treaties and other engagements would go the way of paramountcy, and that the British Government being out of the picture, a new relationship would have to be negotiated between what is now British India and the States. The demand for the abrogation of the treaty at Amritsar was in effect, disposed of by the clear decision of the Cabinet Mission. The 'Quit Kashmir' slogan symbolized and gave concrete shape to this demand for the termination of a system of Government which was in process of dissolution all over India. That cry had nothing personal about it."

Sheikh Abdullah said that the events of the last two months were the result of the Kashmir Government's policy of ruthlessness and not of his speeches. In his statement he quoted words said to have been expressed by the Kashmir Premier on May 20 to the effect that the State authorities had been "preparing for eleven months" and that there would be "no more vacillation and no weak-kneed policy." He plainly said, "The developments in Kashmir have led to a crisis. Eleven months' preparation for the Kashmir Premier's ruthlessness and all the careful thought that had gone towards the co-ordination of the military and the police had borne fruit. Strangely enough, the Premier of Kashmir had the clairvoyance to prepare for the effect of my speeches eleven months before they were delivered or before 'Quit Kashmir' was heard as a slogan. Even before those speeches, elaborate military preparations were made all over the Valley and—again on the Premier's authority—three units of the Army were flown to Kashmir. There was much planning ahead. It is eleven months' preparations and all that went with it—that is the direct cause of happenings since May 20, and not a few speeches delivered by anybody or some slogans shouted by a crowd. It is ironically irrelevant to discuss the merits or demerits of a speech and to ignore the patent and admitted actions of the Kashmir administration which inevitably led, and were meant to lead, to recent events. The climax of the Prime Minister's ruthlessness was reached after May 20 when men and women were dishonoured ; human beings were made to crawl or hop on one leg along roads and sweep them with their turbans ; places of worship were desecrated and an attempt was made to terrorize the people by methods of frightfulness."

It is not unlikely that Sheikh Abdullah's conviction will add a new complication to the already complicated States politics.

Jinnah on Arbitration

In an interview to the *Associated Press of India*, Mr. Jinnah commented on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's suggestion that the Muslim League should submit its case to arbitration, and said that "the proposal was ludicrous" and therefore unacceptable to the League. According to the League President, Sardar Patel was speaking in terms of contradiction. He complains, "On the one hand he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder but on the other he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times." Of all the recent statements issued by Mr. Jinnah, this one is the most characteristic of his attitude towards the outstanding national problems like grouping, claims of a minority, settling of controversial issues by impartial arbitration and his pet slogan of Pakistan. The statement is dated August 5 and was issued from Bombay. In view of its importance, it is given here in full :

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a recent speech on the Congress Working Committee's resolution at Delhi on June 26 and the A.-I.C.C. at Bombay on July 7, to quote his words, said, he 'accepted the full responsibility of the declaration. The Working Committee's resolution said clearly that it accepted the declaration of May 16. It still stood by it. Certainly, it had the right to interpret the document.' This is misleading.

The document embodied four main proposals. The first is the declaration which alone, he says, the Congress has accepted. The basic form and the grouping of the provinces in Para 19 of the document and the formation of the Interim Government, have not been accepted by the Congress. And this is clear from the letter of the Congress President of June 25 whereby the Congress rejected the statement of June 16 regarding the Interim Government and only accepted the statement of May 16 with reservations and with their own interpretations. This being a conditional acceptance was in fact and in law a rejection of the statement of May 16. The letter winds up by saying : 'We also gave our interpretation to some of the provisions of the statement. While adhering to our views we accepted your proposals and are prepared to work with a view to achieving our objective.'

The resolution of the Working Committee proceeds to lay down that there was sufficient scope for enlarging and strengthening the Central Government and for fully ensuring the right of a province to act according to its choice in regard to grouping.

Congress leaders have said at the A.-I.C.C. that they have not accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission as it was and that they have rejected the short-term plan of June 16, and now Sardar Patel has the audacity to say that the League has gone back on its pledged word. To whom did we pledge our word and to what had we pledge our word? One of the two major parties has not accepted the long-term plan and rejected the short-term plan and this was pointed out by me immediately by the Press statements I made at Delhi on June 27 and 29 and also by the resolution of the Muslim League Working Committee passed on June 26 accepting both. I had pointed out that the Congress had not accepted the long-term plan and had rejected the Interim Government proposal. The Cabinet Mission had scrapped the Interim Government proposal and had gone back on their word. We, therefore, decided to call a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 27 and 28 to consider and to meet the new situation that had arisen, to which Pandit Nehru reported that the Congress would create many more new situations.

In the meantime, Pandit Nehru and other Congress leaders, including Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel himself, made it clear in their speeches and public utterances in Bombay that the Congress had not accepted any of the terms of the statement of May 16 nor was it committed to anything. Further, on July 10, Pandit Nehru, the Congress President, made this crystal clear to a Press conference, and the Assam Assembly, in accordance with the instructions of the Congress High Command after having elected their representatives of the Constituent Assembly gave them a definite mandate to have nothing to do with 'C' group from the very start. Although there was very strong opposition to this from the representatives of the minorities, including Muslims, it was carried by an overwhelming Congress majority. Further, at a public meeting in Delhi on July 22, Pandit Nehru reiterated that they were going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective and to serve their purpose and if they failed they would kill it.

This was after the debate that took place in Parliament on July 18. This left no doubt that the Congress was going to the Constituent Assembly to achieve their objective as it has been repeatedly stated in the letter and the resolution of the Congress. It made its intentions clear that it was not bound by the grouping, nor was it confined strictly to the basic form of the document, and unequivocally asserted that it was free to enlarge the scope and powers of the Union and add as many subjects as it may wish to the Union Government.

We know what is the objective and purpose of the Congress. The Congress believes that it has secured a declaration from the British Government of complete independence of India outside the Commonwealth of Nations and that this constitution-making machinery should be turned into a sovereign body, and the only thing that now remains for them is to frame a constitution on the basis of a strong United India Federal Government.

Sardar Patel says that no individual statement or expression of opinion could alter the solemn resolution and the resolution is clear. But are we to disregard the pronouncement of the President of the Congress when he further clarifies a resolution? Then what importance are we to attach to individual pronouncements like Sardar Patel's?

Sardar Patel says: 'The League and the Congress pull in opposite directions. One wants to divide India into Pakistan and Hindustan while the other yearns for a United India. It is clear that the two have no common meeting ground and that coalition between the Congress and the League is impossible for the organizations were holding views which were diametrically opposed to each other.

But when we demand Pakistan and division of India into Hindustan and Pakistan, our scheme gives freedom and independence to both the major nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—whereas the Congress and Sardar Patel are adamant and wish to establish a United India with a strong Federal Central Government, which means that 100 million Muslims are to be brought under the yoke of Caste Hindu majority rule; it means freedom only for the Hindus and slavery for Muslims under a Hindu Raj. I echo: How can there be a common meeting ground on this basis for which, I have no doubt, many Caste Hindus passionately yearn and of which Sardar Patel dreams?

Having declared that we stand poles asunder, Sardar Patel advises me that I should change my approach and cease to be a communalist and become a nationalist—I suppose he means a Congress nationalist—and accept that the Congress represents all India on the imaginary footing that India is one country and one nation, whereas the facts are that the Congress is nothing but a Caste Hindu organization. But his advice that I should become a nationalist and cease to be a communalist means nothing except that I should bury the Pakistan demand, disown the Muslim nation and appear before him in sack-cloth and ashes, and after that, when we have entirely thrown ourselves at the mercy of the Congress, we can have as many seats in the proposed executive as we like, as its creatures.

Sardar Patel is speaking in terms of contradiction. On the one hand, he says there is no meeting ground and coalition is impossible as we are poles asunder; but on the other, he says that the Congress had gone to my doors a hundred times. This, of course, is not true. I have never designed to go to them. The truth is that three times in the course of the last eight years Mr. Gandhi came to me with a view to persuade me to accept the Congress demand which I could not. Does Sardar Patel want me to go to the Congress to persuade them to accept the Pakistan demand of the Muslims which he characterised in his speech as a 'deflated' cycle tube.'

The last time Mr. Gandhi came to me, he came only in his individual capacity, to understand what the Pakistan demand meant, and I spent three weeks with him to convert him, but I failed.

This sort of talk is really intended to poison

"DIRECT ACTION"
(See Notes on Plate VI)





1. (*Top*) 16th August, 8 a.m. "Procession" proceeds North along Cornwallis Street past Gray Street crossing.
2. (*Bottom*) 16th August, Noon: Mammoth meeting in the Maidan. (Photo: Courtesy, "Saturday Mail")

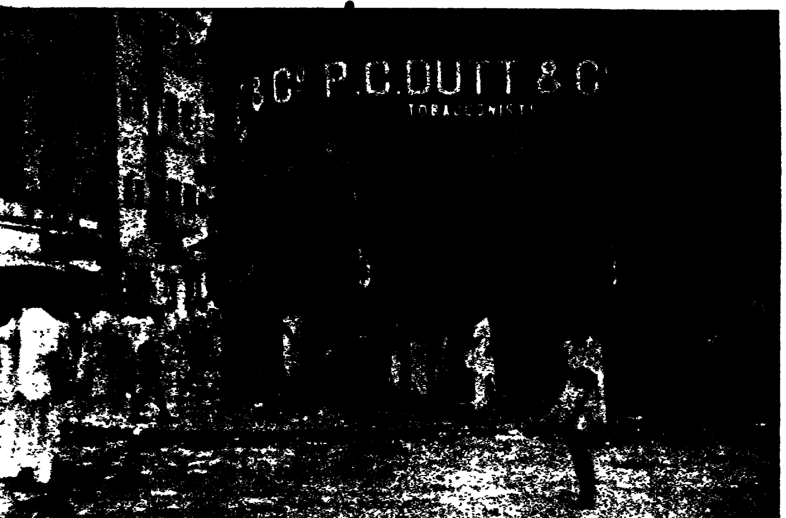




[illegible] August, [illegible] Hindu concerns, Chowringhee [illegible]
[illegible] (Below) 17th August, afternoon: Retaliation. In Bowbazar Street



5. 16th August, afternoon : Chowringhee (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



6. 16th August afternoon : End of the looting (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)

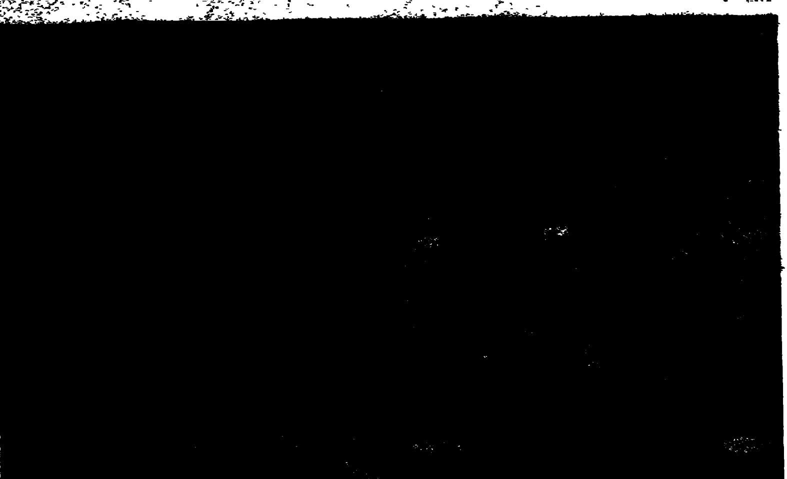


7. 16th August, afternoon : Collins Street (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



8. 16th August, evening : Wellesley Street (Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)

Plate IV



16th August, early evening : Pollock Street area. Hindu shops looted and murdered Hindus left lying on the streets
(Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



10. 16th August, early evening : Canning Street area. Hindu shops looted and murdered Hindus left lying on the streets
(Photo : *Courtesy, "Saturday Mail"*)



17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz



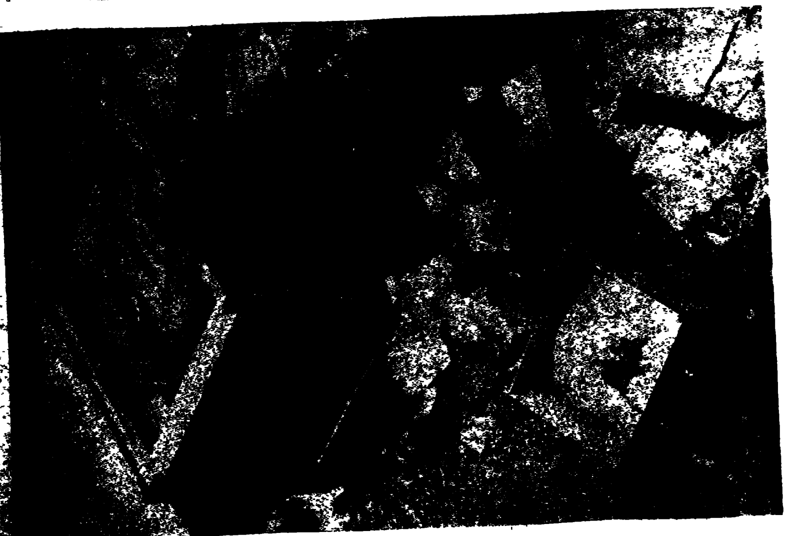
12 17th August, early dawn : Coolie Bustee, Lichubagan, Matiabruz



13. 16th August, afternoon and 17th : College Street Market shops including Dalia Stores looted, set afire and gutted



14. 16th August, afternoon : Lakshmi Stores on College Street-Harrison Road corner, looted, set afire and gutted



15. 17th August, morning : Hindu Mahajans shop in Lichubagan, Matiabruz



16. Muslim refugees sheltered by a Hindu citizen being removed by the Police



17. 17th August : Mithatala. Matiabruz. Looted and gutted Temple of Radha-Krishna

NOTES ON CAPTIONS

1. This "procession" went towards Shyambazar junction along Cornwallis Street on 16th morning attacking Hindu shops. Note the "peaceful' sticks and bludgeons, and the total unconcern and lack of apprehension, either of Police intervention or Hindu attack. So much for the Hindu preparedness theory!

2. Note the sticks, bludgeons, etc., and the utter lack of concern or apprehension. Rather satisfaction at having hunted and harried the Hindu in the morning without any consequences, is easily perceptible. Where is the Hindu?

3. After the meeting the infuriated assembly splits up and rushes to attack the Hindus. Note the Jehad inscription on the banner, also the sticks and other weapons, and the total absence of fear and the absolute unconcern for Law. Where is the Hindu?

4. The aftermath on the next day. Hindus retaliate. This photo was taken several days after.

5. The Bristol Hotel is a Hindu concern as is K. C. Biswas, Gunsmiths. Note the absolute unconcern on the face of the sightseeing Leaguers. No fear, either of the Law or of the Hindu even remotely affects them, even though the looting and murder is going on in broad daylight, and on the greatest arterial road in Calcutta, Chowringhee.

6. P. C. Dutta Tobacconists shop completely looted. Note the calm and collected way in which odd bits of loot are being gleaned. This in broad daylight in the Chandni Bazar off Dhurumtollah Street.

7. Loot and arson proceeding without any let or hindrance in Collins Street off Wellesley Street, near the Madrassa and the Islamia College. Note absolutely cool behaviour of the crowd.

8. End of a Hindu shop's goods in Wellesley Street. Mark the calmness with which the crowd watches the approach of police lorries.

9. The Pollock Street area is a few minutes easy walk from the Central Headquarters of the Calcutta Police at Lalbazar. Here loot, arson, and murder was committed by the League mob shortly after the meeting on the 16th with absolute impunity. The few Hindu shopkeepers and durwans who could not run away, being caught unawares, were butchered after a short resistance. Where was any Hindu provocation?

10. The Canning Street area is the heart of Calcutta's business centre. Here also loot, arson and murder had full play after the resistance of the few Hindus, caught unawares, was overcome. Another refutation of the "Hindu preparedness" theory.

11. Lichubagan, Matiabruz. Photo gives the scene of particularly revolting mass butchery. Here a Muslim crowd of about a thousand crept unawares and surrounded the bustee with its sleeping and barely awake coolies, mostly from U. P. and Bihar. Over a hundred were butchered. Women were taken away as well.

12. Lichubagan. Another devastated bustee area in the same neighbourhood. Total number of corpses of Hindus removed by the police in Matiabruz approach 600. No Muslim was killed here. Another example of "Hindu preparedness"!

13. Section of College Street Market, looted and gutted and finally set afire by Muslim mobs on the 16th and the 17th. Rich Hindu shop *Dalia Stores* completely gutted.

14. Lakshmi Stores, very expensive shopping centre, completely gutted by ruffians, on the 16th, under the very noses of the police who were present in force. There are allegations of Police-helping in the looting.

15. Lichubagan. Hindu Mahajans Safe. An example of the real motive behind the "Direct action" move.

16. One of the innumerable cases of Muslim refugees, sheltered by Hindu citizens, being finally removed with police escort to a relief centre. *We regret we cannot present a photo of Hindus similarly sheltered by Muslim citizens. But we wish to put on record our personal knowledge of several such public spirited actions by respectable Muslims.*

17. Radha-Krishna Temple. This temple was looted on the 17th of August. The images of Radha-Krisha being covered with jewels, formed part of the loot of the "Direct Action" leaders.

the mind of the Hindus and Sardar Patel is only suffering from inferiority complex. At Simla, when it was arranged that Pandit Nehru and I should meet, I asked him where we could meet and he himself said : 'I shall come over to you.' When we met on May 11 during the conference time. I pleaded before him for one and a half hours and appealed to him to come to a settlement on the basis of Pakistan, but he was adamant. Before parting, I cautioned him that he should not be poisoned by taunts that he had come to my place and I was not willing to go to his place. The place really does not matter and it is too petty to trot this out in the manner in which Sardar Patel has done. I told Pandit Nehru that if after consulting his colleagues he wished to discuss the matter on the basis of Pakistan and gave me an appointment, I would gladly go to his place or to anybody else's.

Sardar Patel makes a passionate appeal ; after having made it clear that there was no meeting ground, he invites me to sit with the Congress as 'brothers' and join it to break the settlement of the Mission. Well, we have already torn up the statement of May 16. He doubts our desire for freedom when he says that we should join hands with the Congress if we are keen on freedom. And finally he says, 'When we have sat as brothers and if there is no agreement possible. let the matter be referred to arbitration and let us abide by award of the arbitrator.'

This proposal is made again to impress the ignorant public here and abroad that the Congress is so reasonable and so conciliatory, but the Muslim League is intransigent. Sardar Patel knows perfectly well, and I have pointed out more than once, that the demand for Pakistan is based on the right of self-determination of the Muslims which is their birthright and it is not and cannot be a justifiable issue on principle alone. It is absurd to say that this matter particularly should be referred to arbitration. Even on practical grounds, who will select the arbitrators and who will enforce their award ? No country can run its government unless its constitution is framed by the willing consent of the people concerned. For this very reason, the Congress and the Muslim League had demanded Constituent Assemblies of the representatives of the people to frame the Constitution.

Is Sardar Patel really serious ? Then why talk of the Constituent Assembly and why not refer the whole matter regarding the entire framing of the Constitution to the arbitration of a few ?

Therefore, the proposal for arbitration is ludicrous. Sardar Patel knows better than anybody else that it could not be accepted both on grounds of principle and as a practical proposition.

Sardar Patel has now become the champion of the British whom, he says I have traduced, and complains that I abused the Congress. He does not specify what are those abuses. I have certainly attacked and criticised the Congress and charged them with disrupting the Muslims and have exposed their false claim that they represent all India, including Muslims, which certainly is not true. All my attacks and criticism have been in self-defence against the most aggressive and arrogant attitude of the Congress. The Congress has made every effort to mislead people here and abroad aided by its vast and powerful Press organization and has accused me and the Muslim League of being tools in the hands of British imperialism ; while not a day passes when the Congress Press does not abuse the League and myself.

There are many inaccuracies in Sardar Patel's statement and they are merely intended as propaganda for the Congress and to mislead people abroad by passing off that the Congress took a conciliatory attitude whereas the League was intransigent.

The Congress had made its position abundantly clear in the resolution of the Working Committee which accepted the May 16 proposal in its entirety and rejected the invitation to form the Interim Government according to the terms of the June 16 proposals. The two proposals of the British Government, one relating to long-term and the other to short-term constitutional arrangements, have been kept distinctly separate. The Congress was within its rights when it accepted the former and rejected the latter. The long-term proposal is open to different interpretation, widely differing constructions on its more controversial clauses have already been offered. The clause relating to grouping has proved to be the most controversial. Mr. Jinnah has always pressed for compulsory grouping ; Congress wanted that grouping, if there be any, ought to be voluntary. The Cabinet Mission struck a middle course. The Constituent Assembly was divided by them into three sections and sitting in sections for the purpose of drawing provincial and if necessary group constitution was made compulsory. The formation of group was left optional to the members composing these sections. Pandit Nehru has made this position clear when he said. in his broadcast speech on September 7,—"We are perfectly prepared to accept, and have accepted, the position of sitting in sections, which will consider the question of the formation of Groups."

Mr. Jinnah has objected to Assam Assembly's verdict against Grouping and the direction it gave to the M.C.A.'s from Assam to vote against grouping. This resolution, Mr. Jinnah complains, was passed by a majority of votes the League members dissenting. Of all political leaders in this country, Mr. Jinnah should be the last person to complain against the tyranny of majority. He has been loud in complaining against perfectly democratic decisions by majorities in which Hindu, Muslim and Tribal groups participated, while he has always kept silent about the brute majority of League members, with British backing, which is grinding the minorities, specially the Hindus in Bengal and Sind.

Mr. Jinnah's aversion to any proposal for offering the communal problems to arbitration can be understood. Congress has, on many occasions, expressed its desire to offer the communal dispute to arbitration. Mr. Jinnah cannot do so because he has no case to offer except imaginary grievances against Hindus and his pretended fear of Congress domination. During the first series of Congress Ministries, he drew up a series of "grievances" of Muslims against the Congress, which even the then Conservative Government in power refused to entertain. He can make no better case today. It is, therefore, natural that he would shrink from any idea of arbitration.

"Will You Rule Like This ?"—Pethick Lawrence Asks Jinnah

The *New Orissa*, dated, July 7, published the following news :

> Lahore, July 6.—"Will you rule India like this, Mr. Jinnah, if Pakistan is established?" This question was put to the League leader by Lord Pethick Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, during the course of joint interview between Congress, League and the Mission at New Delhi.
>
> The Secretary of the State was informed of the full details about the elections of Lahore Corporation wherein various sub-committees were elected by the casting vote of the Muslim League Mayor without including in the sub-committees any non-Muslim.
>
> There was no reply to this to justify the action of the Punjab Muslim Leaguers and Mr. Jinnah had to say that he would make enquiries into the matter. The revelation was made during the course of a private talk by one who happened to be a member of the joint meeting.

This is only one small instance of how political and municipal power is being exercised by the League. Instances can be multiplied by hundreds and thousands.

India and the Arab World

Writing in the *Bombay Chronicle*, Iqbal Singh has emphasised the need of cultivating India's goodwill towards the Arab world. On his way to London, the writer met some Arabs on board the ship. With one of them, he had long conversation and he was able to ascertain from him what an average Egyptian Arab today thought of the relative virtues of the nationals of India, America, Russia and Britain. The Indians, the Arab observed, were good people because they were fighting the British. The Americans were no good though they had a lot of money. The Russians he had never met and his remarks about the British are unprintable.

How the Arabs have been duped with an illusive freedom has been graphically described in the following words :

> It has to be acknowledged that this British policy has not been wholly unsuccessful in its purpose. For if there is one thing worse than subjection it is the illusion of freedom. The origins of the Arab League as a regional political entity are, partly at any rate, traceable to this highly infectious illusion. Cynical observers of Arab affairs have irreverently suggested that the Arab League is the offspring of Britain's imperial indiscretions in the Near and Middle East. They attribute its paternity to Lord Lloyd and give Moyne (who was a Guinness, but by no means good) the credit of having been the midwife who brought the League to birth.

This is obviously an over-simplification. Yet it is indisputable that during its formative phase, the conception of an Arab Federation was sympathetically fostered by the bright backroom boys of the British Foreign Office who saw in such regional grouping an ideal mechanism not only for stabilising Britain's influence in these regions, but also for expropriating the French from their Levantine possessions and keeping the Russians at bay. They, no doubt, visualised the Arab League as a kind of Little Entente of the Near and Middle East and hoped that, just as the latter served as a pliable tool of Quai d'Orsay in Central and South-Eastern Europe, so the Arab Entente would fulfil the role of a watch-dog for the British imperialist interests. They calculated that by playing on the vanities and weaknesses of the ruling Arab monarchs and middle class politicians, Britain could strengthen its position in the Eastern Mediterranean and Red Sea zones while at the same time pose as the champion of Arab resurgence. And these calculations proved to be almost correct.

Almost, but not quite. For such is the logic of the present historical situation that even the most half-hearted and equivocal attempt to give expression to the idea of Arab unity is bound to come up sooner or later against the hard reality of Britain's imperialist stranglehold over the Arab countries. And this, in its turn, must inevitably stimulate the growth of militant trends in Arab Nationalism. This is precisely what has happened. From its very inception, a duality of outlook began to articulate itself within the Arab League. The dominant and official section of the League, it is true, continues to believe in diplomacy by means of whisky and buffet dinners and hopes to achieve Arab independence through adjustments and compromises with the Western Powers. At the same time, however, a radical wing has emerged within the Arab League which favours a fundamental reorientation of Arab policy and linking of the Arab Liberation movement with other anti-imperialist forces in the world.

Nehru's Popularity Among Arabs

The present Arab situation was explained to the writer, Mr. Iqbal Singh, by Mr. Edward Atiyah of the Arab office in London, who himself represents this new and healthy trend in Arab politics. The Arab League, he argued, was originally meant for the purpose of "regulating" the relations of the Arab countries with the West ; it was felt that a federation of Arab States would increase the bargaining power of the Arabs *vis-a-vis* Europe, which means principally Britain. Hardly any thought was given to the task of establishing relations with our Eastern neighbours and countries like Russia, China and India. However, the younger elements in the Arab political world are no longer satisfied with this narrow conception of Arab foreign policy. They intensely desire new definition of Arab loyalties and feel that the ultimate liberation of the Arab peoples is impossible without joining hands with other Asiatic nations struggling for freedom. It is symptomatic of this new tendency in Arab political thought, he added, that Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the most popular authors among the younger Arab intelligentsia today.

This process of reorientation of Arab loyalties is still in its initial stages. As the Arab peoples become progressively disillusioned with British promises, it is certain that they will look increasingly towards India and other Asiatic countries for friendship. However, it would be unwise to assume that the Arab countries will automatically become our close allies, that there is no need for effort and reciprocity on our part. In international relations, even where there is complete identity of politico-economic interests, reciprocity is the very

essence of enduring alliances. Consequently, there is urgent need for taking active steps to establish direct contacts between India and the Arab world. So far, although the Congress has consistently declared its support and sympathy for Arab aspirations as a matter of theoretical policy, it has done little by way of establishing effective liaison with the Arab movement. It is imperative to adopt a more active policy in relation to our Arab neighbours.

The urgency of the need for the adoption of an active Arab policy is still further emphasised by a recent and dangerous development. During the past twelve months, Mr. Singh points out, attempts have been made by certain innocent dupes of the Muslim League in London to enlist the support of the Legations and Embassies of the Near and Middle Eastern countries for Pakistan by harping on the theme of Islamic solidarity. Up till now, their exertions have evoked little response, except from what Mr. Atiyah once described as the "lunatic fringe of the Arab movement" Official spokesmen of the Arab Office in London have told the League representatives in no uncertain terms that the Arab movement is fundamentally non-communal in form and secular in content; and that while it has natural cultural interest in Indian Islam, politically it recognises only the Congress as the leader of the Indian Freedom Movement and will not be involved in questions which are India's domestic concern.

Arab Appeal to India

Under caption "The East Must Act Too," the Arab weekly in English *Middle East Opinion*, which generally reflects the Arab League viewpoint, has launched an appeal to India for an All-Orient Pro-Palestine Congress to be held in Delhi. The weekly writes:

> We propose that this Congress be called immediately to consider the Palestine question and to devise ways and means for saving this Holy Land of the Orient.
>
> We further suggest that the most suitable venue for this conference will be India. Besides her geographically central position in the Orient, India has always tried to help the oppressed people of the Orient and the world. What India did for Palestine, China and Spain is not a matter of remote past, and in the very recent days India's contribution towards the struggle of the Indonesian people cannot be overlooked.
>
> Saying that the Arabs have not yet realised that we are living in an atomic age which has changed all those values of life and all political theories which were current coin in the 'pre-1939 world,' the *Middle East Opinion* adds, "If we see the Palestine problem from that angle, we will come to the conclusion that Palestine is at least an all-Orient question. The sooner we realise this the better."
>
> After dealing at length with the Zionist problem and what it calls the 'growing tide of pro-Zionist sentiment' in America and Britain, the magazine calls on the co-operation and solidarity of all the peoples of the Orient to 'raise a barrier strong enough to withstand the Zionist onslaught.'

* There are 400,000,000 Indians, Hindus and Muslims, 80,000,000 Chinese Moslems, 60,000,000 Indonesians, countless millions in Iran, Russia, Africa and immigrants in North and South Africa that do not flinch actively to express their whole-hearted support of the Palestine Arabs' cause.

This support cannot be better expressed than in an All-Orient Pro-Palestine Congress to be held in India, concludes the *Middle East Opinion*.

Raja Mahendra Pratap Back-Home

Raja Mahendra Pratap, the celebrated Indian revolutionary, is back home after a continued absence of 32 years. The Raja is a scion of an old and very influential family of Jats. Mahendra Pratap inherited a very large fortune. He dedicated an estate worth about ten lakhs, by means of a deed of trust, for the establishment of the Prem Maha Vidyalaya. His activities outside India has been described by Mr. D. N. Bhargava, in an article published in the *Tribune*, Lahore, in the following words:

> Mahendra Pratap left India in 1914, soon after the first World War had broken out. Prior to this he had already visited Europe twice. On account of his anti-British activities during this war his entry into India was banned and the restrictions remained in force till a month back. During this period of long banishment the Raja saw many ups and downs of life, For some time the Raja had to struggle for his very existence, was without any place of shelter, and had no means of living. But during the first World War he mixed with some of the highest in Europe, was invited by Kaiser, remained with the latter as an honoured guest for some time and later on worked as messenger on behalf of Germany in Turkey and Afghanistan. During the first World War he kept himself moving from one capital to the other as a liaison officer and was responsible for exachange of letters among different heads of European States and Afghanistan. The Ameer of Afghanistan was persuaded to declare war against the British but all such efforts failed as in the year 1918 Germany was defeated and independence of Afghanistan was acknowledged. During this period, however, Mahendra Pratap cultivated intimate friendship with eminent personages of whom the Ameer of Afghanistan may be specially mentioned. He served the Afghan Government for a year or so and was awarded by Ameer Aman Ullah a sum of Rs. 10,000 as an honorarium.
>
> His political leanings subsequently underwent a great change and he realised during the course of interviews he had with a number of heads of States in Europe that the cause of India was nowhere safe. Everyone of them had a design of one type or the other to include India as a part of their Empire. Experience taught him that he was working all along on wrong lines. Mahendra Pratap devoted the rest of his time outside India in working for the purpose of universal peace, and for the establishment of a World Federation. In fact he began to call himself a servant of mankind, started a monthly journal in English named *World Federation*. He bore the entire responsibility of editing and publishing this paper regularly. Slender as his means and limited as his resources were he betrayed an unusual zeal, ability and patience, in carrying out this noble task. India is no doubt proud of this son of hers inasmuch as Mahendra Pratap took up a cause for the sake of the whole of the world, to end the world wars—a cause which after the second world war United Nations

have now undertaken and are pursuing with so much persistence and doggedness.

Most of his later years in exile were spent in Japan where in collaboration with others and sometimes alone he continued working in his own way for the establishment of world peace, universal love and common brotherhood.

After the war, American authorities in Japan declared him to be a War Criminal and imprisoned him in Japan, but the kind and forceful intervention of Mahatma Gandhi was chiefly instrumental in obtaining his release and re-entry into his homeland.

He has an uncommon devotion and genuine respect for all religions and in his house in Japan and earlier at Brindaban he had a common room for worship where the Vedas, the Bible, the Quoran and Granth Sahib were all kept together.

He has toured round the world several times and is pre-eminently fitted for service abroad. He can very well represent India at any conference for the establishment of peace and to end all wars. The time is in fact fast coming when he will be called upon to shoulder any such responsibility.

Civil Liberty in Goa

Affairs in the Portuguese possession of Goa have of late come into limelight specially after the experiences of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. Some publicity has been given to the suppression of civil liberties there. The Governor-General of Goa denied the allegations, characterised them as baseless, painted conditions there in dazzling colours, and in a letter to Gandhiji protested against what he had written in the *Harijan*. This letter was released for publication in the press. Gandhiji gave him a suitable reply and it was also published in an issue of the *Harijan*. Gandhiji stated that he had himself visited Mossambique, Delagoa and Inhambane and did not find there any government for philanthropic purposes. He was rather astonished to see the distinction that the Government made between Indians and the Portuguese and beween the Africans and themselves. Gandhiji emphasised that what he saw and knew of condition of things in Goa was hardly edifying. The following portion of his letter to the Governor-General is sufficient to show what is happening ther :

> That the Indians in Goa have been speechless is proof not of the innocence or the philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government but of the rule of terror. You will forgive me for not subscribing to your statement that there is full liberty in Goa and that the agitation is confined only to a few malcontents.
>
> Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view. I suppose the report of the sentence by your court martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far-off Portuguese Settlement is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law-abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile?
>
> Though the politics of Dr. Lohia probably differ from mine he has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. The inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence until much greater India has regained it. But no person or group can thus remain without civil liberty without losing self-respect. He has lighted a torch which the inhabitants of Goa cannot, except at their peril, allow to be extinguished. Both you and the inhabitants of Goa should feel thankful to him for lighting that torch. Therefore, your description of him as a stranger would excite laughter if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers whether they come as philanthrophists or as governors exploiting the so-called weaker races of the earth.
>
> You have talked of the abolition of caste distinctions. What I see has happened is that not only no caste distinction has been abolished but at least one more caste, far more terrible than the system of caste, has been added by the Portuguese rulers.
>
> I, therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty and, if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such a Government.

American Friends of India Organisation

An *American Friends of India* has been organised by the veterans of the second world war who have "lived and learned in the India-Burma theatre." Mr. Harold Leventhal, acting chairman of this organisation, writing to Pandit Nehru on his election as President of the Indian National Congress, says :

> We, veterans of the American Army, who served in India, are fully aware of the greatness of your country and the trying problems with which your people are faced. We spent several years in India and in that time we made every effort to understand the country and its people.
>
> Since our return to civilian life we have organized American Friends of India in the desire to bring before the American people a truthful interpretation of what is happening in India, based on our personal observations and experiences in your country. We are fully aware that freedom can come to India only by the decisions of the Indian people themselves as represented by their major political organizations.
>
> We recognise in the Indian National Congress, the most important freedom organisation in India and as such we are aware of its responsibilities. We hope that it will meet with ever-increasing success in carrying out its programme.
>
> We want the Indian people to know that among the thousands of American soldiers, who were stationed in India during the course of the war, there were many whose understanding of the problems of your country has made them sincere friends of India. We are obliged to your people and our aim is to tell the American people, the truth, and counteract the many lies about India with which they are fed daily.

Close association with such organisations is badly needed by the Indian people at this crucial period of their history.

Aircraft Industry for India

The *Commerce* reveals that a ten-point plan to establish in this country a modern aircraft industry at an estimated cost of Rs. 130 lakhs in the first five years is outlined in a secret report to the Government of India submitted by the British Aircraft Mission which visited India in March last at the invitation of the government and surveyed the possibilities of such an industry. It may not be out of place to mention here that the Grady Mission Report still remains a secret and has not yet been published by the Government of India.

The British Aircraft Mission consisted of Messrs. Conolly and Barrett from the British Government's Ministry of Aircraft Production and two members of the Society of British Aircraft constructors. The main features of the ten-point plan are :

(1) The Hindustan Aircraft Ltd., Bangalore, should be selected as the first factory (the acquisition of this factory forms an integral part of the whole plan).
(2) The Directors should be appointed immediately.
(3) Action should be initiated to obtain a new executive.
(4) A time limit of six months must be imposed for re-staffing.
(5) The first instalments of the balancing plant should be ordered.
(6) An order book should be built up.
(7) All possible pressure should be exercised to secure orders for rail coaches as subsidiary.
(8) The Government should be prepared to place a pre-production order for 20 training aircraft, which would absorb labour for a year.
(9) It should also be prepared to take similar action with regard to advanced trainers in 12 months' time with a larger pre-production order if possible, and
(10) Start an apprentice scheme as soon as the factory is established.

The 65-page Secret Report suggests that there should be eight directors, four wholetime and four outside and the Managing Director should be a nominee of Mysore. According to the Report, three of the four wholetime Directors, who should be the real Executive, must be men with long aircraft experience and points out that at present, in India, no persons with the requisite experience are available. Hence it expects that non-Indians will be employed in the above capacity for ten to fifteen years. It is thus sought to convert the present directorate into practically an all-British one.

The Mission is hopeful that reasonable orders would be forthcoming to enable an aircraft industry to commence. In this connection it refers to the view of the Civil Aviation Directorate that the aircraft likely to be usefully employed in air transport in the ultimate period, 1961-65, are estimated to be 100 four to fifteen passenger carrying planes and 10 forty to one hundred passenger carrying planes. It estimates that the demand for private aircraft sales in 1961-65 will fall into three categories : demand for thirty miscellaneous commercial machines, sixty privately owned machines, and thirty machines required for flying clubs. The Mission states that the countries to which India must look to export aircraft and ancillary supplies are Iran, Iraq, Arabia, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Indo-China, and Malaya, and the use of aircraft in these countries combined might be estimated at 20 per cent of the volume for India.

The Hindustan Aircraft Factory was mooted by Mr. Walchand Hirachand with the aid of the Mysore Government when the Government of India had expressed its inability to extend its help to the project. Soon after, when the factory was started, Government of India acquired it on the usual plea of defence requirement. The Secret Report mentioned above comes just at the time when the conversion of the Hindustan Aircraft into a civil factory for the manufacture of aircraft constitutes one of the main items in the Government's present scheme of industrial expansion. British technical aid is welcome, but the National Government at the Centre should ensure that control of the industry does not pass to them.

Co-operation in U. P.

In moving for a grant of Rs. 25,20,800 for the Co-operative Department, Dr. Kailas Nath Katju outlined in the U. P. Legislative Assembly a scheme of multi-purpose co-operative societies which would help materially to promote voluntary collectivism among the cultivators of the province. Commenting on his scheme, the *Leader* says :

> The experiment of multi-purpose co-operative societies had much success to its credit in the years before the war in countries with such diverse conditions as Japan, Austria, Belgium and Saxony and Bavaria. For one thing, these societies have the merit of *not* treating the problem of credit as an isolated one. For it is of the essence of Dr. Katju's scheme that one and the same society should be entrusted with the supply of credit, seeds, manure fertilisers, ploughs, bullocks, irrigation facilities and the marketing of agricutural products. Dr. Katju also proposes to establish a provincial co-operative bank which, we hope, will be able to work in co-operation with the Agricutural Credit Department of the Reserve Bank of India. It is Dr. Katju's intention that the first experiments in these societies should be initiated at places near big *mandies*, such as Dehra Dun, Gonda, Basti and Ballia for rice marketing and Saharanpur, Moradabad, Chandausi and Tehar for wheat. In fact, what Dr. Katju is proposing is that the whole life of the village cultivator should be brought within the ambit of multi-purpose co-operative societies. Given direction, there is every reason to hold that they will prove to be an improvement over purely credit societies and that they will both help production and distribution on a voluntary basis.

Increasing dependence of co-operative societies upon Government for the solution of every problem and want of self-reliance have, no doubt, been the main causes that have retarded the progress of the co-operative movement in India. Absence of trained men among office-bearers conversant with the principles underlying the movement has also been largely responsible. The intention of the U. P. Government to open several schools for the training of co-operative workers is therefore surely welcome. But in Bengal it has been seen that there is another virus that has eaten into the vitals of the co-

operative movement in this province and has virtually killed it. Before 1937, when the communal tension was not so acute in Bengal, many of the co-operative societies flourished. A peculiar feature in the Bengal movement was that in the credit societies, most of the depositors were middleclass Hindus and the borrowers were generally the Muslim cultivators. The communally-minded borrowers took it into their head that Hindu money need not be returned. This attitude dealt a deathblow to the movement, flow of funds from the people dried up, the government were unable to keep the funds of the society fluid and the whole thing was lost. Peculiarly enough, since a very long time, the co-operative department had remained in charge of Muslim officials who never tried to counteract this dangerous poison which ultimately proved a menace to the cultivators themselves. The only source of cheap credit to them was thus sealed up. Had the movement been a multi-purpose one as to ensure a community of interest between members of both the communities, the result might not have been so disastrous.

Indians Overseas

Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, writing in the *Roy's Weekly,* tells in a few words the story of how Indian labour have come to their present pitiable condition in the British colonial countries. Our relations with other parts of the British Empire have so long been entirely under the control of the British Government. The final decision on all oversea matters lay with the British Government. In formulating their overseas policy, the British Government always looked first to the interests of their British employers, and very often even to the prejudices of other parts of the British Commonwealth. Wherever the interests of the Indian labour or settler came into conflict with those of their employers, the former were sacrificed.

With a National Government at the Centre, things are bound to undergo a change even during the interim period. The South African and East African Governments may now be pulled up and brought to their senses. It is now sincerely hoped that the new National Government will, in a short time, be able to solve many of the difficulties that Indians in British colonies and dominions are now experiencing. Time has now come when Indians overseas will be able to look to their own Government for the protection of their interests.

Tracing the history of the recruitment of Indian labour, Sir Raghunath writes :

> The present problem of Indians overseas has only a history of about 100 years. When slavery was abolished it was found difficult to have enough labour especially of an agricultural kind in countries which formerly depended upon Negro slave labour. The emancipated slaves were unwilling to work as paid labourers and the attention of these colonies turned to the vast reserve of labouring population in India and China. Applications were made to the then Government of India, which was at that time entirely controlled by the East India Company and the British Government, for recruiting labour to serve on many of the plantations in foreign countries. One of the earliest applications came from Natal whose sugar industry was on the point of a breakdown for want of adequate labour and the Government of India allowed Indian labourers to proceed there under conditions of indenture which more or less amounted to semi-slavery. The men recruited were illiterate and ignorant and did not realise what they were undertaking. Rosy prospects of prosperity were dangled before them and many of them left the shores of their native land to make their fortune in a distant land. The principal conditions of indenture were that they were to work for an employer for three to five years, their passage was to be paid and at the end of the period of indenture they had the option of their returning to India at the expense of their employer or to settle down in the country as free men with a certain amount of land. Most of these men, having burnt their boats when they first migrated, preferred, when the time came for them to make a decision, to settle down in their new land. And the prosperity of Natal, which is called the 'garden colony' of South Africa, is mainly due to the labour of these humble Indian labourers. Similar is the origin of the large Indian population in other parts of the Empire like British Guiana, Trinidad, Jamaica, Mauritius, Fiji, Malaya and even Burma and Ceylon, though in the case of the last three, their proximity to India encouraged many Indians of trading and professional classes also to go there.

Summing up conditions in South Africa he writes :

> It was in South Africa that Gandhiji first came into prominence by his campaign of passive resistance against certain oppressive measures of the South African Government. It would be too long to go into the history of all the incidents, negotiations and representations made by the Indian Government, both to the Home Government and the South African Government, but the White population there, both Boer and British seem determined to deny to the Indians any rights or privileges whatsoever and any position that they may have secured as a result of their labours during all these years appears to be an eye-sore to the white communities. Every conceivable device has been used to deprive the Indian traders of their means of livelihood and every conceivable argument adduced to justify their repression. They have been segregated in locations and bazars on 'sanitary' grounds but no 'sanitary' facilities are provided for them. Licenses to own lands, licenses to own or occupy houses, licenses to trade and so on have been placed in the hands of bodies upon which they have no representation, while trade rivals have. It has been said that they lower the standard of living but the Union Government have failed to offer any inducement to Indians to improve their standard of living. Indians are segregated by every social means that can wound their human sentiments. They may not enter European theatres, cinemas, shops or hotels. They may not use lifts but must take the stairs. They are excluded from European schools and largely from Universities.

Eminent South Africans, who call themselves leaders, seem determined to be led and swept away by the most ignorant and prejudiced sections of their community. Instead of being moulders of public opinion, they have become ready and willing tools of this prejudiced and pernicious public opinion. There

can be no question that the defenders of white civilisation in South Africa have their consciences dyed in a hue that is many shades darker than the colours of the skins of the original inhabitants of that continent.

Provisions similar to those which the Ghetto Act is trying to impose on the Indians in Natal have been in force in some of the areas of the Transvaal for the past 40 years. In these parts of the Transvaal the Indians have been forced to live mainly in particular areas reserved for them ever since the beginning of this century and the resulting conditions in the Indian areas of these Transvaal cities stand forth as a terrible warning of what is in store for the Indians in Natal, if the provisions of the Ghetto Act are accepted by them in any shape or form.

The protest of the Indian Government so far has not been effective due to its inherent meekness. Things are, however, expected to change now. The question is also going to be taken up at the U. N. O. Conference. An unconfirmed report states that Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit may lead the Indian delegation to the U. N. O. Conference which will debate the Indian question in South Africa.

India and International Trade Conference

Participation by India in the proposed International Trade Conference so that she can take her full share in working out plans for the expansion of world trade and employment is recommended to the Government of India in a report submitted by the Trade and Tariffs sub-committee of the Consultative Committee of Economists, on the U. S. Government's proposals for the expansion of world trade and employment.

The Report states that an appropriate commercial policy for India should be shaped primarily with reference to India's own needs as a country on the eve of a rapid economic development which is necessary for the raising of the standard of living of her people ; and also take account of wider considerations and be adapted to enable India to take her place in the world economy on a co-operative basis with a view to assisting the constructive effort which is being made for economic harmony and all-round progress.

Pointing out that these two objectives are not inconsistent but complementary, the Report continues :

> To the extent to which India succeeds in raising the standard of living of her people, she will be making her greatest contribution to the recovery of world trade and employment. But the task of securing a rapid and substantial rise in India's national income necessarily involves the adoption of a programme of planned economic development and for this purpose, India must equip herself with all the necessary instruments of regulation, control and direction of trade and enterprise.
>
> The American proposals, with their emphasis on the release from restrictions imposed by Governments do not seem to recognize this need. Emanating from a country like the U.S.A. and accepted in principle by the U.K. these proposals obviously reflect the needs and attitudes of advanced industrial countries and do not take sufficient note of the special difficulties and problems of undeveloped countries like India. Indeed, the difference between the outlook revealed in the proposals and the policies necessary for the economic uplift of undeveloped countries is so fundamental that misgivings have naturally been expressed as to whether the freedom of these countries to develop themselves would not be seriously curtailed by the acceptance of these proposals.
>
> There is also a widespread feeling that India should retain full liberty to pursue a policy of vigorous economic deveopment unhampered by any international obligations of the kind proposed. While these feelings are understandable, we consider that it will not be in India's long-term interest to miss the opportunity of placing her point of view before a world conference both on behalf of herself and in the interest of other countries similarly situated.

Attention to certain special features of India's present economic position which re-inforce the general conclusion in favour of participation in the coming trade negotiations has also been drawn. As a creditor nation, anxious to ensure a smooth and speedy liquidation of her claims, India is vitally interested in the expansion of world trade on a non-discriminatory basis. The multilateral trading system is much more suited to her needs and will enable her to utilise the proceeds of her exports to some countries for the purchase of her requirements of capital goods in others. The success of India's expansionist programme is largely dependent on the prevalence of a high level of employment and activity in the rest of the world. The report, therefore, considers that India cannot insulate herself from economic developments in other countries and that any measures designed to mitigate fluctuations in world economic activity should have India's support.

The Report also draws attention to evidence of a genuine desire on the part of the sponsors of the proposals to fill up the lacunae in respect of the claims and requirements of undeveloped countries and quotes the resolution passed by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations on February 18, 1946, which states *inter alia* :

> The Economic and Social Council requests the Preparatory Committee to take into account the special conditions which prevail in countries whose manufacturing industry is still in its initial stages of development . . . .

The trend of all International Conferences *vis-a-vis* India so far has been that this country ought to remain a supplier of raw materials and agricultural produce to the world. At the discussions of many such conferences, opinion has been expressed that as the manufacturing industries of India are still in their initial stages, she should better confine herself to the development of raw materials and raw minerals. It is of some gratification to find that the Sub-Committee Report considers that the entire approach, specially of the American proposals, is of a negative character rather than a positive one. The American proposals lay down what countries should not do instead of stating what they should do to help each other. The Report affirms :

> We believe that if the basic objective of promoting world trade is to be attained, the proposals must be recast in a positive mould, and must, *inter alia*, place an obligation on the more advanced countries to assist the development of backward areas.
>
> The advanced countries can render such assistance, partly by providing the capital goods and

other means of economic development needed by the backward areas, and partly by being prepared to carry out the necessary readaptation of their own economies. We are convinced that there can be no sounder basis for international economic co-operation than a clear recognition of the need for doing everything possible to lessen the disparities in the living standards prevailing in different countries. Thirdly, it should be borne in mind that international trade is not, as seems to have been assumed in these proposals, an end in itself but a means to an end, the end being the maintenance of high and stable employment and an improvement in the standards of living.

In a world in which different countries are in different stages of economic development, free trade or freer trade will not necessarily be to the advantage of all. In fact, it may create new stresses which it should be the object of these proposals to avoid . . . The high degree of economic development attained by certain countries has been in no small measure due to the use of tariffs and other regulatory devices and it is only proper that the use of these instruments should not be denied to countries which have just started on the path of development.

The Report then goes on to examine the proposals paragraph by paragraph and suggest amendments. Among the important suggestions made are: "The Report does not accept the idea that full employment in major industrial countries alone would be enough to bring out full prosperity of other nations. For this purpose, it is equally essential that the purchasing power and standards of living of the people of primary producing areas should improve through, among other measures, the maintenance of their purchasing power."

India's Future Tariff Policy

On the question of tariffs, a vital problem for Indian economic expansion, the Report rejects the principle enunciated in the American proposals that any country should be called upon to agree to a substantial reduction of tariffs and to complete elimination of tariff preferences irrespective of its position. In the case of undeveloped countries, like India, it is necessary to take into account certain special factors which make it impossible for them to agree to a substantial reduction of tariffs and tariff preferences. With regard to India in particular, the following considerations are relevant and have, therefore, been suggested :

1. The protective duties in India are few in number and in every case are imposed after a judicious examination of the needs and requirements of the industries concerned. They are also subject to a review both in regard to their levels and duration.

2. The general level of our tariff is also moderate and would not admit of a substantial reduction.

3. Revenue duties provide a substantial proportion of the tax revenues of the Central Government and cannot safely be reduced without unduly curtailing the resources available to Government for its functions.

4. While India is prepared to surrender some of the preferences now enjoyed by her, such surrender should be effected only on a mutually advantageous basis.

As regards quantitative trade restrictions, the report while agreeing that such restrictions should be used as sparingly as possible, considers that suitable exceptions should be devised to permit their use for constructive purposes, that is, to expand production and employment with a view to increasing the purchasing power of the people.

With regard to the imposition of the very few protective duties that a handful of Indian industries enjoy at the present moment, her memory is not very pleasing. She had to fight tooth and nail to get the Steel Protection Act or the Sugar Duties passed. The policies followed by the Tariff Board in recommending protection have rather served imperial interests better than our own national needs. A complete re-orientation of the Indian tariff policy is now needed.

Another important field covered by the Report is the question of India's membership of the Executive Board of the International Trade Organisation. The Report states : "It has been proposed that the permanent seats on the Executive Board should be allotted to member states of 'chief economic importance.' The economic importance of a country for the purpose of determining its share in the management of the International Trade Organization should be judged, among other things, by reference to the following criteria : foreign trade, total national income, and population. To these, however, should be added certain other factors which are intangible, but are, nevertheless, real and highly significant. So far as India is concerned, it is necessary to lay stress on her economic potentialities and her place as the leading Asiatic nation. We think that India's position in an international organization should not be judged exclusively or mainly by reference to her existing status, but that adequate account should be taken of the possibilities of development which are indicated by the magnitude of her resources. Moreover, no international trade organization can function properly which fails to accord a rightful position to Asiatic countries, among which India occupies a leading place. We believe, therefore, that India is fully entitled to a permanent seat on the Executive Board of the International Trade Organization."

Chota Nagpur Land Problems

The following memorandum about the conditions of the raiyats in certain parts of Palamau District has been circulated by the Adibasi Jamin Bachais Sabha :

> The great majority of the raiyats living within the areas of the Bhandaria and Ranka Thanas depend for their living on the cultivation of so-called *Uttakar* lands. Few are the raiyats who can afford to pay the high salami demanded for an ordinary raiyat settlement.
>
> Now, according to Section 17 (i) of the C.N.T. Act, when a raiyat has occupied and cultivated land situate in any village for a period of twelve years, whether under a lease or otherwise, or whether the land held by him has been different at different times, he shall be deemed to be a 'settled raiyat' of that village ; and, by Sec. 19, every person who is a settled raiyat of a village shall have a right of occupancy in all land for the time being held by him as a raiyat in that village.
>
> But in the above-named parts of Palamau, such rights as described above are completely ignored. The local rajas and landlords assume the right of

dispossessing without any legal proceeding the said raiyats, even after a period of twenty years' occupation, and of transferring the lands thus seized whenever and to whomsoever they please. I quote an example : Baiju, of Yamoti, showed me his rent receipts for uttakar lands dating back some 20 years. He received suddenly an order to vacate half of these lands, which were then settled for a *salami* on some one else. Such high-handed procedure naturally spells ruin for a poor raiyat.

Raiyats in general are not aware of their acquired right of occupancy, but, even were they aware of it, not one in a thousand would have the means and the courage to risk the raja's displeasure by having recourse to the Law. Hence rajas and landlords ruthlessly exploit this helplessness of the raiyats and the law is, for all practical purposes, a dead letter. Consequently, enhancement of rent, commutation of cash rent into rent in kind, forcible ejectment, imposition of new praedial conditions (contrary to Sec. 101-b), are the order of the day.

Ever since rice has risen in value, the system called "Kan", or rent in kind, has been introduced by them. Here is an instance : in village Khajuri the raiyats paid formerly a cash rent of Rs. 4 for one bigha of uttakar land. Now, with the "Kan" system, the raiyats have to pay for the same bigha of uttakar land six maunds of paddy. Therefore, reckoning the paddy at Rs. 5 per maund, they now have to pay Rs. 30, contrary to Sec. 40 of the C.N.T. Act. Further, the raiyats are not given receipts for these payments in kind, so that they cannot produce documentary evidence of their payments and of their occupation of the land.

The conditions created by the "Kan" system are particularly harassing in the Ranka and Khapro estates. Chainpur estates, for all I know, have not so far adopted it. Another objectionable practice in the Ranka estate is a printed form given to raiyats taking a settlement. Here are some of the conditions : The raiyats may not change any 'ar' (field ridge), they may not dig a well or a tank, they may not cut an old tree or plant a new one, they may not build a house or shed, they may not sublease the land in any manner. A raiyat who infringes any of these clauses is liable to summary ejectment.

It may also here be pointed out that the tahsildars of the Ranka estate are harassing the raiyats beyond the limits of endurance and doing in the Raja's name, much that the Raja could not in all honesty countenance. The consequence is that every year scores of families have to emigrate to more hospitable climes, even to Sirguja where conditions are known to be far from ideal.

Lately the landlords have become more particular about settling yearly a new raiyat on every land, so as to forestall any accrueing of occupancy rights. It can easily be guessed that the net result of such a measure is that the raiyats lose all interest in the upkeep, repair or improvement of the land from which they are, year by year, liable to be evicted.

They ask for land with full proprietary rights. The Chota Nagpur and Santal Pargana Land Tenure systems have much to be desired. We hope the Congress Government of Bihar will pay due attention to these problems while resettling the resumed zamindary and other tenures with the tillers of the soil.

House Rent Control in Madras

The need for controlling the leases of residential buildings and their rents has become paramount in all the cities of India. During the past years, this was done with the help of the Defence of India Rules. Now that these Rules will shortly cease to be in force, provincial governments are busy in introducing legislative measures for the control of house rent. Of such measures, the Madras House Rent Control Bill deserves special attention. The main provisions of the Bill are as follows :

The Act will apply to the City of Madras, all municipalities within the Province and such other areas as may be notified by the Provincial Government in the *Fort St. George Gazette*. It shall come into force on the 1st October, 1946. It shall remain in force for two years ; but the Provincial Government may, from time to time, by notification in the *Fort St. George Gazette* extend the continuance of this Act for a further period or periods not exceeding in the aggregate two years, if in their opinion it is expedient so to do.

Every landlord shall, within three days after his building becomes vacant, give notice thereof to the Controller : Provided that this shall not apply to a building the monthly rent of which does not exceed fifteen rupees. If, within a week of the receipt of a notice under sub-section (1) by the Controller, the Provincial Government or any officer empowered by them in that behalf does not intimate to the landlord that the building is required by them for any Government purposes or for use by any public institution under Government control or any officer of the Government, the landlord shall be at liberty to lease the building to any tenant. If the Provincial Government require the building for any purpose, the Provincial Government shall be deemed to be a tenant of the landlord as from the date of the receipt of the notice under sub-section (1) and the terms of the tenancy shall be such as may be agreed upon between them : Provided that the rate of rent shall not exceed the fair rent that may be payable under the provisions of this Act.

The Controller shall on application by the tenant or landlord of a building fix a fair rent for such building after holding such inquiry as the Controller thinks fit.

In fixing the fair rent under this section the Controller shall have due regard (*a*) to the prevailing rates of rent in the locality for the same or similar accommodation in similar circumstances during the twelve months prior to the 1st April, 1940 ; (*b*) to the rental value as entered in the property tax assessment book of the municipal council, local board or the Corporation of Madras, as the case may be relating to the period mentioned in clause (*a*) ; (*c*) to the circumstances of the case, including any amount paid by the tenant by way of premium or any other like sum in addition to rent after the 1st April, 1940.

In fixing the fair rent of residential buildings, the Controller shall allow (*i*) if the rate of rent or rental value does not exceed Rs. 25 per mensem, an increase of eight and one-third per cent on such rate or rental value ; (*ii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 25 per mensem but does not exceed Rs. 100 per mensem, an increase of 25 per cent

on such rate or rental value ; (*iii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 100 per mensem. an increase of 50 per cent on such rate or rental value. Provided that in the case of a residential building which has been constructed after the 1st April, 1940, the percentage of increase shall be 12½, 37½ and 75 respectively.

In fixing the fair rent of non-residential buildings, the Controller shall allow—(*i*) if the rate of rent or rental value referred to in sub-section (2) does not exceed Rs. 50 per mensem an increase of 50 per cent on such rate or rental value ; (*ii*) if the rate of rent or rental value exceeds Rs. 50 per mensem, an increase of 100 per cent on such rate or rental value. Provided that in the case of a non-residential building which has been constructed after the 1st April, 1940, the percentage of increase shall be 75 and 150 respectively. In the case of building for which the fair rent has been fixed before the commencement of this Act, the Controller shall on the application of the landlord allow such increase in the fair rent as in the opinion of the Controller the landlord is entitled under this section.

The Bengal House Rent Control Bill may be greatly improved on these lines.

Re-drawing of the Provincial Boundaries

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has urged that the question of linguistic provinces should be taken up as "the first and foremost problem to be solved by the Constituent Assembly." He suggested that in the preliminary sitting, the Assembly should constitute a sub-committee for considering this question and appoint a Boundary Commission to report within two months upon the readjustment of boundaries to be effected before provincial constitutions were drafted. Dr. Pattabhi said :

> The problem of linguistic provinces is now more than 50 years old in India, being originally started by Sri Mahendra Narayan of Bihar, with Sri Sachchidananda Sinha as his later colleague. The Anti-Bengal Partition Agitation resulted in separation of Bihar in 1912 but Orissa's claims were neglected, although Orissa had started its agitation almost simultaneously with Bihar (Orissa had its salvation in 1935). The Andhras started agitation for an Andhra province soon after Lord Hardinge's dispatch dated August 17, 1911, ratifying the partition of Bengal had been published. For 33 years, at first independently of the Congress, very soon through the Provincial Congress Committee and later through both, agitation has been carried on and it even succeeded in securing the approval of the Madras Legislature and also of the Central Legislature.
>
> It would be wrong to say that the problem today stands where it stood. Much water has flown under the bridges in the Godavari, Krishna and Tungabhadra during these 33 years, and today the problem is waiting for the switch to be put on by the Constituent Assembly and the circuit of union completed. It was almost completed when the first Congress Premier of Madras recommended it to the Secretary of State in 1935. The Karnatak agitation came close in the wake of the Andhra agitation and had necessarily to assume the form of unification as against the Andhra demand for separation. Karnatak is divided between three groups (one British and two groups of States). That is why unification has to come in.

The claims of Sylhet and Silchar in Surma Valley, which are attached to the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for Congress purposes but to Assam in regard to legislative and administrative matters, should also be judged right by the Boundary Commission. Kerala claims Kasargod taluka in South Canara District and Gudalar taluka of Nilgiri District as due to the Malayalees, while between Andhra and Orissa there are tracts of country in the adjoining areas claimed by both. All these are doubtless interesting complications, but they cannot prevent the solution of the main question of "linguistic provinces."

An equally interesting question centres round the claim put forward by the Ambala and Jullundar divisions in the Punjab, which at one time belonged to the U.P., but were subjected to the penalty after the Mutiny of 1858 of being linked to the Punjab. Even today students from Ambala and Hissar are pointed to in Lahore as Hindustanis, as against the people of rest of the Punjab, who are Punjabis. The vast tract of country lying on either side of the Jumna, comprising 20 districts, is desired to be made into a separate province for reasons of culture and language.

The need for such a Boundary Commission for Bengal is vital. Not only Sylhet and Cachar, but Goalpara in Assam and Manbhum, Dhalbhum, Santal Pargana and Purnea in Bihar have a right to claim their inclusion in Bengal. The State Paper of May 16 places no obstacle to the formation of such a Boundary Commission. By a judicious redrawing of provincial boundaries, much of the present communal tension may be removed.

Employment in Commercial Houses

A normal limit of eight hours a day or 48 hours a week with a further provision for permitting work up to 10 hours a day or 54 hours a week subject to payment of overtime at one and a half times the normal rate with an hour's rest after four hours of continuous work —these, it is understood, will be the main provisions of a Government of India Bill which seeks to regulate conditions of employment in business houses and commercial undertakings in urban areas. A memorandum on the provisions proposed to be incorporated in the draft Act has been prepared for consideration by the Standing Labour Committee.

Before 1939, persons employed in shops, commercial undertakings, business houses, etc., were not included within the scope of labour legislation in India. Bombay was the first to enact, in that year, the Bombay Shops and Establishments Act. Sind, Punjab, and Bengal followed suit in 1940. Provisions of these Acts, however, did not extend to business houses and commercial undertakings and as such the provincial Acts are limited in their scope. A Central Act is now considered necessary to ensure uniformity in application and to bring in those establishments within its ambit which had been excluded under the provincial Acts.

The Act is proposed to affect the following classes of employees :

Employees of commercial or trading establishments, office workers, commissariat employees of factories, persons employed in restaurants, theatres and other places of entertainment.

The following classes of establishments and workers may be exempted from the Act : establishments in which only members of an employer's family are engaged, staff of local authorities, establishments for the treatment of the sick and infirm destitutes or mentally unfit, intermittent workers such as watchmen, care-takers or commercial travellers or salesmen, employees of clubs and residential hotels.

The Act may have provision empowering provincial Governments to fix the opening and closing hours for any class of establishments covered by the proposed legislation.

Rest for one and half days in a week, 10 days holidays for continuous service of 12 months and payment of wages at regular intervals are expected to be other important features of the proposed legislation.

Prohibition of employment of children below 12 years of age with provision that the limit may be increased to 14 years in areas where there is compulsory education may also be provided in the Act. A limit of six hours' work a day with an interval of not less than an hour after three hours' continuous work will also be provided for children. They will not be permitted to work overtime.

Labour legislation in India had hitherto been exclusively directed to the amelioration of working conditions of the manual labour. Attention to the middle-class intellectual labour had long been overdue.

Labour Legislation in Bombay

The Bombay Congress Government seems to be in right earnest to ameliorate labour conditions. The Industrial Disputes Act of 1938 have gone a great way to improve the lot of working classes. Another piece of legislation called the Bombay Industrial Relations Bill, designed to cover a much wider field than the Industrial Disputes Act, 1938, has now been undertaken. The new Bill cuts new ground in the labour field, the Government seeks to achieve its declared object of facilitating the organisation of labour by creating a list of approved unions, removing for the purpose of registration the condition relating to recognition by the employer, bringing down the minimum membership for a representative union from 25 to 15 per cent and reducing the qualifying period from six to three months. An approved union is invested with substantial privileges, but it is also required to undertake a corresponding set of obligations in the interest of the stability of industry and the progress of sound trade unionism.

In the Industries Relations Bill, the provisions relating to labour courts are an innovation so far as this country is concerned. A remedy for the delay in the redress of grievances of workers resulting in strikes and lock-outs, will be found in the labour courts instituted under the new Bill to ensure quick decisions on disputes. Provision has been made under the Bill for the setting up of joint committees of representatives of employers and employees and to securing speedy disposal of their day to day difficulties. This is a familiar arrangement in Britain and in several other countries and its adoption had been recommended by the Royal Commission on Indian labour.

India and F.A.O.

India has been represented at the Copenhagen Food Conference by a delegation led by Sir J. P. Srivastava. The opening of this Conference coincided with a day of great significance for India, namely, September 2, on which the first Indian National Government assumed office.

Sir Jwalaprasad, in his address, said that India will provide the first, and probably the greatest, test of the F.A.O. He described how during difficult war years, India coaxed surpluses from reluctant 'haves' and distributed them among 'have-nots.' In the three years since the Bengal famine, India has by the narrowest margins avoided the extremity of disaster. The terrible forebodings of the year 1946 have been very nearly neutralised through sheer administrative efforts of the Congress Governments of the badly affected provinces with very unsatisfactory foreign supplies. Outlining India's food policy, Sir Jwalaprasad said :

> The statement of Indian food and agriculture policy defines the objectives, indicates the targets, outlines the programme and prescribes the priorities. It is, of course, in general and familiar terms, but it contains one new and striking feature—acceptance by Government of responsibility for providing enough food for all—the 400,000,000 of our people—and food of the right kind. Our Government's aim will be not only to remove the threat of famine but also increase the prosperity of the cultivators, raise the levels of consumption, provide balanced diets and create a healthy and vigorous population.
>
> India's policy provides the framework for a plan, not one plan only but many plans, which must be co-ordinated and translated into balanced efforts. We know that our plans must immediately become measures which will produce in the shortest possible time an increase of cereal resources amounting to 6,000,000 tons a year and of other foodstuffs aggregating nearly 90,000,000 tons.
>
> The course before us is formidable, but we are not still waiting at the post. We have set off to a flying start in emergency measures already taken during the war, among which are many which fell under each of the ten heads of priority that we have selected, namely, supply and conservation of water; conservation of soil and proper use of land ; increased production of manures ; distribution of improved seed ; protection of crops and stored grain; control of malaria; development of fisheries; increase of milk production ; establishment of demonstration and distribution centres, and training of workers.
>
> Our greatest needs are for machinery, manures and technical manpower—and possibly the greatest of these is the last.
>
> We cannot, therefore, easily spare many of our experts to work exclusively for F.A.O., but we should like to feel that our technical men will be working for India, and are at the same time working for the United Nations and that their experiences are always at the disposal of F.A.O.

Imperialism Fosters Famines

World food politics has begun to take a new turn. The F.A.O. and the U.N.R.R.A. are seeking to succour the starving and undernourished peoples of Europe and Asia. But these are middlemen organisations supplying food from outside to the needy nations. There is yet no world authority ordering or controlling the production and distribution of food. Both the F.A.O. and the U.N.R.R.A. are voluntary organisations and the people who supply the food are under no compulsion while the people who receive have to accept supplies not as a right but as an act of grace on the part of the victors of war. In this distribution, preferential treatment between continents, and also between countries have been openly made on political grounds. This attitude of the victor nations cannot serve as a base for a new world order and a permanent peace, and it will not satisfy Asiatics. Hundreds of millions of Asiatics have been living on the verge of starvation for many decades. Lately Mr. Herbert Hoover reported that the gap between requirements and supplies is still so wide that forty million will remain unsatisfied, in plain language they will starve.

Bharatjyoti published an article written by Mr. A. J. Siggins in which the writer has discussed the Imperialist food politics. He says:

> The greatest hypocrisy of all time is the alleged "Fight Against Famine" now being staged in Washington.
>
> The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations, of which Sir John Boyd Orr is Director-General, promises to be as big a racket as the late unlamented "Geneva Racket." All they can think of at their conferences is how to carry food to the vast concentration camps. Nobody has suggested a two-way traffic. In Britain and U.S.A. exports and imports to maintain their wealth and standards of living are the main concern of the governments. Even the 4,500,000 bales of wool from Australia must be brought to Britain so it can be made up and re-exported. There is plenty of food in Australia, North and South America and even in New Zealand. But there is a wheat shortage in South and East Africa as well as a maize shortage. Labour must work the gold, coal, diamond, copper and other mines of Africa instead of establishing a sound basic economy.
>
> It is always exports and more exports that the "trustees" of the colonial empires demand. And that is all the European powers have demanded of the Far East and the Middle East. It was all the Dutch demanded of Java and all their islands. It was all the Belgians, Portuguese and French demanded. And all they still demand.
>
> If Europeans do not break down the corrupt, evil system which is responsible for the concentration camps in which two-thirds of mankind are confined they will make war certain for posterity. Perhaps they will see the break-out in their life-time. Perhaps it will come inside of ten or five years.

Sir John Boyd Orr says that there are critical years ahead and there will be a world shortage for perhaps five years. He speaks as an Imperialist who believes that coloured peoples should be kept in concentration camps.

Judging from the experiences of the post-war months, Asia should immediately cease to look to America and U.K. for succour and should build up her own. F.A.O. Siggins says:

> Starving people must no longer be at the mercy of strikers in America, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Europe or elsewhere. All starving people and all those whose standard of living is below that which Englishmen demand for themselves must have a right of access to what Englishmen are withholding from them. There is no more justification for the withholding of land on which they can live from starving and under-nourished Europeans and Asiatics than there was justification for withholding food or water or any of the essentials of a free life from the inmates of the concentration and prison camps of Germany and Japan.
>
> That is what India, as a great world power, will put to the world. And behind her she will have a hundred per cent of the decent people of the world.
>
> The obsession that exports are essential to maintain British credit and therefore these must take precedence over the carrying of food to save human lives must be dissipated. Human life comes first, and after that comes the creation of goodwill.

National Government's Drive Against Bribery and Corruption

Immediately on assumption of office, the Indian National Government have directed their attention to the enemies of public life—the bribe-takers in Government service. Railway servants have come first on the black list prepared by them. To stop bribery and corruption in railway services the National Government are taking strong measures and steps are being taken to make bribery a cognizable offence. This is revealed in a Press Note issued by the Railway Department, which says: "The Interim Government have passed orders that the departmental clearing up process should be intensified and that a stern warning to all railway employees should be issued immediately."

At the instance of the Government, the Railway Board will shortly set up special sections, both in the Railway Board and in Railway administrations, which will be charged solely with the rapid disposal of complaints and enquiries.

Government have also under consideration new legislation to make bribery a cognizable offence. They recognise the immediate necessity of eradicating bribery and corruption and contemplate setting up machinery which will successfully bring to book both the offenders and their abettors.

Of all the evils brought by the war, corruption is the foremost. The Indian railways have been no exception to the general rule. Government are aware of the fact that this evil cannot be eradicated in a day, but they are also determined that there shall be no delay either in enacting legislation or setting up proper machinery for dealing with corrupt practices. Under the new legislation, which is to be brought up before the Central Assembly in its next session bribery will become a cognizable offence. Under the new law, both the taker and the giver of the bribe will be equally liable for arrest by the police.

ANTIOCH PLAN OF EDUCATION

By Dr. M. N. CHATTERJEE,
Professor of Social Science, Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Chicago

WHAT is Antioch ? It is a progressive, co-educational, liberal arts college, situated at Yellow Springs, Ohio, U.S.A. It was founded in 1853 with Horace Mann, the father of the public school, as its first president. In 1920, Arthur E. Morgan, a distinguished engineer who later became the head of the Tennessee Valley Authority, introduced the present program, which included pioneer features since adopted by a number of other colleges.

As Antioch sees it, society expects its colleges and universities to accomplish three things :

(1) In addition to "conserving and transmitting the wisdom of the past," to understand how the past evolved stage by stage into the present, so that we can build upon past achievement, avoid mistakes and blunders of the past as well as use past knowledge to help solve present problems. Are these cosmic or man-made ?

(2) To keep vigilantly on the search for new truth : in the sciences, in the humanities, in social organization. To recognize that physically the world has become small, but intellectually the world still remains very large. All the peoples of the earth have been thrown together, and ways and means must be found to understand and appreciate one another for effective living on the human plane.

(3) To furnish society with young men and women who are not only intellectually but emotionally educated for vigorous, realistic, and constructive leadership. "Democracy" is not a thing but a method, which calls for intelligence, goodwill, maturity and self-control. To help young people learn the attitudes and techniques of democracy is probably one of the most important elements of education for our time.

One cardinal feature of Antioch administration and teaching staff is that the student should reasonably expect of college :

(1) Encouragement to take a hand in his own education developing initiative, and some idea of how to go about taking this responsibility, without having continually to be told and directed by assignment and examination. This is important if education is thought of as a lifetime process, rather than just a few years of school.

(2) A curriculum in which the main focus of interest is the world today—how did it get that way and where it seems to be going.

(3) A good set of educational tools—ability to speak and write so that others can understand him, to use elementary mathematics and statistics, and to dig facts efficiently out of libraries and other places of hiding. Not less important, health habits that will keep his own body and brain an efficient tool for working and living.

(4) Some systematic idea of what the human race has already found out about the world both quantitatively (mathematics and physical sciences) and in terms of values (social sciences, the arts, philosophy, and religion).

(5) The thrill of intellectual discovery, and some feeling of mastery as he makes a more thorough study of one branch of knowledge, such as engineering, or literature, or political science.

(6) Some definite idea whether he is best fitted to contribute to society as "doctor, lawyer, merchant or chief", and the basic skills and attitudes necessary for pursuing the career he chooses.

(7) The opportunity to develop *and practise* personal responsibility and progressive ethical standards, a philosophy of life which answers not only such queries as "what kind of life do I want to live?" but also "what pattern of life is best for society and how may I contribute toward it ?"

In order to accomplish these aims and fulfil these expectations, Antioch approaches the student in three different ways. He is at one and the same time a sharer in an intellectual adventure (the curriculum), a producer of goods and services (through co-operative plan), and a citizen of democracy (Community Government). In all these roles, he is given as much personal help and counselling as he seems to need or wants.

The Antioch idea was evolved by Mr. Morgan out of his experience of many years of practical engineering work when he had hired young engineers by the hundred ; he had found that many did not know how to apply their theories to actual cases, or how to supervise men, or how to see the implications of what they were doing in any other terms than those of engineering. At Antioch College he developed a program designed to produce men and women, in engineering and other fields, who had solid understanding of theory, competence in reality, and social vision.

Just recently an Antioch College senior wrote :

"Many an engineer who has had the technical ability to build machines has failed because he lacked the business sense to market them, the social sense to put them to their best uses, or the knowledge of handling his employees in order to get his machine built. Besides this practical value of an all-round education, there is the appreciation of what life has to offer. A man whose mind is practically a machine itself, cannot appreciate the values of good music, good books or human relationships. And an engineer who knows how to build machines, but does not take into account the effect such machines may have on society, may do more harm than good to the world."

At Antioch a student's course is divided roughly into thirds : one-third is general background courses which include the physical and life sciences, literature, social sciences, government, philosophy and art—the basic equipment to approach both human and world problems. No living man can escape participation in all these areas with impunity. Another third is professional field courses for specialisation. The final third is electives.

The student carries all three types of courses through freshman to senior year. Thus he has his whole college period in which to develop an understanding of the world around him, cement lifelong habits of cultural study and participation, and explore professional fields and achieve competence in the one of his final choice.

How does the Co-operative Plan work?

Antioch students work in scientific laboratories, in museums, in schools, factories, broadcasting studios, government bureaus. Their work may be anywhere in Maine or Missouri, New York, Washington D.C. On *the jobs, students are regular employees, receiving the* customary wages for their skill and type of work. The kinds of jobs which students hold vary greatly according to interest, background, and degree of training. Comparatively inexperienced people at the beginning of their college course are the largest single group of students available for employment. They are, however, a specially selected group, not only for intelligence and ability (Antioch students come from the top third of their high school classes and compare on nationally standardized tests with college and university groups of highest academic standing in the country), but also for personal qualifications indicating probable success on co-operative jobs. Even before the interviews and placement conferences at Antioch, before a student is admitted to the college, a great amount of selection has been done on basis of references, evaluations, physical examination, autobiographical sketch. Thus an employer who hires an Antioch student may get a more highly selected risk than he would from his own personnel department.

The Co-operative Plan is sometimes called the alternate work and study plan. After admission a student either stays in the college for eight weeks or he is sent on a job for the same period. After the end of this period they exchange places that is one who has been in the college goes to work and the one who has been working comes for his class-room education. This is called the first division. During the second division a student stays on his job for twelve weeks and comes back to school for the same period.



Antioch students in big broadcasting studios. This is a sample of co-operative job in the field of radio-journalism

The operation of the plan seems complicated but it is very simple. A specially trained staff of seven men and women at the college directs the co-operative plan, secures most of the jobs, and does extensive counselling.

When an employer opens a job opportunity to students, a College representative, a member of the staff mentioned above, through personal conference and correspondence gains as thorough an understanding as possible of the qualifications, duties, and working conditions of the job. Working closely with both students and supervisors, he recommends for the employer's approval a student whose background training, and personal qualifications seem to fit the job, and whose interest is such that he wants to apply for it. That student, once accepted by the employer and placed, holds the job until he returns to school and is replaced by an alternate selected for comparable abilities, interests, and training. It is expected that the two students will cover a single job for a year or more under the normal operation of the plan. In underclass years, more emphasis is given to placements that will



An Antioch student working in the laboratory of a big printing-ink factory

give vocational orientation and personal development. In upperclass years the placements bear more relation to career choices, and to long-range employment possibilities after graduation.

Immediate jobs await most Antioch students when they finish school. Ideally jobs will look for them instead of graduates looking for jobs. In 1939, 54 out of 56 young men, 30 out of 35 young women, stepped right into positions for which they had been trained, many with employers who had watched them at work.

Fundamentally, the co-operative plan is designed to be educational. It is study too, as much as the time a student spends on the campus, although it is study from raw material rather than from books. During each work period, students write thorough reports about some phase of what they have learnt. These might be directly about the job experiences, or a longer view of the whole career which he or she has in mind, or a study of some aspect of the community in which the student has been living, the way people think, the ethical standards that guide them, the cultural facilities they have, even the economic geography or geology of a region.

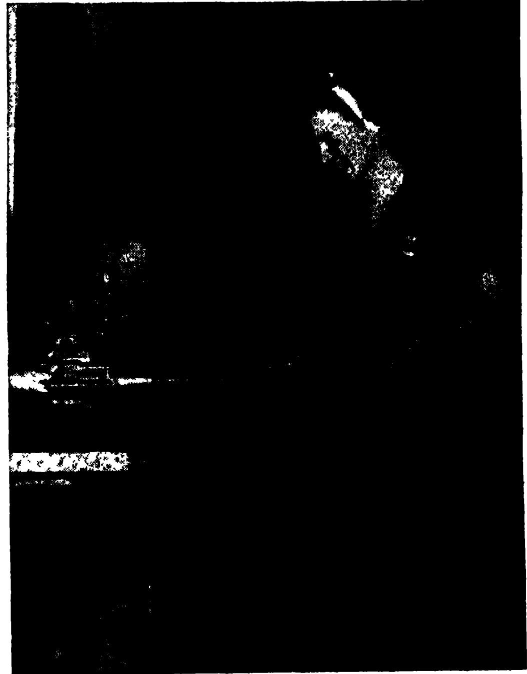
How are jobs and students matched together? Usually jobs have a connection with a student's life interests. They help him to explore among possible careers, to test his interests, or to develop personal qualities which will make him more effective whatever he does in life. As the student advances, his job usually ties in with his academic field of specialisation and his tentative career interests. No two students have exactly the same sequence of jobs. With three girls interested in social work one might start as a nursery school assistant or a clinic receptionist. Another might do clerical work in a social agency. The third might even work as a sales girl in a large department store, or as an escort in Henry Ford's Dearborn Village, because she and her personnel counsellor had decided that she needed experience in meeting people before she was put in charge of their welfare. Later with maturity and experience they will be placed on more responsible jobs in their field.

Academic standard of the College is high. Antioch graduates are accepted by all graduate schools on a par with graduates from other colleges and universities.

Each year approximately 300 leading business, industrial, and professional organizations in twenty states employ Antioch students on the co-operative plan. The farsighted, progressive business or professional man enjoys an equal share with the Antioch faculty in educating young men and women to take responsibility and to become better members of society. He discovers promising candidates for his permanent organization (many students return to co-operating employers after graduation). He can select employees for his training program from students already carefully chosen for leadership, seriousness of purpose, and intellectual capacity. He secures superior co-operation and application from these students because they themselves have chosen the job as an important part of their total educational experience.

Democracy at work in Antioch College.

The governing body of the college is the Administrative Council composed of both faculty, students and representative of the Alumni. Two students are elected by the entire student body to represent them at the Council, and the third one is the Community Manager who is an ex-officio member of the Council. In addition to this there are faculty committees in which also students are represented. For these committees students are chosen by the Community Manager in the same way as the professors are chosen by the Administrative Council. This means that nothing can happen, no measures can be taken by the Administration in which the students did not have a voice.



An Antioch girl working in an aircraft factory

Antioch is both a college as well as a community. The college part is academic while the community is living. The community has a much wider scope than the college. The whole faculty and student body work through the Community Government which is an elected body of both students and faculty, more of the former than of the latter. Through it students and faculty explore together the possibilities in community living. Together they plan all social activities, determine and uphold standards of conduct, supervise the community bookstore, bank and laundry and dry-cleaning services, the intramural sports program (there is no inter-collegiate sports at Antioch), a motion picture series, a concert series, etc. A network of committees is responsible for these and many more activities, and every student serves on one or more of the committees which most interest him.

Community Government started by Mr. A. E. Morgan has now been made an integral part of Antioch and its scope increased by the present president Mr. A. D. Henderson. It is of considerable educational value. It helps give students the habit of carrying out principles into action. It helps them develop leadership, initiative and tolerance, and helps them acquire the ability to discuss and work with a group and to see a project through. Mr. Henderson sums up what Antioch

program offers in these words: "The fundamental thing about our plan is that it develops maturity and a sense of community obligation. It gives students a chance to explore vocations and themselves, to make decisions based on experience rather than on hearsay or romantic misconceptions. All students must work, all have equal opportunities, equal responsibilities. In today's world, this basis of democracy is all-important."

Despite its breaks with traditional educational program, Antioch holds firmly to an old-fashioned motto:

> "Be ashamed to die until you have won some victory for humanity."

These were the last words of its first president, Horace Mann, whispered to his entire student body, grouped around his bedside on the day he died in 1859.

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GOBIND BEHARI LAL—AN EMINENT SCIENCE WRITER IN THE UNITED STATES

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

GOBIND BEHARI LAL is one of the distinguished Indians in the United States. He has made good in his special field of popularising knowledge of intricate scientific subjects through the daily and weekly press. He has received international recognition for his ability. He is a credit to India and the following brief information about him should be of Indian national interest.

Mr. Lal came to the United States in 1912. Before he left India he had his M.A. from the University of Punjab and was an instructor of English and Physics in Hindu College at Delhi. As a patriotic youngman, inbued with the idea of Indian freedom, he came to the United States to carry on higher studies in Social Sciences, so that he would be able to serve India more effectively. For nearly three years Mr. Lal carried on graduate studies in the University of California at Berkeley; while assimilating all that is best in American life and American form of government. He was not merely a book-worm but he was devoting, during his student days, the best of his energies to further the cause of establishment of a Federated Republic of the United States of India. This was the story of Mr. Lal some 30 years ago. Let this be recorded as a mere foot-note to Mr. Lal's career that to work for an unpopular cause was not an easy thing for him; and he had to go through privations and difficult days for the cause he loved and cherished. But these trials and tribulations steeled him and with great tenacity he adjusted himself to new conditions and has created a place for himself in the field of American journalism.

II

Mr. Lal started his journalistic career about 1921 as a special feature writer of various San Francisco papers—*The Call*, *The Bulletin*, *The Chronicle*. In 1925, when he became a regular member of the staff of *San Francisco Examiner*, he was already one of the pioneers in the field of systematic reporting of development of Science through daily press. In 1926-1927, he wrote a series of scientific articles, based on interviews with great scientists—Prof. R. A. Millikan, Prof. A. A. Michelson, Prof. Albert Einstein and others—which received national attention. In 1930, Mr. Lal's article on cancer research received world-wide publicity and recognition; and Mr. William R. Hearst, the head of Hearst group of papers, presented him with a check of $500·00 as a special award for meritorious services. This was a unique incident, because never before in the history of the Hearst Press, Mr. Hearst did such a thing. Mr. Lal's work received full recognition in 1930, when he was made the Science Editor of the Hearst Press and International Service and was sent to New York to take charge of the distinguished assignment.

In the United States when a journalist receives a Pulitzer Award he receives the highest recognition in his field. In 1937, five American Science writers received Pulitzer prize *jointly*. Mr. Lal, as the Science Editor of *International News Service* was one of them and others were Howard Blakeslee, Science Editor of the *Associated Press*; David Henry Dietz, Science Editor of the Scripp-Howard newspapers; William L. Laurence, Science writer of the *New York Times* and John J. O'Neill, Science Editor of *New York-Herald Tribune*. Mr. Lal later on received further recognition when he was elected as President of the National Association of Science Writers which is a special organization of the profession and which enjoys immense prestige. Today Mr. Lal is not only associated with the International News Service, but is the Science Analyst of the *American Weekly* which has a paid up circulation of 9,000,000 and is estimated to be read each Sunday by approximately 30,000,000 Americans.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science is the foremost national scientific organization in America. Its activities cover every branch of Science and it honors its distinguished members with various forms of recognition. Recently with the fund made available from the grants of the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, the association has established an annual award or awards to be given to a person, or group of persons, who has done the most distinguished work during the year in the field of popularisation of science through the Press. This award is to be known as *Science Writers' Award*, which is in the form of a medal, bearing the figure of George Westinghouse embossed on one side, the name etc., of the recipient on the other. On the 27th of March, 1946, the opening day of the annual meeting of the association held at St. Louis, Mo, which was the first post-war meeting of the organization, the first award of the Westinghouse Medal for distinguished services rendered by Science writers was made to thirteen most distinguished and some of the pioneers of the profession; 1. Howard W. Blakeslee, Science Editor of the *Associated Press*; 2. David Henry Dietz, Science Editor of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers; 3. *Gobind Behari Lal, Science Editor of Universal Service, International News Service and Science Analyst of the American Weekly*;



Winners of Distinguished Science Writers' Award
Standing from left to right : 1. William Laurence, 2. Gobind Behari Lal, 3. Frank Thone, 4. Watson Davis, 5. David Dietz, 6. Howard W. Blakeslee
Sitting from left to right : 7. Waldemar Kaempffert, 8. Jane Stafford, 9. Robert D. Potter, 10. John J. O'Neill, 11. H. Nicols

4. Watson Davis, Director, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 5. Waldemar B. Kaempffert, Science Editor, the *New York Times*; 6. William L. Laurence, Science Writer, *New York Times*; 7. John J. O'Neill, Science Editor, *New York Herald-Tribune*; 8. Thomas R. Henry, Science Editor, *Washington Star*, Washington, D.C.; 9. Frank Thone, Science Writer, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 10. Jane Stafford, Science Writer, Science Service, Washington, D.C.; 11. Robert D. Potter of the *American Weekly* Staff; 12. Herbert Nicols of *Christian Science Monitor* and 13. Major Van der Water.

Thus India may be well proud of the achievements of Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, recipient of a Pulitzer Prize and an award from the American Association for the Advancement of Science and an ex-president of National Association of Science Writers.

III

As a seasoned and far-sighted Indian patriot, Mr. Lal believes that the future of a free India will largely depend upon the progress of scientific education among the people, which will be one of the most important means for the development of Indian national efficiency in every sense of the word. Therefore, since the establishment of the Watumull Foundation, by Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Watumull, which has one of its objects—the promotion of national efficiency of India and better understanding between the United States and India—Mr. Lal has actively and effectively served the foundation as a member of its American Advisory Board.

Mr. Lal is convinced that the surest way of spreading scientific education in India is by creating facilities in India for training the highest type of scientists and also by over-hauling Indian educational system in such a fashion that rudiments of science and their practical application must be taught in secondary schools which will be the foundation of higher scientific education in the colleges and universities. He also thinks that sending thousands of Indian university graduates to Great Britain and the United States for so-called higher scientific education is a form of squandering funds which have been ultimately contributed by the poor tax-payers of India. The amount that is needed to maintain five or six Indian students decently in the United States will be sufficient to engage one first class professor from the United States to be associated with an Indian University who will be able to train hundreds of deserving students in India. This process will give better and democratic opportunity for higher training of the best of India, even thodgh they may come from poor families. Mr. Lal thinks and advocates that India should send the foremost and most promising scientists to foreign countries to acquire all that is not taught in India and they should teach them in Indian universities after their return home. Furthermore, immediate steps should be taken to equip various Indian universities with most up-to-date laboratory facilities for research and higher studies. Indian universities must be transformed as institutions of higher learning, no way inferior to the best of the universities of the world.

This task can be accomplished, according to Mr. Lal, and I wholeheartedly agree with him, through united efforts of Indian National Government, Indian scientists, Indian industrialists and Indian journalists, the latter are to create national public opinion in favor of scientific education and diffusion of knowledge of scientific subjects among the masses.

Under the most adverse circumstances, in a foreign land, through his own attainments and efforts Mr. Gobind Behari Lal, who is recognised as one of the first six science writers of the United States, has proven beyond doubt that worthy sons and daughters of Mother India can hold their own in competition with those more favorably placed, on the basis of merit and efficiency. The achievement of Mr. Lal should be a source of inspiration for the younger generation of India and it may induce some Indian journalists to specialise in the field of science-writing.

New York,
May 19, 1946.

:O:

OUR EDUCATION*

By Prof. K. P. Chattopadhyay, M.Sc., (Cantab)

Education really means, or ought to signify, preparation for life. The question at once arises, preparation for what kind of life? And for whom? The answer can be indicated by a study of social structure and educational organisation consequent on it.

The early Greeks, for example, who had originally been democratic tribal folk, gradually developed into people living in small principalities ruled over by oligarchies. The ruling groups among them did not grow food nor work as craftsmen. This was done by farmers and slaves. The job of the ruling class was to be good soldiers and officers, and to make and administer law. In accord with this social setting we find that the traditional Greek curriculum of youth in the time of Aristotle consisted of (a) training in military arts and general physical culture; (b) music, poetry and rhetoric; and (c) mathematics. As the practice of industrial arts was connected with slavery, it found no place in the education of the ruling class.

In ancient Hindu India of the Smriti Age the avowed purpose of education was to develop the mind and build up the character of the Brahman and Kshatriya leaders of the social organisation—besides imparting to them special training for their job as thinkers, teachers and warriors. Children of artisans and cultivators who actually tilled the land were not admitted to these centres of higher education.

In both these cases, the ruling class sought, through education, to perpetuate the existing social order in their time. There was also an attempt to develop the mind and body of each individual of the ruling group.

In modern times, when the English traders seized power in the different provinces of India, they needed men to help them in their work of commerce and administration. At that time, in England itself power was still in the hands of the landed gentry, and some rich businessmen. As a well-known historian remarks, those in authority "strove to keep the poor in ignorance and to maintain the authority of the established church." It is, therefore, not surprising that in the early years of British rule in our country, nothing was done beyond arrangements for securing assistants who could perform the less important official duties. This is stated to have been the object of founding the Calcutta Madrassah in 1781 and the Benares Sanskrit College in 1792. Some liberal Englishmen, however, wanted a spread of the Christian religion and culture in this country and sent missionaries. The intellectual leaders of our country,—notably the great pioneer of modern Indian culture—Rammohun Roy—realised however the importance of spreading scientific knowledge to reorient the mental and cultural outlook of the intelligentsia. They wanted to create a new order of society, on the basis of a synthesis of our older civilization, integrated to the modern scientific or realistic content of culture.

This second and very different outlook on education—of building up a new culture, and society—has persisted among some of our great educational leaders. Vidyasagar, for example, stated the necessity of stressing, in education, the realities based on scientific researches as opposed to metaphysical speculation. The East India Company was, however, in no mood to spend money on education, beyond their own requirements. The rapid growth of their political power and the need of a more systematic organisation however made some readjustment necessary. The Indian revolt of 1857, forced the British ruling class to realise that changes were needed. The feudal lords in India having lost their importance, it was necessary to placate the newly risen middle class intelligentsia. In 1861-62 we find that non-official Indians were for the first time taken into the Councils of the Provincial and Central Governments. Indians were also appointed in the Civil Service. During the regime of the Liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, the upper middle class in this country, consisting of zemindars, lawyers, businessmen and educationists organised themselves to be able to press their demands with greater force. In England itself the extension of the franchise from 1832 to 1868, made inevitable by the rapid growth of her industrial organisation, had brought about changes in the public attitude towards education. During 1870 to 1880, these led to the introduction of compulsory education in Great Britain. In our country, as a repercussion of these changes in the British Isles, there was expansion of education in general, in the towns as well as villages and the old Panchayet System of local Government was partially revived. When, however, nationalist leaders like Gokhale tried to legislate for rapid expansion of primary education in rural areas and introduction of compulsory education, the officials who constituted the majority in the Council, threw out the proposals. There was no transfer of power nor any organisation of a system of national education.

In England, since 1880, the structure and content of national education had been brought more and more into line with the requirements of a highly industrialised country under a capitalist regime. For the same reason, the educational system of India under British rule had remained suited to a colonial country pro-

* Presidential address delivered at the All-India Students' Conference, [illegible], January, 1946.

posed by the imperial rulers to be held indefinitely in subjection as a source of cheap raw materials and labour. When, in 1919, some transfer of power was made, as concessions to the greater political consciousness of the masses, primary education was seriously taken up. Although the Hindus and Muhammadans had come together during this period, and the political ferment had reached the masses, there was no clear-cut ideal of future society in the mind of the leaders. It was just to be a "Free India." The great problems of rights of the peasantry and of workers in industry were not seriously taken up. With the spread of some education in the villages, as well as among the urban poor, there was growing consciousness among the masses and these questions obtruded themselves more and more on the notice of political leaders. The process was accelerated during the political movement of 1930-31 and it was realised by the Indian National Congress, as the premier political organisation of our country, that a statement of the future rights of peasants and workers in a Free India was essential. This was done at Karachi in 1931. Since then, there has been a clearer formulation of the charter of rights at Haripura and recently in the Election manifesto. There have, however, been gaps in these declarations which are due to a lack of detailed knowledge about the condition of our own people especially of workers and peasants and of a clear vision of future society. I shall consider some of these briefly. Unlike the period 1919-21, the Muhammadans, except in the Frontier Province had to some extent kept aloof from the political movements in 1930-33, as the Congress had in the intervening period failed to meet their special requirements. When the charter of rights was drawn up by the Congress, the basic reason for this divergence was overlooked. This difference in outlook came clearly to the surface after the election of 1937, when education in rural areas had been pushed vigorously by the Congress, the League and the Coalition Ministries. The well-known Lahore resolution of the Muslim League sums up their position.

The tribal people who number about 20 millions at a modest estimate, and the socially backward castes in the Hindu community have also their special needs and problems. These also have found expression through their various organisations.

As I have stated before, a comprehensive charter of rights was drawn up by the Indian National Congress in 1931 and further elucidated later on. It was in the fitness of things that a scheme of National Education should be drawn up by the Congress and a National Planning Committee set up for an economic programme, at about the same time. The changes in the world situation, and the much greater political development of the Indian masses, have also brought forth from the Government of India various plans of Post-War industrial development and Post-War educational expansion. The Educational Plans that have been put forward may be examined in some detail. The Wardha Scheme was formulated first and should therefore be examined before the Sargent Scheme. The main feature of this scheme is best set out in the terms of the resolutions of the "Wardha National Education Conference in 1937. They are (a) that free and compulsory education be provided for seven years on a nationwide scale ; (b) that the medium of education be the mother-tongue ; (c) that the Conference endorse the proposal made by Mahatma Gandhi that the process of education throughout this period should centre round some form of manual and productive work, and that all other abilities to be developed or training to be given should as far as possible be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child ; (d) that the conference expect that this system of education will be gradually able to cover the remuneration of the teachers." The Indian National Congress at its Haripura session endorsed the first three resolutions.

In drafting the syllabus, the Committee entrusted with the work clarified the principles underlying the proposed system of national education.—"Socially considered the introduction of such practical productive work in education, to be participated by all children of the nation will tend to break down the existing barriers of prejudice between manual workers and intellectual workers. Economically considered the scheme will increase the productive capacity of our workers and also enable them to utilise their leisure advantageously. . . . The scheme envisages the idea of a co-operative community in which the motive of social service will dominate all the activities of all children." These are undoubtedly fine principles for educational planning. The Committee note also that "the craft or productive work chosen should be rich in educative possibilities." The Committee, however, stated that "this good education will also incidentally cover the major portion of running expenses." Also in the "main outlines of the seven years' course" spinning and weaving occupy the place of honour on top of the list and it is expected to be made a compulsory subject in all basic schools in the lowest forms. A reference to the reports on Basic Education issued by the Hindusthani Talimi Sangh makes it clear that spinning and incidental work was the main craft introduced in the Basic Schools almost everywhere ; also wherever careful accounts were kept, it was obvious that the schools did not bring an income of more than a small fraction of the expenses. The only exception was the case of the school at Sevagram. It should, however, be remembered that the yarn spun in this school was sold at a subsidised rate which it is not possible to obtain in the open market or on an all-India scale. The pupils were also made to work on it for 3 hours on an average each day. It has been suggested that the Government should pay the subsidy when such schools are organised for compulsory primary education all over India. I have calculated the amount of it needed for 5 crores of children ; it is Rs. 50 crores per annum besides expense on a Khadi department. This burden will naturally have to be borne by the tax-payers who are the parents of the children. It should also be pointed out that in laying so much stress on spinning the sponsors of the Wardha Scheme are going against the sound general principles formulated by them, *viz.*, that the craft should be rich in educative possibilities and that the central handicraft should be chosen with due regard to the environment of the child. In our country nearly three-fourths of our people are agriculturists. To be exact, the figure is a little over 70 per cent. But less than one per cent of our people are spinners or weavers. These are serious defects in the Wardha Scheme of National Education, in the matter of content of teaching. The principles laid down are however sound. They are in fact very similar to those formulated by the great American educationist, John Dewey for linking education to the social and economic background of the child.

A far more serious defect of the Wardha Scheme is the basic philosophy that underlies it. The entire

Basic Scheme has no plans for meeting the needs of industry; there is also no mention of University education or higher research as part of the national plan. This scheme of national education is in fact based on belief that the future of Indian civilisation lies in a village economy based on the present primitive agriculture and the equally archaic spinning wheel and cottage industry linked with it. I am myself a wearer of Khadi; but I do it because it is one hundred per cent Swadeshi and every pice given for it goes to our people. For the time being, until we build up industries and better modes of production, it is a useful cottage industry which I have recommended for adoption in certain areas in famine-stricken Bengal, for rehabilitation. But that does not mean that our intellectual development should be linked to and limited by this ancient mode of production. I may add that the Indian National Congress by its appointment of a National Planning Commission, including many eminent scientists, has expressed its belief in a different type of future Indian society.

The so-called Sargent Scheme drawn up by a Committee of Indians and Britishers carefully considered the Wardha Scheme and have retained its valuable principles regarding stress on handiwork and what they term "learning by doing." They have, however, overlooked the importance of craft centering which Gandhiji stressed in his scheme. Unless a man learns to think and develop his mind in association with his future profession in life, he is likely to give up exercising his brain later on in life. Nor will he have the same respect for his work as for other occupations like educational work or the so-called learned professions where the mind had to be kept at a high level of fitness. Modern agriculture and modern industry offers endless scope for real culture. They are no longer the primitive means of production which made their followers humble individuals who had no need to think but to do a little muscular work.

The Central Advisory Board of Education can, however, claim the merit of having drawn up a fairly comprehensive plan for the different stages of education commencing from Nursery Schools, passing to Basic Junior or Senior Schools, and then discussing technical education, adult education and university education. There are also chapters on Training of Teachers, Health of the School Child and the formation of an Employment Bureau. The entire plan however lacks reality for a very simple reason. It seems to have been drawn up in a partial vacuum, without considering other aspects of the life of the nation. Thus we read, "while the extent and character of the post-war demand for technical education must remain problematical, it is possible to make definite proposals as to the lines on which it should be organised." The weakness of the report is summed up in this sentence. The lines on which various types of schools can be organised have been adapted from the systems found to be sound in practice in England. This is quite all right,—as far as it goes and it is only a small way. For national education is not a matter of a paper programme. While primary education and part of the post-primary state can be generally planned on the assumption that all children between certain ages will be made to go to school, educational planning as a whole can not be carried on such a vague basis. The Central Advisory Board are aware that it is necessary not merely to educate but to place in employment the youth at the end of training. Hence they have recommended the organisation of an Employment Bureau on lines similar to that obtaining in England. But in an independent country where every adult is an elector, unemployment has to be tackled somehow by the people in power to maintain their position. In a dependent country, the power remains with rulers who cannot be dislodged by a simple vote. The copying of the English national system of education with suitable adaptations regarding the content of teaching cannot convert the scheme into a National Scheme of Education for India. The first requisite for that is planning for Economic Reconstruction; the Educational Plan has to fit in with this scheme. As a matter of fact, the people who showed the way in planning—the people of U.S.S.R.—did not indulge in such piecemeal plans. Their plan was total *i.e.*, for all departments of life. Unless this is done, the organic unity of the social and economic structure is upset and there is maladjustment. The reason why the Sargent Plan, in spite of its beautiful appearance on paper, reveals weakness in operative details is due to the fact that the Imperialist rulers do not intend to industrialise India to any serious extent. They are aware that some industries must be built up and agriculture improved to a certain extent if British manufacture is to find a bigger outlet in this country. At the same time they feel that there must be adequate safeguards against proper industrial development in India; otherwise India with her resources might easily become self-sufficient and cease to be a market for British goods. But if industries do not develop, then the scheme of education based on the British model will not fit into the national life. So far as compulsory primary education is concerned, it may come. But even here there is a difficulty about expenses. If India is not industrialised, *i.e.*, not made much more productive than now, the people cannot have enough surplus over and above their bodily requirements, to spare money for such widespread education. Hence the progress must be slow. Hence the Central Board of Education envisage that the scheme will come into operation full two generations later. The authors do not of course give this reason for the extraordinary period that they consider necessary for this educational development. Lack of suitable teachers is put forward as the principal difficulty. Against this argument it may be noted that the percentage of education and literacy in India is about the same now as it was in Czarist Russia in 1917 just before the Soviet Revolution. In the Asiatic dependencies of the old Russian Empire literacy was then less than one per cent on an average. There was, therefore, much greater lack of teachers in these areas than in India at present. Nevertheless in 1939, in spite of a period of tremendous turmoil for the first five years, literacy in Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan was on an average well over 70 per cent. Primitive tribes in those areas, about whom we still teach from existing text-books written by British or American authors' are now running modern industries and teaching advanced subjects in local Universities in these results. I shall give you another example much nearer home. When the Swaraj Party under the late Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das secured an absolute majority in the Calcutta Corporation, the question of primary education of the children of the city was taken up as the first item on their programme of constructive work. Deshbandhu put me in charge of it and asked me to see that we introduced compulsory education as quickly as possible. Under the

law, the limit of attendance on a voluntary basis has to be reached before compulsion can be applied. This limit is taken at about 60 per cent of the number of children of school-going age. Many educationists were doubtful whether we would get suitably trained teachers for such rapid expansion. It was undoubtedly a problem. The solution which I adopted was as follows: We appointed as teachers men who had passed the matriculation examination from any recognised University or from the Congress National Schools of 1921-23 or had knowledge of academic subjects of this standard, and preference was given to those who had shown initiative in National Welfare work. A Training College was organised on a somewhat special basis. The classes were held in the evening and a certain proportion of the teachers appointed were sent to these lessons. They worked in the daytime in our schools where our trained Inspectors as well as the staff of the Training College went to guide them by helpful criticism. Additional lessons were given in the evening classes. In this way in six years' time we arranged for the teaching of all children of primary school-going age in Calcutta, attending on a voluntary basis and at the same time continuously improved the standard of teaching. Our schools were inspected by the Government officials who were not by any chance biassed in our favour and also by foreign visitors. The quality of teaching was admitted by all of them to be very high and Mr. H. N. Brailsford who went to visit one of our good schools in 1930 remarked that it was better than the school where he had studied in childhood. He noted in his work *Rebel India* about this school, "If all India could pass through such schools, the next generation would solve any problem that is soluble." I may add that at the All-India Educational Conference held in Karachi in 1933 I pointed out how by a slight modification of the Calcutta method, the problem of lack of trained teachers in India can be solved. I have given you these details to indicate that if we plan for an attainable objective and are really earnest about it, and treat it as a research problem, we can reach it. In Calcutta we made up our mind to do a certain thing, and then we set about how to do it best. The Sargent Committee have started at the wrong end. They have considered the present supply of trained men and calculated on this basis a rate of progress which is comparable to the speed of a bullock cart. Naturally they want 50 years to reach their objective.

To plan a National system of education we have to take stock of our present position—not only in education but in other matters. You know probably that "the Government of India themselves admit that we do not produce sufficient food of all kinds to meet the requirements of a balanced diet in minimum quantity for the 400 millions of India."* Yet over 70 per cent of our people are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations. But America with barely 12 per cent engaged in agriculture produces enough food for herself and for export. The well-known physicist, Dr. Meghnad Saha has pointed out by another set of figures at how low a level of production we are now. All commodities have to be made by human, animal or some other kind of labour. Now science has enabled man to harness electricity and steam as well as oil to produce power to labour on his behalf. The total production of commodities in a country will be proportioned to the total consumption of power in the country. Also the total production of commodities *i.e.*, production as a whole measures the wealth of the people. The amount of power—electric, steam, etc., or otherwise produced and consumed in this country comes to barely 120 units per capita whereas in the advanced countries of Europe and in America it varies from 2000 to 3000 units. It is no wonder that the average Indian standard of life is so wretched absolutely and compared to western countries.

Turning back to agriculture, on which 70 per cent of our people depend, you will find that the average holding of land is uneconomic all over India, except in the Punjab. Very little chemical manuring is also done, as none are produced in this country and foreign products unduly increase the cost of cultivation. It has been computed by some of the members of the National Planning Board, (and our own estimates are similar) that half the people must be shifted from agriculture to other productive occupations if agriculture is to be paying. The other productive occupations are industry and the social services. For industry you require a long-term planning for production of electric and thermal power and of its use in factories. But hydro-electric power, the most potent and cheapest source of electric power, needs a preliminary survey of rivers and their rate of flow and the volume of water drained from catchment areas. Unfortunately the Government of India have never paid any attention to this matter. A well-known British engineer, Sir F. Spring, who constructed one of the biggest bridges in the East,—the Hardinge Bridge over the Padma in Northern Bengal—remarks: "Heretofore there has been no pretence of organising any . . . research in connection with the engineering of canals and railways of India," although as the same writer points out, expenditure on such research reduces the 'first cost of public works and ensures their safety.' The reason for such neglect has been pointed out earlier. The British rulers are not interested in our welfare, and in the past did not desire India to be industrialised at all. Such projects can, therefore, be taken up only when the power comes into the hands of people interested in the welfare of the Indian people.

A mere transfer of power is not however enough. In connection with agriculture, I have pointed out that holdings are everywhere uneconomic. I should add that the average cultivator very often has to supplement his earnings from his own land by share cropping. The superior landlord who may be a non-cultivating owner takes an undue share of the harvest from the peasant proper. The position is worst in the areas of Permanent Settlement. I have carried out a survey of the economic conditions in Bengal, and I can tell you that two-thirds of the peasantry there thus live from hand to mouth. In the Madras Presidency I believe the position, before the Bengal famine, was not better than in our province. Apart from shifting a large proportion of agriculturists to industry, it is essential that the cultivator proper be protected from the superior landlord. Even in the Punjab, where there have been for about 20 years better land laws than in other provinces of India, the poor peasant does not get adequate protection from landowners and peasant moneylenders. Therefore, when a transfer of power takes place, we should ensure that the zemindars and money-lenders do not have any important share of it.

The same remark applies to the case of industrial workers. It is true that we must organise industries to relieve pressure on land. But the industrial worker as he lives now, is no better off than the peasant. His work

* Kharegat Committee Report.

is monotonous; he does not realise that he is part of a vast system of integrated work that should be the glory of modern times. Unfortunately, he is treated by the capitalist owners like a bit of another machine—only to be used for the production of goods and not to have any share in its consumption. Gandhiji has rightly stated that violence is involved in modern industrialism. But violence does not lie in the use of machine and the powers of nature as hand-maidens of Man. It consists in the forcible appropriation by a few owners of the surplus production that comes from the co-operation of many individuals—not only in the particular factory where one kind of goods is produced, but with workers elsewhere who have grown and supplied the raw material or built the machines. Our great leader Gandhiji believes that owners and such wealthy people can be persuaded to behave as Trustees of the national wealth in their hands. My experience of them however has been that they do not have any faith in such a theory. In connection with a recent strike near Calcutta, I pointed out to a Director and certain of his influential friends that in the Industrial belt round Calcutta labourers were half-starved. A sample survey carried out under my supervision in 1945 has revealed that as against a balanced daily diet including fish and milk and weighing 19 chittacks as drawn up and recommended by the Government nutritional expert Dr. Aykroyd, the workers are now getting 16 chittacks mainly consisting of cereals, lentils and vegetables. I mentioned these figures, but it left them unmoved. Then I stated Gandhiji's theory of Trusteeship. I was bluntly told that they as businessmen did not believe in it. You will, therefore, realise that in this sphere also it is essential to safeguard that transfer of power does not take place to any serious extent to the hands of the small group of rich bankers and businessmen.

I would like you to pause for a moment and consider what issues have come up in connection with our discussion of National Education. We have seen that a National system of education is intimately bound up with National Planning as a whole. We have also had to conclude that the necessary economic development of our country, essential for the success of any real scheme of National Education, cannot take place unless there is National Government. It has also become apparent that the National Government must not be run in the interest of a handful of zemindars, bankers, moneylenders and business magnates. As the Indian National Congress stated in its famous resolution of 8th August 1942, the National Government must devote itself to "the welfare of the workers in fields factories and elsewhere to whom all power should essentially belong." If, therefore, you want a truly national system of education, which will enable you to live happily in a free and prosperous India, you must bear these ideals in mind, and work for their attainment. I am a Congressman myself and I have therefore laid stress on the ideals set out by the Congress; and also because it is the premier political organisation in India. There are however other organisations like the Communist Party or the Muslim League who believe in similar ideals and have formulated programmes of action based on such ends in view. Many of you may owe allegiance to different political parties including the Congress. But if you agree in your major objectives, it should be your duty to work together for their attainment. If you are a true well-wisher of your people, you should not try to secure the triumph of your particular group or of your party. Your aim should be to draw up a programme for the welfare of the people and demonstrate its correctness in theory as well as in practice to your rivals. This is the way of unity and successful endeavour, and I cannot stress it too much at the present time when our political life is torn apart by strife among different organisations. The students of Calcutta demonstrated the possibility of unity of Congress League, Communists and others when facing bullets in Dhurrumtolah. May I hope you will achieve it in all national welfare work? I am aware that the conditions are very difficult just now for a realisation of these ideals. But in such circumstances there is only one remedy—to proceed patiently with what you know to be right and to refuse to be provoked into unseemly wrangles with your opponents. If things seem to be too bad, and you feel too sore with the unjust treatment meted out to you, just think of the heroic fighters for freedom who have died or are still languishing behind prison-bars—people who have given their entire life to inspire in others the courage and tenacity that alone can win us freedom.

I shall conclude with a reference to another problem which is inseparably associated with education. There are in our country people of various types of culture and living in various levels of culture. A uniform system of national education, with the same contents in teaching, cannot meet the requirements of all of them. I have already mentioned the 20 million tribal folk in our country. Their education must be of a different type from ours of necessity. Their cultural outlook is different and our job is to educate them to fit into the modern world, wihout destroying the valuable elements in the partern of their culture. The case of the educationally backward communities is not very different. Both these groups will need our special help to enable them to take their rightful place in a free India. Take again the case of followers of Islam. It is not generally realised that religious education is considered by them as an integral part of school teaching. The cultural pattern of the life of a Moslem is also to some extent different from that of a Hindu. If you ignore these differences and try to formulate a single plan for schools for all communities, you will come up against unexpected and bitter controversies like those which arose in some parts of the Central Provinces over the Vidyamandir Scheme. It is not suggested that education of the different communities should be carried on in segregation from each other. On the contrary, it is essential to study the cultural requirements of all the different groups and make adequate provision for the same—better to unite them. A good deal of suspicion and bitterness has been created between different communities and social groups, as represented by their different political organisations owing to this failure to appreciate the existence of differences in culture which are present in the midst of the geographical unity of India. There is no doubt that proper National Planning to be successful must include the whole of India. But this unity will have to be of a different and higher order than that imposed on us by our Imperialist masters. It should be a voluntary association of the people of different cultures and languages living in fairly well-defined areas in different parts of India. As you are aware, the failure to solve this particular problem has split out the country into several warring camps. Unless the nature of the problem is recognised, and it is carefully studied and then attacked, a great deal of discord and unhappiness will come in the near future.

FOLK MUSEUMS IN INDIA

By ADRIS BANERJI

Introduction

In my paper on "A Plea for Local Museums" I had occasion to regret the neglect of folk elements in our culture. I may emphatically assert that a true evaluation of Indian culture is only possible when its constituent elements have been properly assessed. But in our public as well as government museums, a greater emphasis is laid on the finer side of our civilization, to the total neglect of the humbler, with the result that our interpretations lack that balance and authority which sense of proportion could have brought to its aid. I want to point out that our public and national galleries have so far devoted themselves to the classic elements. Their lofty halls and spacious rooms are filled with the specimens of the aristocratic origin. Even in archaeology there are folk elements. Let us recall the sudden advent of the Mauryan art with its Western Asiatic traditions, with which an imperial convert embellished the sacred places of his adopted church. When this exotic art makes its exit, we find the neglected and contemptuous folk elements appearing to augment the glories of Barhut and Sanchi. Nevertheless, there is a profound difference between the two. While Barhut gloriously breathes of primeval jungles, Sanchi has a mature art with the swagger and superciliousness of the suburbs. We archaeologists gave a death-blow to the aristocratic pedestal of archaeology when we diverted our attention from coins, gems, seals and sculptures to humbler pots and pans with the result, that these pioneers have been sneeringly called *Tikkiwalas* by curio-dealers and old-fashioned Curators.

Folk Museums Defined

The aim of this paper is to advocate the cause of "Folk Museums." Individual elements of the folk culture have received attention from gifted personalities, such as folk songs by Satyarthi in *The Modern Review*, "Pat Paintings of Bengal" by Ajit Ghose. Yeoman's service was rendered by the late Mr. G. S. Dutt by founding the *Bratachari* movement for the cultivation of folk songs and dances, which became an all-India movement before the advent of the Armageddon. Folk museums are of two kinds—'open-air' and 'indoor.' By folk museum open air museums are meant by me, in which rural houses, together with domestic utensils, their scanty furnishings, smithies, cowsheds, shoemaker's shops, grinding machines, pestles and stones, costumes, conveyances, musical instruments, wells, ponds, dykes, ploughs, ovens, kitchens, roads, would be all there representing the rural life of India in all its aspects. Elsewhere I had referred to the desirability of models. But these can never create that atmosphere, that variegated colourful life of Indian villages of different provinces, which is likely to meet a visitor's eye, when he passes from the well-defended villages of Afridis and Yasufzais, to the still more solidly built but less martial-looking villages of the Punjab, the tiled homes of the Ganges valley, mud and wattle huts of Bengal, thatched cottages on stilts in the Dooars and Assam. Greater would be the sense of satisfaction of the villagers when he passes from the opulent village zamindars' houses of Bengal, to the commodius stone-built houses with their peculiar Himalayan charm of the Lepchas, Bhutiya, Garhwalis, etc., with contrast offered by the spick and span Santal homes with their sunken floors. The houses themselves will furnish us with the second type of museum as some of these will undoubtedly have to be furnished with furniture typical of such specimens. These will bear that profound influence on the growth of public taste and cater to public knowledge about our regional social customs, living and faith about which so little is known. Thus Madras villages will all have a snake stone before them, which will be absent in the Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Bengal. Again the observation and appreciation of the regional industries will bear far greater influence on our growing industries as in north European countries.

Folk Museums Elsewhere

The utility of 'open-air' museums had been appreciated long ago in north European countries like Norway, Sweden, Denmark. A brief account of these may not be irrelevant. In Sweden, they have originated out of a spontaneous movement known as *Hemeygdsvard* or *Hembygdsvarde Orde*. These are called *Hembygds Museums*. They were results of the efforts made by an amateur folklorist—G. Hyton Cavellias, who first realised that a nation's conservation lies not in third-rate copies of national activities elsewhere, not in the magnificent collections of natural sciences, etc., elsewhere, but in finding their own soul—in the recording, preservation and exhibition of the various aspects of their life. But the greatest name in this respect is of Artur Hazellus, with whom the foundation of the famous 'open-air' museum is associated. In a few cases the folk museums in Sweden have undoubtedly been the contribution of the intelligentsia; but, the majority were established by the farmers and the rural class, and their character and contents vary according to the needs of a particular place. At Elsingborg the people have turned an old manor house into a museum of art, antiquities and ethnographical objects of the neighbourhood. In some instances the whole of an old village has been preserved—the inhabitants having voluntarily relinquished their rights and moved on to a new place. Another type which is best suited for India, is a sort of landscape museum, with all sorts of buildings put up at a convenient place complete with farmers' dwellings, smithies, turneries parish churches, wagons, horses, ploughs and other agricultural implements, complete with shed; sometimes with a real museum, roads, canals, pasture lands, etc. On scheduled days, folk dances, songs and ceremonies are held. In an industrial city like Eskiltuna an old workshop has been turned into a museum with objects associated with the city's industrial development—a history museum of a novel kind. These museums are not merely the result of a few antique-minded people, but monumental evidence of a nation's determination to keep alive their age-old customs and traditions, in spite of progress; refusing to be swept away with the tidal waves of modernism, nevertheless accepting the best that modern civilization has to offer. Mammoth collections of art objects and scientific curiosities housed in palatial halls, with all that adventitious aids can do to create atmosphere have been very thoughtfully left to the metropolitan cities. They exhibit their zeal for the proper interpretation of their national life, pattern of their culture and devotion to their traditions, and the immemorial social customs.

Unwittingly, they have helped the scientist and the historian immeasurably, and placed the cause of museums on a fresh, original and higher level of thought and purpose.

The Necessity in India

With the industrial development of India in its full strides, the Indian population is now suddenly exposed to a whirlwind of modern industrialisation, with its associated restlessness and lack of tradition, and its nomadic existence. The machine age, which is to take away from man its last claim to rationality and turn them into mere automatons of a soulless master, is likely to affect the life of Indian masses. He has to lose his sense of individuality, his individual rights, and to merge himself in a machine of collective responsibility, living and thinking ; where his habits and powers of thinking, and energies are to be exploited, for a purpose with which he will have little sympathy like the Newcastle miners or the Manchester labourers. The pattern of Indian rural life has changed, and is likely to change more. That honesty, simple faith in God, piety, simple and peaceful living, have disappeared from our country life. The placid equilibrium of sane, balanced life no longer exists there. With the disappearance of the agricultural basis of the country's economic life, a more revolutionary change is likely to take place. Already, disease, ignorance, ill-health and furtherence of political interests have changed that placid village life. Apart from this great necessity, the environment, races, and varying conditions prevalent in this country, have always cried out for such institutions, which will lay more stress on the correct interpretation and assessment of India's eternal life, which *cabincts de curiosite* can never perform towards the education of popular taste. To make the world understand India and Indians understand their own country. Indians are not a single nation. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with his scientific background has pointed out : "India from ancient times, was not a nation, but multi-nation state." On its broad wide bosom, various nations and races in various stages of culture have found abiding peace. The Negritoes (were they *aborigines* ?), the Dravidians, the so-called Aryans, the Greeks, Scythians, Persians, Parthians, Huns, Turks, Mughals have entered with pride of victory, to be merged in course of time with its teeming population. Its lofty hills, and wide valleys, its big rivers, and seemingly endless plains have nourished them, permitted them to maintain their individualities, and to live on it peacefully in mutual respect, till political passions and ambitions have torn them asunder. It is necessary to conserve, to record, to exhibit these local differences, to appreciate the fundamental unity among them; from the rude primitive tribes, like the Bhutiyas and Lepchas, the Todas, the Mundas of the hills the Bhils, the Santals, the Hos, etc., to the cultured Marathi, the Madrasi and the Bengali ; from barter to the Tatas ; from hand-woven cloths to Ahmedabad mills.

The mechanisation of transport is bringing revolution in design and modes of travel in this country very rapidly. Nobody in this country has any thought for old conveyances—those which have wooden bodies are generally utilised for fuel. Thus in the interiors of Nadia district 20 years ago, the present writer found carts with well-built bodies and series of windows in which a couple of persons could sleep easily. At Chakradharpur in Singhbhum district of Bihar, there was another conveyance called 'Pus-pus' which used to be drawn by men or bullocks. The old *tanjams*, the various grades of *dolis*, *palqis* are all going out of use. Even in the motor transport, the body design of lorries have underwent considerable transformations. The river transport system has fared no better. Already the steamer companies have done considerable mischief in East Bengal. The old *bajras*, *chhips* have disappeared with their colourful designs. In Bengal, a new problem presents itself. The wholesale destruction of boats due to the fear of enemy invasion in 1941, and the Bengal famine causing deaths of the technical hands, is likely to affect the designs of new boats which the Government will distribute to revive the normal state of the country. The new boats with western notions of buoyancy will miss those original features which grew out of the environment and culture complex of the region.

The quality of Indian craftsmanship in rural areas has received international recognition. But the various industries far from being organised on a firm basis live on an uncertain market. Twenty years ago in Tanjore, the handicraft of making models of famous South Indian temples existed, the present writer possesses two ; but for want of consistent patronage it died an unnatural death. In Mysore, Trichinopoly, Madura, and Bankura, fine wood carvers still exist, even now, along with ivory-inlay workers. They have been sustained by unrecorded technique, the knowledge having been passed from generation to generation. For these crafts there must have been a long range of tools as well as specialised types, all these have remained unrecorded. The Government schools of arts and crafts and western machines are the greatest enemies of these. They all have an uncertain patronage. These products are seldom on public view except in local markets, and then the source of their origin remains unknown to prospective purchasers. A central folk museum might bring them together.

A Central Museum

In any scheme of organisation a central museum becomes imperative which would be the nerve centre of all operation. No doubt those persons, who hold that for development rigidity at the very commencement may lead to the defeat of the purpose, are correct to some extent. But a strong policy (not multitudinous policies) is a greater necessity to ensure sound health of the new movement. A central spot convenient from points of view of space, cost, transport, should be selected. It must have features which to some extent can successfully reproduce the rugged features of the Frontier, well-irrigated plains of the Punjab, monotonous dune coloured plain of the Ganges valley ; the verdure of Bengal and Orissa ; Madras with its eastern ghats ; and the rolling downs of Deccan uplands, as meet the eye when travelling by the Poona-Ahmednagar road. The regional differences will make our villages lack the fine trimmed hedges of Swedish hamlets and the quiet lanes of the English countryside. All differences are deep and constitutional. The accessibility and series of invasions have never allowed that free scope to rural India, that freedom of living in peace which was the lot of those countries. Forced by circumstances, unstable governments, internecine warfare, collective responsibility have been theirs from which even now they can never shake themselves free.

Here we must found our national folk museum and recreate *the best* in our rural atmosphere. First attention must be given to the building styles, original to the region itself. The various sections must be accompanied by their natural arts and crafts, agricultural implements, domestic utensils, pots, and pans ; ornaments, costumes, conveyances, booths, the inevitable bania, the mosque, the temple, *tols* and *maktabs,* methods of irrigation, smithies, cowsheds, turneries, fishing nets, ploughs, hoes, scythes. The *salwar* from the Punjab, the *chunari* of U.P., the colourful saris of Bengal, Madras and Maharashtra ; costumes throughout the ages, present in itself a great problem. One day we may have the privilege of walking through the palisaded *asura* village, through Vedic, Mauryan, Gupta, Gurjara villages to Mughal townships and finally to a model modern village; from the primitive huts of the Todas, Bhils and Santals. to an ultra-modern village home of post-war construction.

Regional Units

The steel frame of diversity of climate, flora and fauna has imposed upon India the necessity of regional museums. The linguistic and other differences between the districts are often neglected. Unlike England and Sweden, the country has not been immune from invasion and periodical isolation. Nor access from one region to another was so easy, as in France or England. All these have contributed directly to regional cultures, whose proper evaluation would be the function of these local institutions. The first requisite in an 'open-air' museum is the typology of the houses. The houses of well-to-do peasants should be selected and not that of a zamindar. The zamindar too will undoubtedly have his share ; because unlike western Europe, the Indian landed gentry have no common culture. Their *achara* differs. In selecting the houses, attention should be paid to the design, we should strike more for the indigenous, before western ideas infiltered from the city. The next would be the agriculturist's home with its natural accompaniments. These selections would result in the establishment of regional building styles with regional materials—the first great service that 'folk museums' will contribute towards the appreciation of material resources of the country. The inevitable objection would be that such costly schemes are not possible. Let me asseverate that India now possesses many rich men in almost all districts, their interests should be roused. The political leaders too can accept purses and donate them for the purpose. Secondly, all museums be they regional or central, should from the commencement, have a definite policy of gradual development. The reality in the buildings would be added by natural furnishings, and the atmosphere would bring more supporters. Costs can be minimised if voluntary workers can be enrolled. Why should not the Kasturba Memorial Committee, established for the rural uplift purposes devote their energies towards this end ? Why not people like D. N. Majumdar try to create something which would be a permanent memorial to rural India ? The National Planning Committee may take up this matter. The fate of India is inextricably mixed up with rural population. The fundamental wrong with 'Pre-war India' was its neglect of the countryside, which has led to unimaginable deterioration in the morals. Just as you cannot draw a cart with one bullock, while provisions exist for a pair, so urban India alone cannot save the country. The soul of rural India must be salvaged from the deep chasm. The pattern of Indian village life has changed and will change but we may make an honest endeavour to record them.

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BERNARD SHAW— THE PLAYWRIGHT

By HESKETH PEARSON

From the time of Shakespeare onwards, for some three hundred years, the British drama was moribund. Now and again a masterpiece appeared, such as Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* or Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* or Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest ;* but it is broadly true to say that from the beginning of the seventeenth century to the end of the nineteenth the theatre was kept going by great actors, not by great dramatists. The genius of Shakespeare and the rise of Puritanism were responsible for the dearth of good playwrights during the seventeenth century ; the first swamped them, the second suppressed them. The lampoons of Henry Fielding, which resulted in the establishment of a censorship by his chief victim, Sir Robert Walpole, account for the fact that, for the next two hundred years in England, imaginative writers left the stage alone and concentrated on novels.

Just as the Restoration dramatists, with Congreve at their head, took their cue from France, so did the later Victorian dramatists ; and when Bernard Shaw arrived on the scene the English theatre was dependent on cheap melodramas, adaptations, and plays which were modelled on the artificially constructed plots of two French writers, Scribe and Sardou. From 1895 to 1898, Shaw as a dramatic critic, ceaselessly attacked the fashionable drama of the age, championed Ibsen, prepared the way for his own comedies, and incidentally wrote some of the wittiest and most provocative essays in the history of journalism. His attack was successful. The so-called "well-made" play gave place to the drama of ideas, and the Shavian Theatre was firmly established in the early years of the present century.

Social Satire

At first, of course, the London managers would not look at Shaw's plays. Instead of the *denouements* and stale situations and commonplace sentiments to which they were accustomed, he gave them social satire, unconventional philosophy and brainy dialogue. One of his early plays was booed, another was censored, a third failed. Still he pegged away, and when his chance came in 1904 at the Court Theatre (under the management of J. E. Vedrenne and Harley Granville-Barker) he produced his own comedies, trained his own actors and created his own audiences.

After that the London managers clamoured for his plays. But the critics, uninfluenced by the box-office considerations, were not so easily persuaded, and for

more than a generation many of them went on repeating that his plays were "not plays," an attitude he derisively encouraged by calling them conversations, discussions, history lessons, and so on.

What made his work seem so novel was that he revived the classical technique of play-writing, applying it to modern problems: he adopted the methods of the Greek dramatists in order to deal with the topics of the hour. While the essence of his plays is as original as Shaw himself, their novelty lay in the fact that he used the theatre as another man would use a newspaper, a pulpit or a platform; many of his comedies are half-sermon, half-debate, and every conceivable subject is discussed, from love, marriage and family life to religion, science and politics, his laboriously acquired knowledge of social conditions and his creed as a socialist informing most of them.



George Bernard Shaw

Being an inspired dramatist, not a manufacturer of entertainment, he did not plan or plot his plays in advance. While engaged on them he never saw a page ahead and never knew what was going to happen. The forms they took were inevitable, though he worked as carefully at the writing of them as the most industrious craftsman.

His first plays, which he labelled "unpleasant," dealt with slum landlordism, jealousy and prostitution; then came some "pleasant" plays, two of which, *Arms and the Man* and *You Never Can Tell*, are now recognised as classical comedies. There followed *Three Plays for Puritans*, which were written to prove that the popular subjects of sex and adultery were not the only interesting themes for dramatic treatment, and to preach the folly of punishment and revenge. Easily the best of these was *Caesar and Cleopatra*, which, by initiating a natural and humourous treatment of historical figures, has widely influenced modern drama and biography.

Creative Evolutionist

After that Shaw abandoned his efforts to suit the stage and wrote simply what suited himself. In *Man and Superman* the long third act contains his creed as a Creative Evolutionist. Politics in *John Bull's Other Island*, the Salvation Army in *Major Barbara*, the medical profession in *The Doctor's Dilemma*, marriage in *Getting Married*, parents and children in *Misalliance*, phonetics in *Pygmalion*, followed in quick succession; and the political implications in religious persecution were set forth in his most perfect drama, *Androcles and The Lion*, which appeared in 1913 and was dismissed by the critics as blasphemous and in bad taste.

During the 1914-18 war he wrote *Heartbreak House* in the manner of Tchekov, and began his testament to the human race, *Back to Methuselah*, in which he postulated the necessity for the prolongation of human life to at least three hundred years, the reason being that until men and women could expect to live much longer than they do at present they would not seriously attempt to better their conditions. His fame as a dramatist was fitly sealed in 1924 with *Saint Joan*, which was a world-wide success; and though he wrote eight or nine plays after that none of them is on a level with the best work he produced before 1926, when he reached the age of seventy.

Traditionalism

Apart from the peculiarity of genius inseparable from their creator, Shaw's plays are chiefly notable for their traditionalism, though when first they appeared, the critics thought them widely original and undramatic in form, the performers thought them completely lacking in good 'acting' parts, and the audiences did not know what to think. Actually, he used the technique of Euripides and Moliere, he revived the idiosyncratic differentiation of character seen in Shakespeare, he provided the actors and actresses with enormously effective parts, such as had not been created by a British writer for nearly three hundred years, and he restored the long rhetorical speeches which are an important feature of primitive dramaturgy. As a result, his is the only considerable repertory of classical plays and parts in the English language since the early years of the seventeenth century; and his famous onslaughts as a dramatic critic on the reputation of Shakespeare were largely due to a desire to clear the ground before settling down to the job of supplying the modern stage with a living drama, just as his only comparable predecessor had animated the stage of a different epoch.

The two great playwrights cannot be compared, because Shakespeare was solely concerned with the portrayal of human beings and the expression of the human soul in poetry; while Shaw was mainly concerned with ideas and philosophy, with making people think and giving them a faith. It is the difference between a pure artist and a prophet. But Shaw, too, was an artist, and many characters in his plays were admirably presented. What observation could do, his observation did. He saw people with exceptional shrewdness, and could exhibit their characteristics vividly, but he had not Shakespeare's mediumistic power of feeling and living his creations, and a great deal of Shaw's own kindliness and common sense is given to some of his characters where it is utterly out of place.

THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE CITY OF CALCUTTA UP TO THE 19TH CENTURY

By Prof. P. C. CHAKRAVARTI

This city of Calcutta, with its palatial buildings, macadamized and asphaltic roads, modern transports, day and night services of electricity for various purposes, filtered water, activities of trade and commerce is considered at present, from the standpoint of population, as the second city of the British Empire and the eighth in the whole world. It now attracts men from all parts of the civilised world. The gradual increase in population has urbanised the adjoining suburbs of the city and as a result its municipal area has expanded it. But very few of us have a clear conception of the historico-geographical development of this important city.

In recent years, due to the endeavour of the Calcutta Improvement Trust some developments of this city have been planned on the scientific basis. In Western countries such developments are being effected in conformity with not only the political and the economic conditions but also the geographical aspects of the area. Filthy *bastis* in the midst of high buildings or houses of low heights beside the tall ones still form a great contrast and become a sore to the eyes.

History

In the latter part of the seventeenth century the political condition of the country gave an impetus to Job Charnack to construct factories here on the eastern bank of the Ganges. Thus he laid the foundation-stone of the present city. It was then a marshy land with raised grounds encircled by shrubs and bushes the abode of jackals, reptiles and other wild animals. A few huts formed villages in those raised spots. Along the eastern bank of the Ganges Sutanati, Kalikota and Gobindapur, covering roughly the area from the present-day Baghbazar to Burrabazar thence up to Esplanade and thence to Hastings, formed the three important villages each being separated by small channels that flowed from the Ganges to the salt lake (*Dhapar Math*) that lay in the present-day eastern part of the city. To the south of Gobindapur flowed the Adiganga that carried more volume of water through the police stations of Sonarpur, Baruipur, etc. It separated Gobindapur from Behala of to-day which was then a thickly forested tract with marshes here and there.

Job Charnack first settled at Sutanati. It ought to be remembered that on the western bank of the Ganges from the present-day Hooghly to Shibpur, several foreign establishments of commercial importance cropped up from the beginning of the seventeenth century. When the Danes settled at Serampore and the French at Chandernagore, the English East India Company started at Hooghly a factory which they had to abandon due to the hostile attitude of Saista Khan the *fouzdar*. Saista Khan compelled them to leave Hooghly. The English under the leadership of Job Charnack rowed down the river with their bag and baggage till they reached Sutanati. That was in the first part of 1690. But this time they could not stay here long as Saista Khan sent his men to move them as far down as Hijli near the mouth of the Ganges (the Hooghli). In the meantime, the situation changed. Ibrahim Khan the newly appointed Moghul Governor of Bengal, granted the English facilities for re-establishing factories at Sutanati. Thus established the first settlement of the future city of Calcutta round about the then Great Tank which is the modern Dalhousie Square, amidst dense jungles, patches of arable and grazing lands and marshy tracts. The great tank supplied water to the English when the natives used to drink the water of the Ganges and of the wells. The selection of Sutanati to the establishment of the English factories in Bengal and the consequent settlement close to the great tank having natural barriers against sudden attack by the enemies and waterways as means of transport shows that the topographical features were not overlooked when political condition harassed the would-be rulers of India.

Political Background

In 1698, when the English settlement grew up round about the present-day "Dalhousie Tank" the English got three villages Sutanati, Kalikota and Govindapur on lease for an annual rent of Rs. 1,300 payable to the Moghul Emperor. The name Calcutta might have been derived from Kalikota. The English for their own safety constructed a fort on the site corresponding with the General Post Office of to-day. Due to the rapid expansion of their trade, the English rose into power and obtained further 38 villages, comprising Belgachia, Surat, Ultadanga, Simla, Baghmari, Arcooly Chowringhee, Entally, Chitpur etc., on lease for a total annual rent of Rs 8,000. This time the English used to collect revenue from and govern the entire area leased out. Then came the historic day of June 16, 1756, when Nawab Sirajuddaulah defeated the English of the Dalhousie Tank and occupied houses and the then fort. The English escaped in boats down the Hughli to Fulta. In the next year came Clive who defeated the Nawab and founded the British Empire in India. His first operation was the selection of the site of the present Fort William in the jungle area of the village Gobindapur. The completion of the fort in 1778 secured safety for the resettlement of the English in Calcutta. Then began migration in the "tiger-infested" area of the south-east now called "Chowringhee." By the end of the eighteenth century, 20 garden houses were constructed there and a road called "Road to Chowringhee" was built up. The "Burying Ground Road" was the name of the "Park Street" of today, which was unsafe because of dacoits. There stood the English burial ground that still exists at its eastern end. The Park Street derives its name from the "Deer Park" that was guarded at night by a squad of sepoys. The development on the eastern part of Gobindapur was rather slow on account of the creek which was, at one time, broad enough to navigate large boats from the river eastwards to salt marshes. Eventually the creek was silted up and obliterated. The "Creek Row" preserves its memory and follows its original course.

Important Buildings and Parks

From the map of Lt.-Col. Will, it appears that the English, in the eighteenth century, lived in a compact mass round about "Tank Square." Omichand was the only Indian, whose residential quarters stood in that locality. Business quarters were centered in areas of China Bazar and Radhabazar of today and also along the "Cosaitola Road" now known as Bentinck Street. In those days, Clive Street was lined with residential quarters and it formed the eastern bank of the Hughli. Along the riverside, there was a long promenade "King's Beach Walk" for Europeans. For their evening walk, there was another fashionable park "Perin's Garden" near the mouth of Chitpur Canal. On Sundays, they used to attend prayer at St. Anne's Church built in 1709 near the north-west corner of the Dalhousie Tank. In 1756, the said church was destroyed by the Nawab and in 1784, St. John's Church was constructed. The Mission Church in Mission Row built in 1772, is still the place of Protestant worship. St. Andrews' Church was opened in 1818 at its present site, *i.e.*, at the northern end of the Old Court House Street. In the eighteenth century, there were a few play-houses of which "Calcutta Theatre," built in 1775 at the corner of Clive Street and Lyon's Range, "Chowringhee Theatre," opened in 1812 at the junction of the Chowringhee Road and the Theatre Road, and the "Sans Souci" of 1841 at Park Street on the site of St. Xavier's College, are worth mentioning. Other important buildings in those days were—the Council House which stood to the west of the present Government House ; the Town Hall which was built in 1813 out of the funds raised by lotteries for the improvement of the town ; the Mint that was originally near the present Imperial Bank Buildings, the present Mint building being constructed in 1824 ; the Writers Buildings that in 1776, were the barrack-like lodgings for the clerks of the East India Company, while the present-day ornamental structure was built in 1820.

Thus, up to the eighteenth century, the greater portions of Kalikota and Gobindapur were compactly occupied by the Europeans, while Sutanati was inhabited by Indians, where isolated huts, hamlets with jungles and paddy fields round about them could be seen. Two quarters having great contrasts, developed in those villages. There was no metalled road in either of the regions but in the English quarters, roads, with wide open drains at their sides, were built up for their easy travel and drive. There were Theatres or Parks only in the English quarters but similar development in the Indian quarters was not made till as late as the middle part of the nineteenth century. The only Indian temple in the European quarters was the temple of Govindaram in the Chitpur Road of today, which was destroyed in 1737, by cyclone.

Shelter

From old records, it becomes clear that the progressive growth of the town dates back to the early part of the eighteenth century. With the attainment of power in Bengal, English trade in this part became more stable, English merchants thronged up in numbers opened mercantile firms that attracted men from the adjoining places. Hence there was a progressive increase of population from the year 1710 to the year 1900.

Year	*Total Population*	*Europeans*
1710	12,000	250
1752	117,744	400
1821	179,917	3,005
1837	229,714	3,298
1850	415,063	7,534
1866	377,924	11,224
1876	429,535	9,335
1881	433,269	13,611
1891	500,892	10,071
*1901	577,066	9,567

The above figures, recorded from census of India 1901, Calcutta, Vol. VII, Part I, show a steady increase of population, though there were decreases in European population in 1876, in 1891 and in 1901. This European population comprises the English, the Danes, the Portuguese, the French, etc. The population of foreign nations other than the English in India began to decline the more the English grew into power. The fall in European population may thus be partly due to the retirement of other European Traders and partly due to the Boer and Afghan Wars. The last census may have been affected by the outbreak of Plague in Calcutta.

Number of houses in the eighteenth century

Year	*Pucca*	*Kutcha*
1706	8	8,000
1726	40	13,300
1742	121	14,747-14,450
1756	498	14,450
1794	1,114	13,657

(Perhaps in these figures thatched huts have not been included.)

Progressive development of houses in the old town in the nineteenth century

Houses

Year	*One-storied*	*Upper-roomed*	*Total*
1821	8800	5430	14230
1831	—	—	15303
1837	—	—	14623
1850	5918	7170	13078
1866	7318	8704	16022
1872	—	—	20443
1876	7037	9859	16896
1881	6879	11105	17984
1891	—	—	21613
1901*	22175	16399	38574

Huts

Year	*Tiled*	*Thatched*	*Grand total*
1821	15792	37497	67519
1831	19419	35354	70076
1837	20304	30567	65494
1850	48314	—	61392
1866	43575	—	59597
1872	18421	—	38864
1876	22860	—	39756
1881	20667	—	38651
1891	24191	—	45804
1901*	49007	—	87581

The most striking event since 1794 in the progressive development of houses is (by an Act of 1837) the abolition of thatched huts in the city. Abolition was due to the frequent occurrence of fires. In 1780, such a fire destroyed the entire inhabited portion from Sealdah to Colingah along the Circular Road. About 15,000 straw-

* Figures of 1901 have been included in order to form an idea of the probable corresponding figures in 1900.

thatched huts were destroyed. It ought to be borne in mind that there was no firebrigade in those days. The prohibition of thatched huts caused up to 1866 an increase in the number of tiled huts. Subsequently there was a gradual increase of pucca houses, the maximum number of houses being reached in 1901.

Expansion of Pucca houses in the old town in number and altitude

Year	1-storied	2-storied	3-storied	4-storied	5-storied
1850	5918	6438	721	10	1
1876	7037	8636	1187	34	2
1881	6879	9618	1426	59	2
1901	22175	12976	3104	298	21

The old town bore one five-storied building in 1850 and the number, becoming two, remained static in the nineteenth century. In the next century, the sudden rise in number may be due to more than one factor. It ought to be recognised that there was a general tendency for the construction of high altitude houses in order to accommodate the heavy population in the limited area.

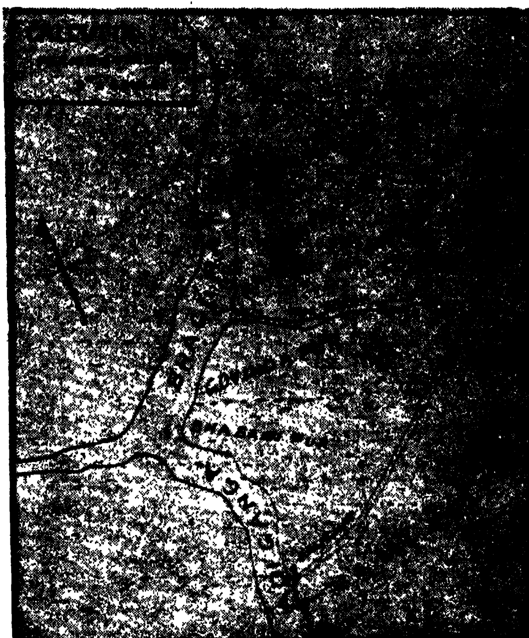
Roads

In the eighteenth century, general conditions in the town were not satisfactory. There were no good roads nor was there any arrangement for lighting at night. People going out at night had to take torch-bearers to light the way. For the maintenance of peace and order, there was no police. It was in 1876 that the town was divided into six wards, each having one or more police stations. Each police station was composed of several *mouzas* i.e., small villages. Of course, the introduction of police system in the town was made long after the improvements that were being carried out by the Lottery Committee from the early part of the nineteenth century. The Committee raised funds by means of authorised lotteries, that helped it to excavate new tanks, fill up old ones, open new roads and streets, construct new bridges, etc. Kyd Street, Free School Street, Amherst Street, Wellesley Street, College Street, Cornwallis Street, etc., were opened under that project. In 1858, the first pavement was made along the Chowringhee Road in front of the residential houses by filling up the open drains. At the western end of the present Dharamtollah Street, there was, at that time, an untidy Bazar and the present Sir Surendranath Banerjea Road was not a thoroughfare but an ill-kept lane. On the Chowringhee Road, most of the houses were residential; only a portion of Bengal Secretariat Offices was housed in the building of the present Government School of Art, and in the Indian Museum building was opened the old High School which was removed to Darjeeling in 1863 and the Indian Museum was opened in 1875. The most important activity of the eighteenth century was the excavation of a three-mile long ditch from Chitpur Bridge to Entally in order to protect the town from the sudden inroads of the Mahrattas. The Mahrattas in 1742 attacked Hooghli and then marched upon Mukwa Tannah Fort held by the English on the other side of the river, near the present Botanical gardens. The ditch excavated was called the Mahratta Ditch. The ditch would have extended westward up to the riverside at Hastings but for the retreat of the Mahrattas. In course of time, the ditch was filled in by filth and garbage and along its line, the present Circular Road was built up in the form of a semi-circle.

Drinking Water

The river-water, well-water and water from reserved tanks were utilised for drinking purposes up to the middle of the nineteenth century. There was no other arrangement for the supply of water. In 1790, the Dalhousie tank was deepened and extended in order to supply water to the English Colony round about the tank and to the garrison of Old Fort William. Between 1805 and 1836 the Lottery Committee for the improvement of the town, excavated Cornwallis Sq., Wellington Sq. and Wellesley Sq. tanks. It also dug up Mirzapore and Soortibagan tanks and filled up some old ones.

In 1820, at Chandpal Ghat, a small pumping plant was set up for raising water into open aqueducts. Water thus lifted was distributed by gravitation in the streets of Old Court House, Dhurrumtollah, Chowringhee, Park Street, Lall Bazar, Bow Bazar and part of Chitpore, etc. The water supplied was used for street watering and for replenishing public tanks.



From the report of the Fever Committee, it is found :

> "Good tanks and clean well-repaired wells were rare. Hindu inhabitants used Ganges-water. Some of them collected river-water in February and stored in jars for the summer season. The poorer Hindus and Mahomedans used tank-water. Europeans used either water from the great tank or rain water stored in Pegu-jars. Messrs. Scott & Thomson, for the manufacture of soda-water, used water from the Laldighi, filtering the same through sand and charcoal beds."

The need for the supply of pure and wholesome water to the town was first recognised by legislature in 1848. In 1853 and 1854, the Commissioners spent Rs. 5631 and 5775 in repairing waterworks at Chandpal Ghat.

The analyses of Hugli-water were elaborately done

by Dr. Macnamara between December 1861, and January 1863. Water was taken at the centre of the stream 6-ft. below the surface at three stations—opposite Cossipore, Palta and Chinsurah. It was found that water drawn either at Palta or at Chinsurah, on settling and filtration, would be pure and wholesome for drinking. The Palta Station was selected as it is nearer and there is also a fall of about 11½" per mile. The works were designed to supply 6 million gallons of filtered water per day to a population of about 4 lakhs. The works consisted of a pumping station with three 50 H.P. engines at Palta, by which water was lifted into large masonry settling tanks. The filtrate, collected in a central well, after gravitating through twelve sand-filters, gravitated through a 42-inch cast iron pipe (discharging 8 million gallons per day) into an underground reservoir at Tallah. Another pumping plant at Tallah, distributed water partly to consumers in the adjoining areas and partly to another reservoir at Wellington Square, where another plant distributed water to the consumers in the rest of the area. The reservoirs at Tallah and Wellington Square had capacities of one million and 6¼ millions respectively. Messrs. Brassy Wythes, Aird & Sons, under the supervision of a P.W.D. engineer, Mr. Smith, constructed the works. In 1870, all the principal streets and lanes (about 385) had been piped, total length of pipe being 111¾ miles. There were 300 stand-posts in streets for the easy access of the public. By the end of 1870, daily consumption was 4½ million gallons. In 1871, it was suggested by Mr. Clarke, the then Secretary of the Corporation that the number of filters be increased and an additional reservoir to maintain a reserve of 6 million gallons of water be constructed at Tallah to guard against any temporary damage at Palta. By 31st March, 1872, the number of premises connected with pipe-water was 3702 and daily consumption rose to 7,156,488 gallons. In spite of this heavy demand, no development was made till 16th June, 1880, when the water supply extension committee submitted a report recommending the increase of filtered water to 12 million gallons and of unfiltered water to 4 million gallons.

In 1888, a new pumping station was set up at Palta, about 880 yds. north of the Old Station. Three 75 H.P. engines were installed. Four large reservoirs of a total capacity of 82,750,000 gallons were dug out and 24 additional filter-beds were constructed. Water was then supplied from Palta to Tallah through a new 48-inch cast iron pipe, the total length being 66,000 feet. At Tallah, two other engines were installed and the reservoir capacity was increased from 1 to 3 million gallons. At Wellington Square, one additional pumping engine was set up and at Halliday Street, a new pumping station was opened with four beam engines and one underground reservoir of 4 million gallons capacity.

The southern suburbs were newly incorporated in the municipality and for the supply of water in that area, a new pumping station was constructed at Bhowanipur, which was provided with an underground 3 million gallon capacity reservoir and two triple expansion Worthington Engines. This was in 1891. Further minor alterations were made at Tallah, the installation of a new Worthington engine in 1898, their maximum delivery being 4,95,000 gallons/Hr. The supply of water in the city was thus maintained in the nineteenth century and there was no overhead reservoir at Tallah, which was constructed in 1909 under a later project.

Year	Length of water pipes Filtered	Unfiltered	No. of Stand-posts	No. of Grand hydrants
1870	112 miles	25 miles	470	511
1889-90	184 "	64 "	990	2505
1895-96	310 "	75 "	1954	2911

From the above figures, it becomes evident that due to the installation of new pumping engines at different stations and the excavation of bigger reservoirs, a satisfactory supply of the enormous demand of water was maintained by the end of the nineteenth century.

Transport

Palanquins, carriages drawn by horses, and bullock carts were the chief means of transport in the old town even up to the middle part of the nineteenth century. To drive a coach in the evening was then a fashionable and aristocratic affair. Ladies from middle-class families would move about in palanquins. From the second-half of the last century, modern means of transport have played an important role and changed the entire outlook of the city. Locomotives connected the city with the different parts of Bengal and eventually of India, by making Calcutta a terminus station. The internal transport of the city was improved almost from the same period when many important roads were constructed. Bullock, buffalo and hand-carts became the general means of transport for goods. Horse-drawn carriages and coaches were for passengers. Automobiles have become more prominent in the present century. In order to carry commodities from Sealdah Station to the Armenian Ghat by motive power, sanction was obtained from the Government of India for the construction of railways along the streets of Calcutta. The line was completed in February, 1873; connecting at Sealdah, it ran along Baitakhana, Bowbazar, Dalhousie Square through Custom House premises into and along the Strand Road to the terminus at Armenian Ghat. The line was opened and was worked for the conveyance of passengers only in tramcars drawn by horses. The line was eventually closed as it ran at a loss of Rs. 500 per month. This happened because the line did not get any goods for transport; goods were diverted to a more powerful line constructed from Sealdah to Chitpur by the then E. B. Railway, when the India Government changed its opinion and authorised the Railway to open the same line.

On the 2nd October 1879, an agreement with the approval of the Bengal Government, was made between the Corporation and the Calcutta Tramways Co., Ltd., (the original offer was submitted by Messrs. Parish Souttar whose rights were then purchased by the Company) to construct and maintain single and double tramway lines with sidings on eight routes. The Corporation, of course, reserved the power of purchasing the right of the Company at the end of 21 years or at the end of subsequent seven years.

On the 27th October, 1880, tramcars regularly ran along the Bow Bazar Street and on the 19th November, 1880, along the Hare Street. It ought to be remembered that those were drawn by horses. While granting the certificate authorising the Company to open lines on the Chitpore Road, Corporation demanded some improvements in the street alignment, as the lines were then two inches above the roadway. The defective lines were then ordered to be replaced by steel lines set up with stone setts and concrete floor. Defects are still observed in the lines, but 2-inch projecting rails have become a thing of the past.

In May 1882, special permission was given to the Company to run, on an experimental basis, tramcars drawn by steam-engines. Locomotive engines ran in Chowringhee for one year. Later on, the project was abandoned as the area did not at that time fall within the jurisdiction of the municipality. But the line was kept open every year during the Durga Puja in order to provide easy transport for pilgrims from Kalighat to Chowringhee, cars being driven by locomotive engines.

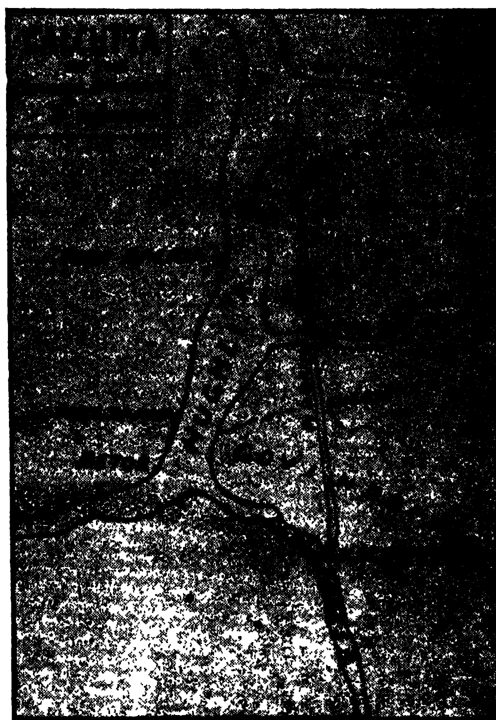
In 1899, due to a fresh agreement between the Company and the Corporation, the Company undertook to reconstruct and alter all old lines and substitute electricity as the motive power for horse traction. The conversion to electric traction with overhead wires was completed on the 19th November, 1902.

Motor cars first rolled along the streets of Calcutta from the beginning of the present century. Present-day system of omnibus plying came into operation from the twenties of the twentieth century.

Anoth r important development in the city, that helped trade and commerce to a great extent was the introduction of the telephonic system in 1881. The Oriental Telephone Company got sanction from the Government of India for the erection of telephone exchange. In 1883-84, the Bengal Telephone Co. took over the concession from the Oriental Telephone Co. But in 1884-85, similar privileges were granted to Crossley Telephone Co., which at last merged in the Bengal Telephone Co. Thus the city, with the help of the Bengal Telephone Co. enjoyed the benefit of the telephonic system in the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Sea-borne Trade

The English came to India as merchants. Eventually fortune made them rulers. Business forms the main object of the British rule even today. Figures of the sea-borne trade through the port of Calcutta in the eighteenth century, are not available, it being carried on directly by the East India Company first, then by the Government. Government then maintained four screwpile jetties with steam cranes and sheds, a wharf for inland vessels, offices, etc. In 1870. the Port Trust came into existence and took over the charge from the Government. In 1886, the limits of the port which originally stretched for about 9 miles from Cossipore to Garden Reach, were extended to 16 miles from Calcutta to Budge Budge. The Port Trust obtained from the Government a lease of the Strand Road. In 1892, the first enterprise of the Trust was the opening of Kidderpore Docks No. 1 and No. 2 and Tidal Basin. A lock entrance (580 ft. × 80 ft.) gives access to the Dock from the river. Dock No. 1 was 2700 ft. long, 600 ft. wide and 30 ft. deep. It possessed 12 berths with single strong sheds provided with hydraulic cranes to lift 36 cwt. and 5 tons. Dock No. 2 served double-storeyed sheds from 5 general produce berths, the dimension of the dock being 4500 ft. long, 400 ft. broad and 30 ft. deep. Special hydraulic coal-loading cranes worked there. The jetties situated on the riverside south of the Howrah Bridge still exhibit the oldest parts of the port as were maintained by the Government before 1870. Nine jetties with a total length of 4735 ft. were constructed by the Port Trust, of which, six were kept reserved for ocean-going vessels, two for boats and one as a reserve as a measure of economy. Calcutta jetties were exclusively used for the discharge of import cargoes. All export cargoes were dealt with from the Kidderpore Docks. The Commissioners provided extensive warehouses both at Kidderpore and at Calcutta jetty areas. The Fairlie, Clive, Canning and Strand Warehouses close to the jetties provided a floor-space of 93,000 sq. ft. Much of this accommodation was let out to firms that were responsible for the custody and handling of goods while they remained in the warehouses. The remaining space of warehouses served as public sheds under the supervision of the Commissioners.



In 1876, the number of boats in Calcutta Port was 2860 ; in 1881, 3825 ; in 1866, there were 2140 boats, 149 ships and 20 steamers and in 1901, boats were 3388, ships 79, steamers 31 and flats 31.

Average annual value during each quinquennial period. (Lakhs of Rupees)

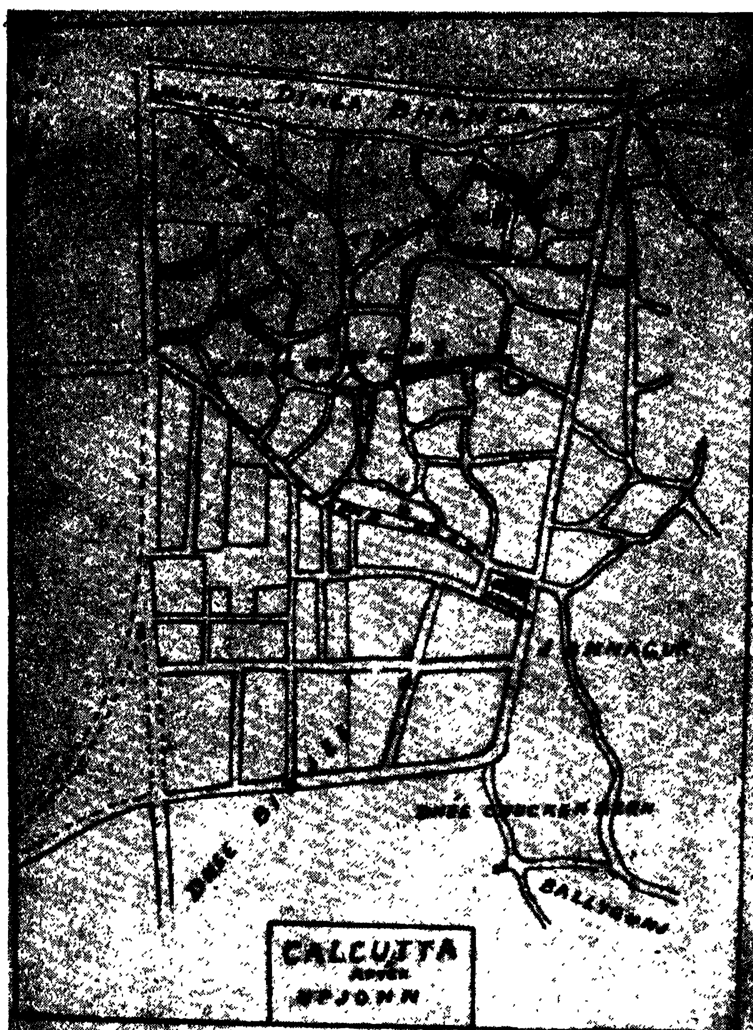
	Import	*Export*
1871-75	1,648	2,359
1876-80	1,780	2,778
1881-85	2,150	3,308
1886-90	2,344	3 523
1891-95	2,595	3,997
1896-1900	2,846	4,559

The above figures of export and import trades from the Port of Calcutta indicate a steady progress during 30 years of the last century.

The distribution of the trade of Calcutta with foreign countries during each of the last five years of the last century :

Imports
(Figures are in lakhs of rupees)

Countries	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899 1900	1900-01
Europe	2861	2641	2634	2923	2972
America	74	68	78	63	57
Africa	37	45	49	107	51
Asia	177	293	270	284	448
Australasia	42	64	115	150	226
	3191	3111	3146	3527	3754



EXPORTS

(*Figures are in lakhs of rupees*)

Countries	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899 1900	1900-01
Europe	2866	2739	2676	2822	3143
America	57	471	596	567	775
Africa	185	175	215	196	208
Asia	865	901	993	1052	1230
Australasia	109	121	123	153	186
	4072	4407	4603	4790	5542

These figures are extracts from Report on the Maritime Trade of Bengal (1900-1901). It is clear that with each country, both export and import trades show remarkable progress. Another remarkable feature is that European trade surpassed in value that of all other countries. The reason is simple. England played an important part in controlling the trade of India with foreign countries. England served as an exchequer for Indian trade.

From remote antiquity, the eastern and western mouths of the Ganges have formed the important seats of trade. In the sixteenth century the Portuguese settled at Satgaon on the west and at Chittagong on the east. Satgaon was named as Porto Pigueno or Little Harbour while Chittagong, Porto Grande or Great Harbour. In those days they retained the monopoly of the whole European trade. Due to silting up of the river Saraswati, Satgaon lost its importance and Hooghli flourished in its place. When the port of Calcutta rose to prominence, Betor, the mooring land of the Portuguese cargo for inland, and Garden Reach, the landing ground of Dutch commodities sank into insignificance.

Chief items of export and import trades in the eighteenth century are :

Imports : Copper, Betelnut, Pepper, Bell-metal, some sorts of chints, chank.

Exports : Rice, Oil, Butter, Bamboo, Mustard, Opium, Raw silk, Iron, Elatches, Dry ginger, etc.

Nineteenth century trade can be summarised as follows :

Imports : Horses, Boots and Shoes, Arms and Ammunition, Corals, Cotton fabrics, Drugs and Medicines, Metal goods, Rly. materials, Machinery and mill works, and Mineral oil, Oats, Cheese, Butter, Salt, Silk fabrics, Spices, Sugar, Tobacco, Umbrellas, Woollen goods.

Exports : Coal, Raw cotton, Indian piecegoods, Cutch and gambier. Foodgrains (rice, wheat, gram and pulses), Ginger, Hemp, Hides and skins, Horns, Indigo, Jute, Jute manufactures, Oilseeds, Opium, Silk, Tea and Tobacco.

Export and Import trades of Calcutta Port for the last five years grouped in classes as shown in Government accounts (Extracts from the Report on the Maritime trade.)

(*Figures are in thousand rupees*)

	Imports					*Exports*				
	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900	1900-1901	1896-97	1897-98	1898-99	1899-1900	1900-1901
Animals (living)	1494	1124	1413	1125	2083	485	288	376	357	330
Articles of food and drink	25796	32611	28024	26860	34520	106651	106987	139299	139429	134935
Metals and manufacture of metals	62530	62240	47591	48709	55343	458	415	676	813	1493
Chemicals, drugs, medicines, etc.	5333	6176	6207	6400	7575	87225	61099	66394	72095	81281
Oils	17915	19712	18251	19091	17821	2611	2916	2950	2470	3001
Raw materials and unmanufactured articles	2894	2153	1993	2228	3644	172510	186471	163437	195360	224852
Articles manufactured and partly unmanufactured (yarn, textile fabrics, hosiery, etc.)	185301	154533	174965	192200	196958	76404	83220	76735	84450	96348
Total merchandise	301263	278549	278444	296613	317944	446344	441396	449867	495784	542240
Treasure (gold & silver)	17776	32611	36221	56056	57493	3278	11831	7514	3967	6272
Grand total	319039	311160	314665	352669	375437	449622	453227	457381	499751	548512

Of the several ghats or landing and bathing places on the bank of the river, Chandpal Ghat is the oldest. It was erected in 1774 and named after one Chandra Nath Pal who kept a grocer's shop at that place, for pedestrians and for boatmen. The Babu Ghat of today was then called Rajchandra Das Ghat constructed by Rani Rasmoni of Jann Bazar in memory of her husband. Colvin's Ghat was then known as Kutcha Godee Ghat where country boats used to be hauled up. Prinsep's Ghat, erected in memory of James Prinsep, surpasses others in architectural beauty. The first dry dock in Calcutta was built in 1790 at the site of Bankshall Ghat of today. Koila Ghat, Clive Street Ghat, Mallick Ghat, Kadamtalla Ghat and Bonomali Sircar's Ghat were all in the northern half of the city. Huzoori Mull's Ghat was the present Armenian Ghat and Kashi Babu's Ghat was named after Dewan Kashinath. Some of these ghats were built up in the second half of the last century.

Street Lighting

Street-lighting was first introduced in 1857. At that time, there were 313 oil lamps in all the principal streets. The contractor, Mr. Statham, would supply oils and wicks and attend to the lighting and cleaning of lamps at a monthly cost of Re. 1-2-6 per lamp. The municipality used to pay about Rs. 7,000 annually to the contractor and appoint one overseer on Rs. 60 per month to supervise the work of the contractor. No attempt was, however, made to light the poorer parts of the city. In 1860, the number of oil lamps was increased to 805 but in 1864, posts were damaged by cyclone. A contract, with the approval of the Government was made by the municipality with the Oriental Gas Company to introduce gas-lamp for street lighting. Provisions were made that at least 600 lamps of 12 c.p. each would be set up, and lamps would be cleaned and lighted by the staff of the Company. Lamps were burnt 10 hours a night at an annual cost of Rs. 90 per lamp. In 1864, 1,000 gas lights were burnt but in 1878, the contract was renewed with fresh provisions. The illuminating power of lamps was increased 15 c.p. and a minimum of 3791 lamps was to be maintained in the town proper. In 1911, a fresh contract was executed in order to maintain high pressure gas lighting and electric lighting in important thoroughfares. In Corporation Street and Chowringhee Road, 500 to 1,000 c.p. Keith lamps and high power Electric lamps were burnt, whereas in Manicktola and Ultadingi Roads, 34-100 c.p. electric lamps were lighted. It ought to be recalled that the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation, Ltd., got licence in 1895 to work Electric Tramways but the same licence was renewed in 1905 and the actual supply of current to electrify streets was done in 1911 and electrification in important roads was completed in 1914-15.

Cultural Development

When the British trade in Bengal became more firm and progressive, the English needed the assistance of Bengalees in the management and office work of their business. The Bengalees were then versed in Bengali, Sanskrit and in Persian. To educate them in English, Missionaries came to open schools in Calcutta. In the first half of the nineteenth century, St. Thomas Free School, LaMartiniere, Duff College were founded, but the first European school was established in 1785. In those days, there were a few schools managed by Bengalees. Of these, the Oriental Seminary was the oldest. In the map of Calcutta (1847-49) drawn from actual survey by Frederick Simms and revised up to 1875, one could find along the Cornwallis-College-Wellington-Wellesley Streets, General Assembly's Institution (Scottish Church College of today), Hindoo Female School (Bethune College of today), Hindoo College, Presidency College, Hare School, University of Calcutta (1857), Medical College (1848) and Madrassa. Doveton College was at the junction of Park Street and Free School Street. Church Mission Premises (St. Paul's School) was established in the Amherst Street. It becomes clear that all the schools were situated in the vicinity of native quarters. Eventually, in the latter part of the nineteenth century, more schools and colleges in Calcutta were founded, as the then leaders of Bengal realised the need of broader out-look and cutural development in order to understand the political and economic condition of the country. For the uplift of the country, one must visualise the resources of the country from different angles and then synthesise a plan,

working on which, the country would attain freedom and prosperity with the least difficulty. All these require knowledge of the historical and political changes of other foreign countries. So education is the essential means of such achievement. Besides, mass education is none the less important in order to arouse the consciousness of independence, and love of country. Thus English being almost the *lingua franca* of the whole world, was learnt by the people of this country.

Names of Locality

In the seventeenth century there were isolated settlements in Sutanati, Kalikota and Govindapur, amidst jungles and paddy-fields. With the English settlement, Bengalees began to settle in large numbers by deforesting the area. Important gardens having fruit and flower trees, identified the locality. With the increase of settlement, naming of localities became essential. At the first stage it was done after those gardens where a particular species of trees was predominant. Thus originated Phoolbagan, Panbagan, Kalabagan, Narikelbagan, Chaltabagan, Bakul Bagan, Harituki Bagan, Goabagan, etc. Badur Bagan was named as a large number of bats were seen hanging in gardens of the locality. Chorebagan speaks of the dense jungles that afforded hiding places for thieves. Halsi Bagan was named after the Halse or weeds that grew in saline water. Some of these names still survive as the names of streets or lanes of the locality, others have been obliterated.

Later on, with the growth of the city, the garden nomenclature was slightly modified. Localities were named after the owner of gardens or after the principal caste or occupation of the people of the tract. Thus Sett Bagan (Garden of Setts), Singhee Bagan, Bysak Bagan, Roy Bagan, Bamun Bagan, Raja Bagan (Garden of Raja Rajbullav), Mohon Bagan (Garden of Rajah Gopi Mohon Dutt), Kerani Bagan (place south of Baitakkhana where clerks of the company settled), Tanti Bagan, etc.

Hatibagan speaks of the region where elephants of the Nawab were kept during the siege.

With the construction of principal roads within the city, regional nomenclature found no place any longer, though it was highly appreciated at one time. New streets were named after the Governors, or English officials, during whose incumbency, the same were opened as thoroughfares. Watgunge at Kidderpore is connected with Watson who started a gunge or mart there. Cornwallis, Wellesley, Hasting Streets, etc., were named after the then Governor-Generals. But the naming of College Street was connected with the schools and colleges.

Since 1794, in naming streets, roads, or the locality, Hindu names preponderated, next came Europeans and Eurasian names, last came Mohamedan names, though in population Mohamedans were next to Hindus. Of course, in recent times, some of the European-named streets or roads have been renamed after Indian names.

Conclusion

The region round about Calcutta of today was a subject of discourses with reference to its surface feature and settlement since the sixteenth century.

Kavirama, the author of the *Digbijoya Prakas* of the sixteenth century called this landscape *Kilkila* which according to him, comprised the towns and villages of Hooghli, Bansberia, Bhatpara, Khardaha Sealdaha, Gobindapur of today. It was bounded on the west by Saraswati and on the east by the Jumna. Its area was 21 *jojanas* or 160 sq. miles. He described its formation in a legendary tale in which he actually meant an isostatic disturbance that might have caused an escape of gaseous matter (deep breath of Kurma) due to the subsidence of a hill (Mandara or Ananta).

Baraha-Mihira, the seventh century Hindu astronomer, called this tract as *Samatata, i.e.,* level to the sea.

Houen Tsang found an uninhabited area, 600 miles in circuit, lying between Tamralipta (Midnapur) and Samatata (East Bengal) on the east; this part formed a tidal swamp.

In April 1815, while re-excavating the Esplanade tank of the Chowringhee, unbedded trunks of *Sundari* trees (Heritiera Littoralis) standing upright were found at a depth of about four feet from the surface. Native geologists, in the *Calcutta Gazette* of May 5, 1815 opined that the land bore those trees on the surface, then it was silted up by subsequent fluvial deposits.

A committee of naturalists conducted series of borings from December 1835 to April 1840. The boring in Fort William to a depth of 460 ft. indicated no marine deposits throughout, the existence of peat-bed at 30 to 35 feet and again at 382 to 395 feet below the surface, and the appearance of fine sand and seashore pebbles at 170 to 180 ft., 320 to 325 ft. and at 400 to 480 ft. below the surface. Those pebbles were the disintegrated gneissic rocks.

Blandford, in Blandford and Medlicott's *Manual of Geology of India*, Part I, concluded from the above data that the deposition was either by fresh water or in the neighbourhood of an estuary. The peat-bed at 382 ft. below the surface proved the existence of ancient land surfaces. Finding roots of the Sundari tree in every peaty layer observed at Canning town and at Khulna in Jessore, he remarked that the tree grows a little above ordinary high water-mark. So the occurrence of the roots below the mean tidal level provided a conclusive evidence of depression that was further confirmed by pebbles. Thus geologists make us imagine a picture of a series of gneissic hills ruggedly exposed out of the transgressing sea. The depressed parts were filled up by fluvial deposits. Due to the weight of the super-incumbent layers, there was again a subsidence, when the pleistocene alluvial deposits form the existing topography.

Fergusson states that hardly 4000 years have elapsed before the tide was near the Rajmahal Hill. He believes that the region between the Sunderbans and the apex of the delta was a tidal swamp. In 1757, Admiral Watson took up to Chandernagore battleships of 60 to 64 guns, which would now hardly reach Calcutta without the assistance of tugs. This indicates the gradual silting up of the river Hughli. Fergusson mentions several traditionary beliefs to illustrate the gradual extension and upheaval of the Gangetic Delta. Some 400 years ago, Jessore was on the sea-shore. He assumes that the changes of the courses of the Kusi at Purnea, the Damodar at Tribeni near Satgaon were due to elevation of the tract.

From some local names, he infers gradual upheaval of the region, *e.g.*, Navadwipa (new island), Chakdaha (a circular island), Khardaha (Khargadwipa, the spear-shaped island), Ariyadaha (Aryadwipa, the island of

the Aryans), Halisahar-(new town), Baranagar (a place of wild boars), Sialdaha (Srigaldwipa, an island noted for jackals).

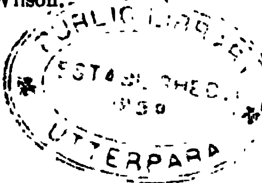
Dahas or dwipas (islands) were elevated parts of the tidal swamp, that attracted population first.

From all these, one may conclude that in remote antiquity, this part of Bengal consisted of gneissic hills, stood out of the sea that stretched further north. Then at a later date those hills were depressed when a tidal swamp extended up to the Rajmahal hills. In the depressions of the swamp, sedimentation caused elevated tracts. In some parts, elevation was followed by subsidence. Thus in the seventeenth century, Jessore, Khulna, Sunderbans and Calcutta were not fully formed, and were uninhabitable, though the East Bengal was, then, sufficiently inhabited to form a nodal town for the sea-borne trade. But the English preferred to establish factories in an area close to those of the rival nations who settled along the Hughli. The inherent tendency of competing with the settled European nations led the English to encamp in the uninhabitable tract which, in the course of about 250 years, has become the most active City of India.

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THE BRITISH POTTERY INDUSTRY

BY MOIRA FORSYTH

POTTERY has been made in England since before the Roman conquest, and this old industry still thrives today, though modern methods of production have replaced the potter's wheel and the potter's thumb.

Pottery is known to every country in the world ; wherever clay has been found, man has shaped it into the vessels he needs, and decorated them for his enjoyment. Hardened and perfected by fire, pottery becomes one of the most durable of materials. More than any other medium it has preserved a record of the lives and habits of past civilisations.

Pottery production today, with all its use of mechanical processes, does not essentially differ from that of the past. Its materials are still drawn from the earth ; its continuous-firing electric oven is still the same in principle as the primitive kiln ; the "thumb of the potter" may not now shape the clay so intimately as in the past, for his tools are often mechanical, but they shape the clay as he directs. Man still makes pottery to satisfy his own needs and the demands of his fellow-men ; but those demands have enormously increased, together with the power of modern industry to satisfy them. Planned production on a large scale is characteristic of our present age.

Staffordshire has been the centre of the British pottery industry for hundreds of years, though many famous factories have been established in other parts of the country. Stoke-on-Trent, more familiarly known as the Potteries, grew up as a series of little townships. Here, where clay and coal abounded, the monks of the Middle Ages made their encaustic tiles ; the potter and his family, with a little kiln in their garden, made their butter-pots and plates and possetcups of red clay decorated with white ; here the famous Staffordshire figures were made—sometimes crude, always vigorous, and with a true native humour.



Plates are stacked on special racks, before being baked



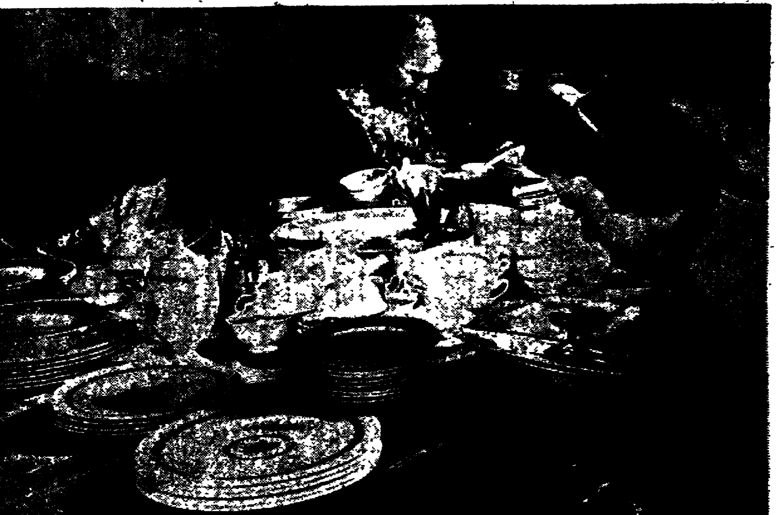
Plates are dipped in glaze and then stacked for drying



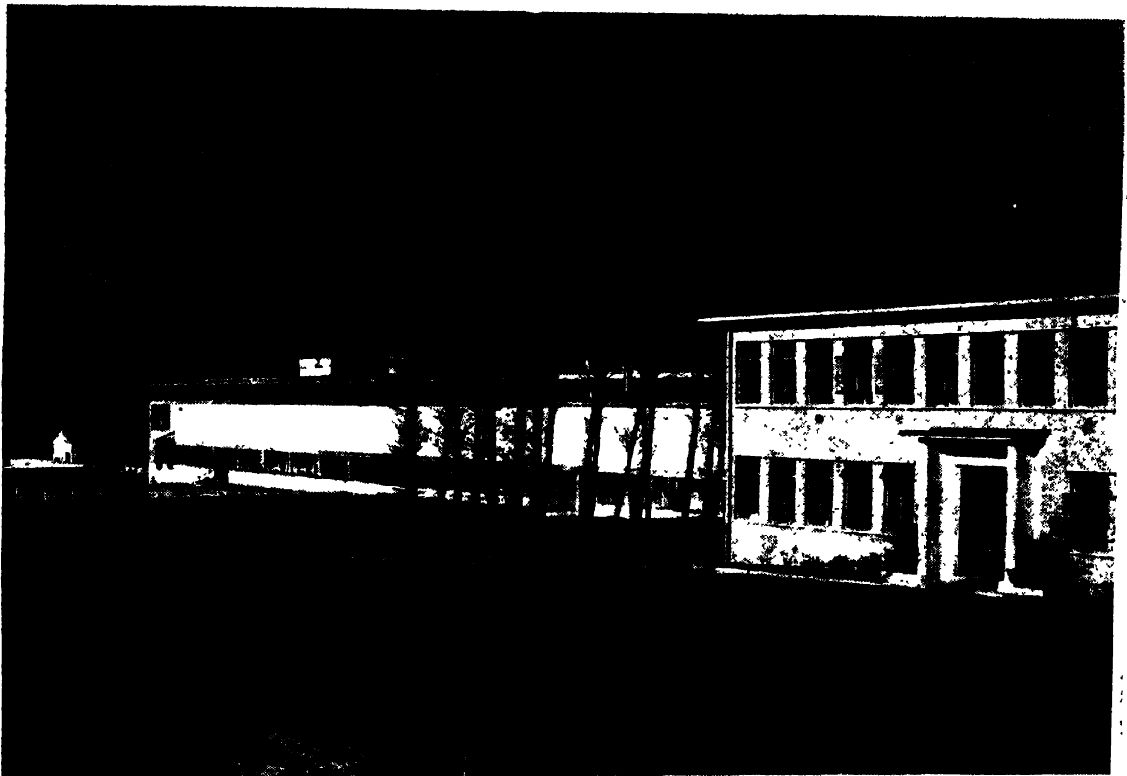
A large number of china clay articles are produced by casting or moulding



One of the well-known characteristics of Wedgwood pottery is its embossed decoration



All the highest quality china is hand-painted



Modern and well-equipped, this new porcelain and china factory recently built by the firm of Josiah Wedgwood has been planned to include village community for workers



"The Potteries" at Stoke-on-Trent. It is from here that the major part of Britain's pottery products comes



The aircraft carrier, U.S.S. *Lexington.* The U.S. navy has now the world's largest carrier fleet—26 large craft, three of which are 45 000 tons, and 65 escort carriers

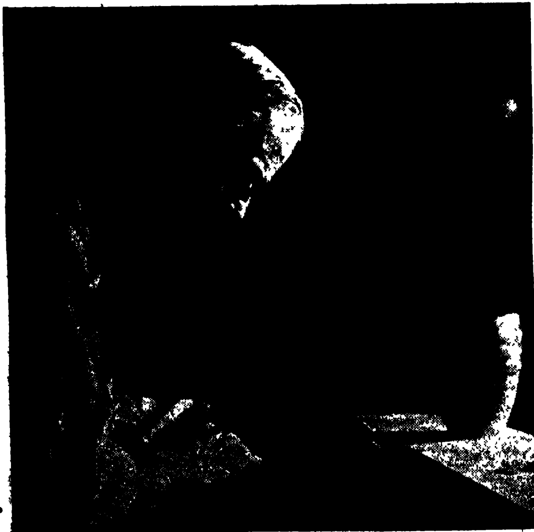


Ships carrying foodgrains arrive at Calcutta

But it was not until the eighteenth century that such men as Josiah Wedgwood made Staffordshire pottery world-famous. Wedgwood, a pioneer of the new industrial age, was something of a scientific genius. He improved and refined his materials, invented new methods of manufacture, and adopted the process of decoration by transfer prints. By these means he was able to produce in great quantity. The potter no longer made and finished his individual piece, but became rather a specialist in one particular process. A high level of craftsmanship was still needed, but the direction of effort was now in the hands of the "master-potter."



Most domestic china is decorated by transfers



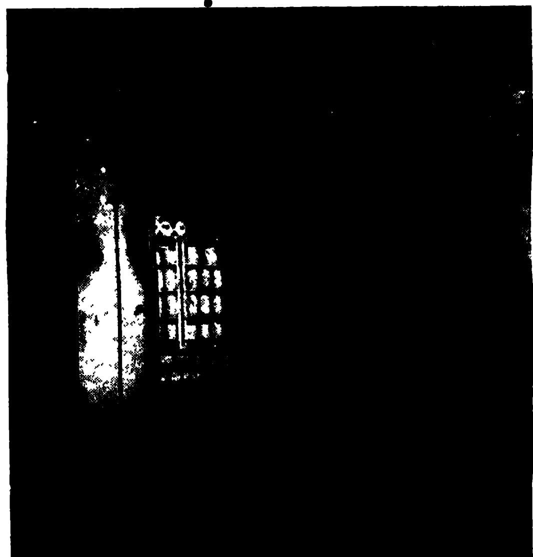
Mr. Keith Murray, the well-known English industrial designer, at work on a new design

The people of the Potteries have inherited the skill of their forefathers; they have a justifiable pride in their work, and an independence of character which is the mark of the craftsman of every country. Pottery, more than any other manufacture, is dependent upon the skill of its workers, for the fragile nature of the clay and the severity of its testing in the fire, which seeks out every flaw, makes it impossible for the machine wholly to supersede the man.

Today British pottery stands high in the estimation of the world for its quality and craftsmanship. This is a tradition maintained not only by famous firms, such as Wedgwood, Spode, Worcester and Derby, but also by countless other potters. The range of their production is astonishing. Not only gaily painted earthenware and the more delicately decorated china for the table, but decorative figures for the mantelshelf, coloured porcelain for the bathroom, tiles for hearth and wall, stone-ware for the kitchen—all are made in the Potteries, and in great variety.



After baking, glazing and being decorated all the plates are passed to an expert who chips off any rough edges



Stacks of pottery passing into the electric ovens where they are to be baked

Electrical porcelain is the most recently developed section of the industry: its products are of a semi-engineering character, but the material—a true hard-

paste porcelain—has superb decorative possibilities. Experiments in this medium have shown remarkable results, and will undoubtedly influence future developments. By such research and adaption this British industry maintains its vigorous growth.



Slabs of china clay being shaped into cylinders by being passed through a machine

To preserve a tradition is to retain the principles rather than the methods of the past. The famous firm of Wedgwood is, in this sense, an example of unbroken tradition. Its founder believed that science and art must give of their best as equal partners in industry. The present Josiah, the sixth of this name, has evinced the same pioneering spirit. When the old factory at Etruria, modern and well-equipped in its day, could no longer be adapted to the latest methods of manufacture, not merely was a new factory planned, but also a village community for the workers, set in the pleasant Staffordshire countryside. This factory is perfectly equipped and designed to increase the volume of production by the elimination of all wasteful effort.

The drive for more modern methods is typical of the industry as a whole. The smoky Potteries themselves are being transformed by the use of the new tunnel-ovens, fired by gas or electricity.

If science can increase output and lower costs, so much greater will be the power of industry to serve the markets of the world. But, as Josiah Wedgwood saw in his day, science and art must work together to guarantee the quality of the product. Although there is still room for the individual artist-potter who makes and decorates his own ware, in large-scale production the artist has a different part to play. Though he does not make the pottery, he is no mere decorator, adding a little ornament to the ware, but a creative designer who must understand and use all the processes of manufacture, the nature of the material, the power of the machine, the part played by the craftsman.

The British pottery industry has a unique contribution to make to the world's needs. It is based on great traditions which have been handed on through many generations of craftsmen and master-potters, and it is proving that these traditions are capable of translation into terms of modern production.

During the war the industry has suffered severely by the cutting down of its manpower to one-third its former strength ; methods have been simplified and standardised to produce undecorated utility ware for the home market ; all effort has been concentrated. But its workers will come back to an industry keyed to meet the tremendous demands of the post-war world, a world which for years has been deprived of all but necessities, and starved for colour and the precious quality of fine material. The men and women of Britain who are privileged to work in this ancient and honourable craft have a great contribution to make to the needs of the world and a new page on which to inscribe a further chapter in the history of British pottery.

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SATYAGRAHA IN SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL,

Ex-President, Natal Indian Congress

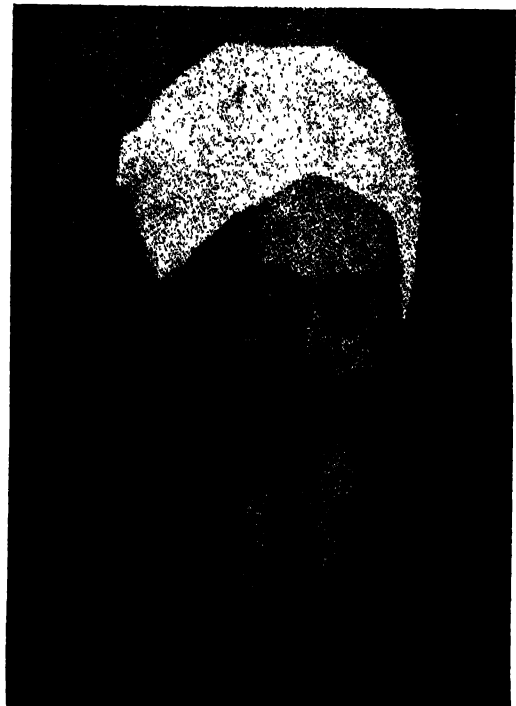
FROM first to last the story of the Indians in South Africa is a story of deteriorating situation, of promises made and promises broken, of pledges given and pledges violated, of the trampling of rights and the erosion of principles. In vain they have pleaded with the Union Government to refrain from introducing anti-Indian legislations which have been enacted from time to time. The most sinister and most dangerous of all is the present Ghetto Act, a creation of that new Messiah of White Race Supermacy Religion, Jan Christian Smuts, who has been acclaimed and honoured in the world as the defender of democracy and liberty, of justice and equality, of peace and human rights. The late General Hertzog, a nationalist Boer, with all his anti-Indian tendencies, honoured the Capetown Agreement both in the letter and in the spirit during his long term of office as Prime Minister of South Africa, but Premier Smuts has failed to maintain the dignity of his country and has cunningly violated both the historic treaties known as the Gandhi-Smuts Settlement of 1914 and the Capetown Agreement of 1927, and treated them as scraps of paper.

My indictment of General Smuts and his Government is overwhelming; it is no wild exaggeration, it is a charge based on irrefutable evidence and unchallengeable facts. A brief survey of his anti-Indian activities since he became the Prime Minister of the Union for the second time in 1939 will convince any impartial person of his ambition to eliminate the Indian settlers from South Africa. He appointed the first Broome Commission to investigate the alleged Indian penetration into European localities, but he refused to accept and implement the recommendations of the Commission because the report was contrary to his expectations. He then appointed the second Broome Commission with limited terms of reference to inquire only into the extent to which Indians, including companies with predominantly Indian directorates have, since 1927, acquired sites from the European sellers. The Commission was precluded from finding out the reasons which induced Indians to purchase these properties. The great General proceeded with remarkable haste to legislate in terms of the Commission's report. Despite the Government of India's protest and the appeals of eminent Indian leaders like the Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, Raja Sir Maharaj Singh and Sir Raza Ali, the Asiatic Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal) Restriction Act, popularly known as the Pegging Act, was passed by the Union Parliament in 1943. This Act was described as an emergency and interim measure to maintain *status quo* and to give time for a special Judicial Commission to examine fully the affairs of the Indians in Natal. On that report the Government was to introduce comprehensive legislation to settle the Indian problems once for all. That was an assurance given by General Smuts and his colleague Mr. H. G. Lawrence, the then Minister of the Interior, to our people. The Pegging Act was a temporary measure, a measure that applied to the city of Durban only.

In 1944, Jan Smuts entered into a solemn agreement with the Natal Indian Congress. The same Smuts who refused to meet a deputation from the South African Indian Congress on the ground that the Congress had threatened to place their case before the bar of world opinion, just before his departure for England to attend the Dominion Premiers' Conference, invited the leaders of the Congress to meet him in Pretoria. After some consultation with them he signed that famous Pretoria Agreement, which subsequently brought the downfall of our right-wing Congress leaders. He gladly affixed his signature on the Agreement on the 18th April, 1944, but six months later on the 18th November, 1944, he shamelessly declared that the Agreement was stone-dead. He wrote to the Natal Indian Congress to say that 'the Pretoria Agreement having failed in its object it was necessary to explore a settlement along other lines.'

And what were those lines? The lines of the Natal Indian Judicial Commission. The Commission reported, and recommended that a new start be made, a Round Table Conference be convened and that conversations and consultations should take place between the representatives of the Union Government and the Government of India in order to find out some friendly ways and means to settle the Indian problems. But once more Smuts threw this report into his waste-paper basket and declared emphatically that the Pegging Act is now to be superseded by a Bill that is permanent, a Bill that applied to the whole of Natal and the Transvaal, a Bill which will make Indians wriggle like toads under a harrow.

This announcement by Smuts threatened the position of Indian settlers to such an extent that they were driven to desperation, and in February last when the session of the South African Indian Congress at Capetown stood adjourned, a deputation of Indian leaders waited on Smuts and pleaded with him not to defame the Statute Book of South Africa with such an offensive, unjust and injurious law against Indian settlers. They appealed to him to accept the recommendations of his own Commission for a Round Table Conference and not close the door of settlement to a great nation of Asia. They stated frankly that such a racial legislation would never be accepted by the Indian settlers and they regarded this as a betrayal of the trust they have placed



Swami Bhawani Dayal Sannyasi

in the supreme legislature of South Africa. But in vain. General Smuts told them plainly that he would not tolerate any interference from India in his domestic affairs, that the Indian question was a purely domestic question of South Africa, and that he would proceed with his proposed legislation.

In spite of the vehement protest of the Indian settlers and severe condemnation of the people and the Government of India this obnoxious and most discriminatory legislation, born of the worst form of racial and colour prejudice, was passed. The technique adopted by Smuts and his Government in passing this Act marks the Draconian thoroughness which condemns a voteless and economically feeble section of the population to a regime of the Ghetto.

After sending their deputations to India and England, the Indian settlers have now launched the campaign of Satyagraha after an interval of 32 years, the

last being in 1914, which terminated with the famous Gandhi-Smuts Settlement. Eminent leaders like Dr. Yusuf Mohomed Dadoo, President, Transvaal Indian Congress ; Dr. Gungathura Mohambrey Naicker, President, Natal Indian Congress ; Shri Sorabjee Rustomjee, ex-President, South African Indian Congress ; Dr. Kaisbal Goonam, a leader of Indian Women's Association and many other Satyagrahis have already been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment with hard labour. The Englishmen of Durban are also determined to teach a lesson to these Satyagrahis whom they consider to be of an inferior race. They are raiding the Satyagrahis' camp during the night, cutting down tents swiftly and carrying them away or setting fire to them to burn the coolies alive, smashing the camp stretchers, taking the blankets away and kicking the women Satyagrahis to preserve the white race supremacy and civilization in South Africa. The latest brutality of Whitemen in Durban is the cold-blooded murder of an Indian Constable Krishnaswamy Pillay. He was only walking along the road when a group of Whitemen suddenly and brutally attacked him. This first martyr to European hooliganism died peacefully in hospital from his injuries.

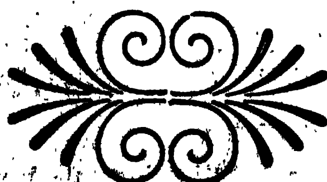
The Indian settlers of South Africa are determined to carry on their Satyagraha against the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act, commonly known in India as the Ghetto Act. The struggle against it will continue indefinitely in spite of a brutal murder and the continuous attacks of the white hooligans. They are not in a mood to tolerate the humiliating conditions sought to be imposed on them. Indians can never agree to the principle of segregation.

The Government of India have done very little to meet this ghastly situation in which ruin and death stare thousands of India's children in the face. This step-motherly attitude of the Government has always helped the race-mad white jingoes of South Africa to treat the Indians as an untouchable section of the Union population. If the Government of India believe that by terminating the Trade Agreement with the Union and recalling the High Commissioner from South Africa they have done their duty by this country, they are greatly mistaken. It is our conviction that the Government of India, mainly because it is an alien Government, has failed miserably to discharge their duty for the protection of our people in South Africa. It is impossible for the Government to disown their responsibility, yet, if the Government refuse to see facts which stare them in their face who can help it ? The Government would be false to their responsibilities, if they hesitated at this critical juncture to take the strongest measures open to them. Strangely enough we have had not a word of protest from the Viceroy, such as had come spontaneously from Lord Hardinge, thirty-two years ago. However, it is reported that India's case against South Africa is likely to come up before the U.N.O. in September as the question has been included in the preliminary agenda for September session. India would watch anxiously the verdict of this World Organisation.

India's honour and sense of self-respect as a civilised nation is involved in the struggle which the South African Indian Congress has called upon the Indian settlers to launch. White men have no right to claim that Transvaal or Natal or any part of South Africa will remain their sole possession. This assertion is the very height of racial arrogance, which will definitely create conditions for a third World War.

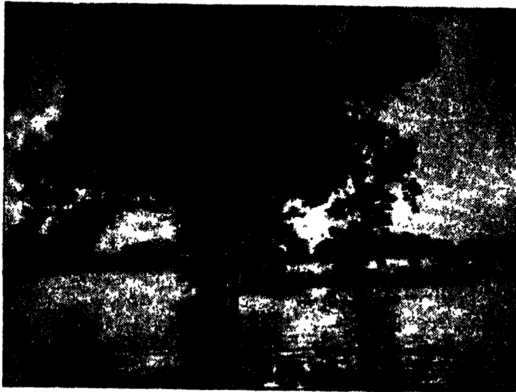
General Smuts has, by passing the Ghetto Act, thrown a challenge not only to India but to the whole of Asia, which it is the sacred duty of every Indian, whether he is in India or in South Africa, to accept with firm determination. What made Smuts so irrational and defiant ? Was it because of his fear of losing his Premiership or was it because he felt in the flush of victory that his country was absolutely safe and that as a result he could afford to insult a nation of four hundred millions ? Whatever it is, it is totally unworthy of a man like General Smuts. He has imitated Hitler in his racial mania to which one can hardly find a parallel in history.

The Indian settlers of South Africa look to their mother country for succour in their great distress. All India shares the chagrin and vexation of our people in the Union, but only the resentment of the motherland does not help them materially. Nationals of a country under foreign domination can hardly expect to be treated fairly abroad. When Mahatma Gandhi was the leader of the Satyagraha movement in South Africa, he concluded that it was futile to carry on a struggle there to remove the disabilities of Indian settlers without the freedom of India. So he returned to India and engaged himself in the task of winning the country's freedom. He has been able to convince the people that complete independence is the one and only goal open to Indians and that there is no place for them in the Empire in which the colour complex prevails, where a small minority of Whites is able to dominate the black and brown majority. That is just what is happening in South Africa today, where a large population of eight million natives, ten million coloured people and a quarter million Indians is held under subjection by nearly three million Whites through sheer brute force and not by any moral right. The irony of it is that these arrogant Whites derive their power not from any strength of their own but from the Imperial Government of England. If it were withdrawn tomorrow, the South African Union would collapse like the house of cards. Therefore, a National Government in India is needed immediately to protect our people in South Africa from complete annihilation.—*N.P.S.I.*



THE INDIAN RED CROSS AND FLOOD RELIEF WORK AT CHITTAGONG

Soon after the flood, the workers of the Indian Red Cross Society, Bengal Provincial Branch, arrived at Chittagong with a view to assist the District Branch of the Indian Red Cross Society at Chittagong and was



A general view of the flood in Chittagong

subsequently reinforced by more workers and supplies from Calcutta.

After an air survey of the flood-affected areas a Red Cross sub-supply base was opened at Tangunia, the



Distribution of clothings by the Red Cross Society

worst affected area, in charge of Mr. Kiron Chakrabarti, Honorary Divisional Secretary, Calcutta.

As the area of operation was too vast the Red Cross supplies were distributed through fifteen non-official relief organisations operating throughout the district and also through the workers of the Society. Besides the



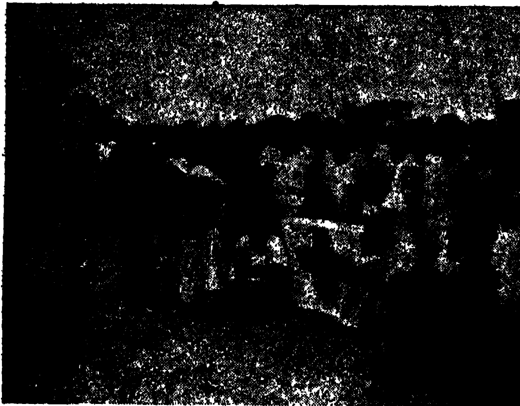
Workers going to villages

distribution of supplies, the Red Cross opened a reception camp for the volunteers of various non-official relief organisations where accommodation and food were provided free of charge to Marwari Relief Society, Chittagong Dist. Muslim Students League, District



Red Cross workers inoculating afflicted-villagers

Medical Relief Committee, Prabartak Sangha, Friends Service Unit, Kanchana Pally Kalyan Samity, Sripur



An emergency milk canteen



Red Cross supplies to the flooded areas by *shampans*

Kharandwip Flood Relief Committee, Indian National Ambulance Corps, Bengal Homeo Institute, Chittagong Flood Relief Committee, Saroatali Union Flood Relief Committee, Pakistan Ambudance Corps, Bharat Sevasram Samgha, Jessore Khulna Seva Samity, etc. The Assistant Provincial Organising Secretary was in charge of the relief operations and acted as liason officer



Red Cross supplies dropped from planes

between the government and the various non-official relief parties at Chittagong.

Milk, medicines and garments were distributed in the affected areas on a large scale by the Indian Red Cross Society through its own workers and fifteen non-official relief organisations.

The following photographs, received through the courtesy of Mr. Jamini Sarkar, Assistant Provincial Organising Secretary, Indian Red Cross Society, Bengal Provincial Branch, speak for themselves.

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THE COORGS

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER

Coorg was primarily inhabited by two distinct communities, the Yeravas and the Coorgs. The Yeravas are the modern representatives of the original inhabitants of Coorg who retired to the hills before the southward march of the Aryans and other communities and sought their asylum there from aggressive invaders. At a later time, the Coorgs found in the jungles the means of satisfying their hunting propensities, while the narrow passes afforded ample scope for their highly developed instincts to carry on their predatory excursions into the country of the wealthier and less warlike neighbours. Even now their fighting and sporting qualities reveal themselves in their socio-religious ceremonies. Their peculiar features are the product of their environment which stimulated a special type of culture among them. The hilly character of the country shielded them from aggression and conquest.

Origin and Early History

Sir Thomas Holland describes the Coorgs as the finest race without any exception in Southern India and considers them as even superior to the Brahmans in respect of skin colour, stature, and prominence of the nose. They are taller than the Yeravas, have finer nose, have a larger head with a distinct tendency towards brachycephalism. Their average cephalic index is 80.6. Dr. Hutton states that it appears to be a much simpler and more satisfactory view to regard the brachycephalic stock as preceding the Aryans. We may suppose them to have entered into the Indus Valley during the Mohenjo Daro period and to have extended down to the west coast as far as Coorg forming the physical basis of several of the brachycephalic or mesaticephalic castes of Western India.

Coorg inscriptions hardly throw any light on the early history of the Coorgs. They show that the province was successively connected with the Ganga dynasty, Hosala kings, the Nayaks of Belur, and the Lingayat Rajas of Coorg, as also with those of the Bednur family. It is said that new settlers must have been introduced into the province under various governments. This conjecture is supported by the Kaveri

Purana in its account of Matsyadesa, the Puranic name of Coorg. The Coorg Rajas were themselves aliens to the country and were Lingayats, while the Coorgs were the followers of ancestor worship. They were the most numerous in the north-west of the province, where they were closely allied to the Mysoreans. In Padinalkanad, the Malayalam element was predominant. Wynad which once formed part of Coorg must have afforded a passage to the immigrants from Malabar. From the above facts, it may be gathered that they were not an unmixed race. The house names of some of the Coorg families indicate Mysore, Tulu, or Tamil origin. Their language, demon- and ancestor-worship do tend to show that they belong to the Dravidian. These traits are biologically useful and related to mental capacity and intellectual endowment. Their mountain habitat, climate, food, and occupation are responsible for what they are at present, and these factors have differentiated them from the people of the plains.

Habitations

The Coorg houses are like those of the Nayars of Kerala. They are situated by the side of their paddy fields on a sheltering slope of Bane-land, surrounded by plantain trees, bastard sago, orange, jack and guava trees. A coffee garden and a small plot of land for the growth of vegetables are not absent on the Hittelmandala land. There is a small pond well-stocked with fish. The position and type of building bear an analogy to those of the Nayars of Kerala. The approaches to the Coorg house strongly mark the design of fortification and tradition goes back to a time of general feuds, when chief fought against chief and clan with clan. Deep trenches with high embankments bear visible evidence of these memorials to the warlike state of affairs in days gone by. These trenches intersect the mountainous district in every direction.

A deeply cut passage paved with rough stones and overgrown with shady trees, its sloping side walls decked with a variety of ferns, leads one in angular lines to the door-way passing under an outhouse. Houses are located in the midst of their plantations far remote from the public gaze. A paved courtyard is surrounded by stables, store rooms, and servants' quarters, in front of which is the main quadrangular building which has one storey and is raised about three feet from the ground. All the buildings are roofed with bamboos and thatched with rice straw which is annually repaired and renewed. There is an open square hall in the centre known as *batte* or *nudumane*, the four sides of which are provided with rooms for the inmates to occupy. On the front of the building, there is an open verandah which is the reception hall. It is raised and covered with a wooden plank *aimara*, two or three feet broad, so as to form convenient seats for the male members and visitors. From it rise three or four wooden pillars square, round, and tapering, and sometimes carved. The floor is well beaten with mud and cleaned with cowdung. The ceiling is of wood, arranged in small compartments. In some, the verandah is separated from the inner hall by a wall with a sort of window or lattice made of wood. It is a contrivance intended for the benefit of the Coorg women who are curious to see visitors. On the right side of the verandah there is a main door leading into the inner hall which is lit by the skylight formed by the junction of the four slopes of the inner roof into an inner space (mittam) which is a masonry reservoir in which rain water is collected and drained off by an underground passage. The inner-roof is supported on four pillars, resting on thick board slabs of jackwood upon the walls of the reservoir, and forming convenient seats for the inmates of the house, the inner rooms of which are without windows and open by small doors into the central hall only. On the side diagonally opposite to the door of the verandah and likewise on the inner right corner, there are two doors leading to the exterior of the house. The first room of the house is occupied by the master of the house and his wife. The next room is the kitchen and dining room whence the smoke issues and fills the whole house, coating, and preserving the woodwork. The small rooms of the remaining two wings are tenanted by the married couples, the widows



A view of a Coorg house and its sylvan environment

and unmarried women. One room near the left corner is set apart as sacred to the family deity. From the ceiling are suspended match-locks, the wooden bells for cattle, the trappings of pack bullocks, and other domestic utensils. The space under the roof and above the ceiling, the wooden floor covered with a thick layer of earth to keep the rooms below dry and fire-proof, serves for strong bags of rice, baskets, pots, and culinary provisions. There is also a deep well built with stone in the compound to supply water for cooking purposes and another hut by the side of the paddy fields for bathing in hot water.

The simplicity of the habits of the Coorgs is reflected in the furniture that they use. Wooden cots are generally used with straw, coir, or cotton mattresses, and cushions, sheets, and blankets ; on the floor, they have coarse mats for rubbing their feet before going to bed. Occasionally, they use wooden stools. A wooden shelf is fixed to the wall in each room to keep their

brass vessels, plates, and lamps. Rattan or wooden boxes contain their clothings and jewels. There is always a spittoon in one of the corners of the room. Where there is a baby, a rattan cradle is suspended from the ceiling within reach of the mother's bed. Young Coorgs of the present day have better houses and good furniture as also comfortable arrangements to live in the European style.

Internal Structure

The Coorgs are composed of four endogamous groups, Amma, Sanna, Malla, and Boddu Coorgs. The Amma and Sanna Coorgs are found in all parts of Coorg. The Malla and Sanna Coorgs are united and are no longer distinguishable. They form the principal class of Coorgs.

Exogamy

The Coorg clans are too many to mention. Most of them are their local house names. Some are alien. Marriage within the clan is prohibited.

Marriage Prohibitions

The marriage custom of the Coorgs is a curious medley of old and new rites, fashions and notions. Formerly, their marriage custom had a communal character. On an auspicious day, a family would call together the whole village comprising all the families of the rice valleys occupying farm houses for a feast. The youths would have their ears pierced by the village carpenters to wear earrings, and maidens had rice strewn over their heads. This was called the marriage feast. The whole community feasted together and the younger people were at liberty to go in search of husbands and wives. This communal character has now changed. Young men express their desire to marry to their parents, grandparents, or to the senior members of the family who look out for suitable girls not in any way related to them. All consanguinous unions are prohibited. Among the prohibitions are :

1. The descendants on the father's side of the same family name ;
2. The descendants of the mother's sisters ;
3. Paternal or maternal uncles or aunts.

A friend of each of the contracting parties becomes the intermediary or Aruva and he is the master of the ceremonies. The father of the youngman or his elder brother with Aruva goes to the house of the young woman where their advent is expected. On a favourable response, the whole house is well-swept and cleaned, and a lamp is lit, when the Aruvas on both sides with the prominent members of respectable families stand before it, facing each other, and shake hands in token of the inviolable contract having been concluded. Such betrothals are seldom broken. In the event of the death of the bridegroom before consummation of marriage, the bridegroom becomes a widow. She is then entitled to an inheritance and sustenance in the bridegroom's family, and may enter into conjugal relations with his brother or first cousins.

Wedding Ceremony

The Coorg weddings generally take place in April and May, when the rice fields are dry and there is little to do. The day for the wedding is fixed in consultation with the local astrologer and invitations are sent by the Aruvas to the relations of the bride and bridegroom, to the married Coorgs of the same village, to the friendly neighbours of other castes or even to Muhammadans.

On the wedding day at about 9 a.m., the invited guests assemble in festive array at the houses of the bride and bridegroom, and while the women go to the inside of the house and give a helping hand to the mistress, the men are accommodated in the spacious verandah or in temporary sheds in the courtyard, and served with *pan-supari* to assist the flow of village gossip, which is now and then broken by the noisy band of musicians. Meanwhile, the bride and bridegroom are bathed, neatly dressed in his new *kuppasam* (coat) with a long red cotton or silk sash round his waist, and his friends fasten into it the new *pichathi*, a present from his father together with a watch, and put jewelled gold rings on his fingers and a chain round his neck and ornaments in his ears, and a carefully tied turban in the approved Coorg fashion. A bright coloured handkerchief thrown over his shoulder completes his dress. The bride who is fully decked is left to the care of his friends.

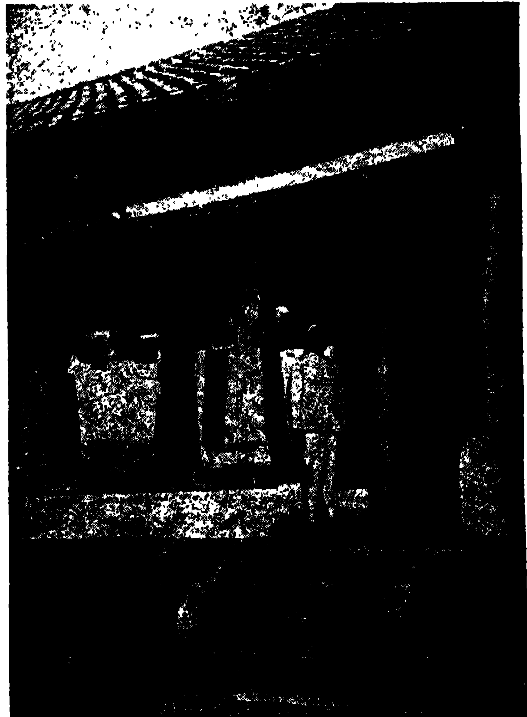
In the bridegroom's house, the wedding party proceed to the *kaymada*, carrying a light which has been kindled at the sacred house lamp and ignite an earthen lamp there, and invoke the blessings of the ancestors. On returning to the house, the principal members of the family enter first into the inner hall, the younger men follow, and offer their customary salutations. At the auspicious hour, the bridegroom seeks the permission of the master of the house and the elders to seat himself on the low three-legged stool kept in readiness upon a carpet placed between two lighted lamps. These lamps trimmed with many wicks stand in metal dishes filled with rice by the side of which is a spouted brass vessel with milk. On the bridegroom being seated, the master of the house takes a handful of rice and strews it over his head and shoulders uttering the words, "Live well and prosper well by God's favour," gives him a sip of milk, and drops a piece of money or other present in his lap, and passes on. Four men closely related to him do likewise. Then five of the nearest female relations including the mistress of the house repeat the same formalities. Then the guests, male and female, assembled there, do the same. Old people only touch the bridegroom's shoulder, those of equal age shake hands, while those below touch his feet as a mark of respect. As the presents accumulate, they are taken care of by a friend who sits near him and watches what and by whom they are given. Widowers and widows do not take part in the proceedings because of their being unlucky.

The same ceremony is gone through in the bride's house at about the same time, but women have precedence over men. After this ceremony, the bridegroom rises and takes his meal with a group of twelve of the nearest relations (groomsmen) and the Aruva. The guests who are invited are sumptuously fed in the leafy shed put up for the occasion. Various kinds of liquor are served during and after feasting, the music makes a discordant deafening noise.

After feasting, the bridegroom's party go to the bride's house which is generally some miles away. On such occasions, a Coorg bridegroom, mounted on a pony, dismounts at the gate of the bride's residence which he approaches barefooted like a traveller of old on a long journey with an alpine staff in his hand. When he has

advanced within the gate, men hold upright the stems of a plantain tree with the leaves on them. A large broad Coorg war-knife is put into his hand, and he has to cut through a plantain stem with one blow. Three chances are allowed to him. It is clear that the possession of physical strength has always been regarded as an essential requisite in a suitor and the survival of this custom is a safeguard against the premature marriage of children which prevails elsewhere. The bride's party come to meet them there and some of their servants bring chairs and mats along with refreshments. Both parties with the united efforts of the musicians advance to the house. The bridegroom is received by his parents-in-law. After the customary salutations, refreshments of *pan-supari* are freely sent round. Then a meal is served and enjoyed with liberal potations. The bride is conducted by her maids over an outspread cloth into the bridal chamber, where she is seated on a low stool. The bridegroom's party approach her and repeat the ceremony of rice throwing which was performed at noon by the bride's relations. At last the bridegroom who is seated on a low stool all along is conducted to the bridal chamber, and is seated by the right side of the bride who with bent heads sits veiled all over. Soon he rises and strews rice over her and gives her some milk to sip, but speaks nothing. He then presents her with a small bag containing a silver or gold ring, a gold coin for her *pattakku* or necklace and some silver coins. Then both eat together for the first time, being served by some women of the household. After this wedding meal, the young couple have the exchange of looks and words. The bridegroom grasps her hand, leads her out of the house, and this act of possession constitutes the essential part of the ceremony. He then returns home with his wife accompanied by his party. If the house is distant, the young wife with her maids are conveyed in a bullock cart. If it is nearer, she is conducted by her two best friends. The mother of the bridegroom or the mistress of the house welcomes and conducts her to her own room and gives her refreshments. The guests are treated to a feast after which they take leave of the host. The Aruva and ten married Coorgs of their nearest kin remain behind. The members of the family along with them assemble round the sacred lamp, when the Aruva gives some homely advice about the duties and privileges of a married Coorg. Hearing this, the bridegroom grasps her right hand and goes with her towards the door, but as he steps outside, she remains within. Her relations now form two rows in front of the door, and the Aruva of the bride tells the Aruva of the bridegroom, "You have desired Puraka from us Mandanna. We have given her, and now ask you, has she any claim on Mandanna's property, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver, if she becomes his wife?" The bridegroom's Aruva says, "Puraka has a lawful claim on Mandanna's property." This is repeated thrice and as a typical pledge of possession like the *yatti jamma* fee on the investment with land, the bridegroom's Aruva hands over to that of the bride's family three pebbles which he binds to the hem of her garment. This is a token of sealing her right to her husband's property. The bridegroom then takes the bride by the hand and leads her out of the house. This act of possession forms the principal part of the ceremony.

As a mark of respect, he makes his obeisance to those assembled by touching their feet. In like manner, the wife fetches a pot of water from the well to the kitchen and carries a basket of manure to the nearest field, and then returns to her room to indicate her willingness to share in the labours of the house. The Aruva then takes the bridegroom to the room of his wife, and thenceforth, while she remains in his house as his wife, she bears a new name, but will be always called by a familiar one under the parental roof. The married daughter receives from her parents a certain dowry on the wedding day consisting of jewels, clothes, furniture, a good bed, but thenceforth she has no claim on the family property.



The front view of a Coorg house

In bygone days, there was a custom of so-called cloth marriage. Kittel writes that a man gave a cloth to a girl, and she accepting it, became his wife without any further ceremonies. He might dismiss her at any time without being under the least obligation of providing either for her or the children born during the connection. The custom was abolished by one of the Linghayat Rajas, who being unable to obtain as many girls for his harem as he wished from wanton selfishness put a stop to it.

Polygamy

Polygamy is resorted to in the absence of a male issue in a house. A daughter is then retained and married to a Coorg on condition that the children born are considered as the children of the wife's, and not of the husband's house. Such a husband may have another wife with children in his own house, and these have no share in the property of the other wife. Polygamy is not forbidden, but is seldom practised.

It is worthy of note that the Coorgs have no priest to preside over the wedding ceremony. There are no religious functions such as those prevailing among the

higher Hindu castes. There are some magical acts which are related here. The bride's hand is grasped in order that she may be delivered in the hands of her husband. She eats with him on the wedding day to create community of life. Marriage ceremonies in all stages of culture are intended to neutralise the dangers and to make the union safe, prosperous, and happy. It referred to the permanent joint life of man and woman, and the essence of the union is the joining together of the bridal pair. The practice of throwing rice may have originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and to depart. It is considered as a token of blessing. In many cases, it seems to have developed into a sympathetic mode of fertility. At one stage of the wedding, the bride being veiled approaches the husband, and they see each other. These ideas may explain the origin of the bridal veil. Besides, there are sexual shyness and the ideas associated with women that these are dangerous as well as improper, and so they lead to effeminacy. Accordingly, the bride spends the wedding days with her girl friends and the bridegroom with young men who in the marriage institution are called bridesmaids or groomsmen.

Polyandry

It has been observed that, in warlike races, the clannish feeling and family spirit often predominate over and absorb individual consciousness and person.: right. Among the Coorgs, family property descends not from father to son, as from generation to generation the eldest member acts as the head of the house. In olden times, the Coorgs are said to have lived in a state of general warfare, chief against chief, and Nadu against Nadu. As a relic of that age, the deep trenches which to this day are found intersecting the country in all directions may be considered. In such an age, destruction of life must have been great. But it was of course the male community that principally suffered in the turmoil. The people must soon have been exterminated under such a state of affairs. But, if the surviving brothers would become the rightful husbands of the widows, a second and an undiminished generation might in time take the place of the fallen. In more recent times, the Rajas used to keep a large number of armed men constantly in attendance on themselves. They were absent from home for weeks and months. On their return, their brothers would have to go to the palace or accompany the Raja on some hunting or fighting expedition. The brothers at home would then take the place of the absent from home and family. It is clear that the law of inheritance by the sister's son is unknown among the Coorgs. This, according to Richter, affords the strongest proof that polyandry is no Coorg custom.

Widow Remarriage

Widows may remarry. Should any of the deceased husband's brothers chose to marry her, he may do so or she may be married to any other man. By doing so, she acquires the rights of the second husband and relinquishes all interest in her late husband's property, but not in her children. A second marriage is celebrated in a quiet manner and only the nearest relations and some of the villagers are invited to the marriage feast. The strewing of rice and other ceremonies are dispensed with. After the removal of signs of widowhood, the bride appears in the apparel of married life.

Divorce

A man can divorce an unfaithful wife, but a wife has no remedy against her husband in case of his unfaithfulness. The Aruva of the house, the Takkas of the village, and some members of the wife's family with her Aruva meet in the hall of the husband's house, when as at betrothal the lamp is put between them ; and the Aruva solemnly relinquishes, the wife's claim to the husband's property. The children remain in the father's house and the unhappy woman returns with all her belongings to the parental roof. It has to be stated to the credit of Coorg women that such events are very rare.

Pregnancy and Childbirth

A woman's first confinement takes place at her mother's house whither she returns after the seventh month of pregnancy. There are no professional midwives among them. The women of the household who have experience for their guidance render all the assistance. A few hours after birth she is bathed in very hot water, and with the abdomen well bound up, she is brought to bed in a lying posture in the best room of the house. This practice is quite at variance with what prevails among other Hindus who relegate a woman in childbirth to an outhouse. Though the period of pollution lasts for seven days, a woman enjoys immunity from all household duties for sixty days to recov · her normal health, and devote herself to her baby. During this period she daily bathes in hot water after having been well-rubbed in with castor oil before a charcoal fire. The robust health of a Coorg woman is no doubt due to the care taken by them during pregnancy and confinement.

Naming Ceremony

As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor oil plant stick with an arrow made of a leaf stalk of the same plant is put into his little hands and a gun is fired in the courtyard. He is thus taking his first breath into the world as a future hunter and warrior. This ceremony is not generally now observed. On the twelveth day after birth, the child is laid into a cradle by the mother or grandmother who gives the name, which in many instances is well-sounding and significant. Boys are known by Belliappah, Ponnappa, Mandanna, and girls, Puvakka, Muthakka, and Chinnamma. The Coorg women are very prolific and bear children to the extent of ten or twelve. In cases of necessity a wet nurse is engaged, but infanticide is not practised.

The Coorg family is of the patriarchal type. It is the domicile of all male relatives and their children belonging to one parental stock. Two or three generations, grandfather, grandmother, their sons, daughters, daughters-in-law and their children numbering from 20 to 60 or even more in some cases, all live and mess together. The labourers who were once their slaves belong to the family and depend on their mistress for food and orders. So long as there is peace and harmony, a Coorg family is a fine example of the patriarchal type. Every domestic affair of importance can be undertaken with the consent of the senior member. He is expected to look after the principal needs of the family and its members individually and check irregularities of all kinds by sound discipline. The nature and extent of his control may be gathered from the fact that married sons and their wives chose their residence under the

paternal roof to avoid the responsibility of separate establishment. The senior female member is the queen of the household, and holds a corresponding position among the junior members and their wives and daughters. The peace and harmony of the family that once prevailed may be marred by discord, by the harsh treatment of an imperious mother-in-law, by the jealousy and heart-burnings of the married members or the material questions affecting the family income and individual claims. The senior member who is the Karanavan of the family has no easy position under such circumstances. The domestic life under normal circumstances is brightened up by the affection of the children for their parents and relatives and their little ones of whom there is generally a good number are great pets of the family. The bearing of the young in the presence of the old is decorous, but the grown-up members are not generally well-guarded in the use of proper expressions in their talk with the young. The educated men of the present day exercise a potent influence for good in the normal conversation, and show due respect to their brother's wife with whom no familiarity is allowed. There is a tendency at present among the discontented members to break up the ancestral family by a division of the family property among the members.

Property and Disposal

The property of the Coorgs consists chiefly of the ancestral house and the land belonging to it which under the Rajas was held on a feudal tenure and on a light assessment termed *janma bhumi* or birthright land, because it was inalienably vested in the family or house and the British Government confirmed the settlement. Additional land was taken up by them on the *sagu* tenure, but, in course of time, Government allowed to some extent such sagu land to be converted into Janma land. Other land held as jaghir was granted for certain Government service as Umbli land on a light assessment. During the last 30 years, many houses have opened out coffee plantations on their own or Government land or rented cardamom jungles. Thus the actual wealth of the Coorgs consists of landed property and their prosperity depends on their exertions and means of cultivation; but imprudent enterprises and unexpected reverses have caused much embarrassment. Formerly all the members of a Coorg house lived together in the ancestral home or in some outfarm, *koppu*, neither of which could be alienated nor subdivided among the members of the family. All of them worked for the common good under the management of the Yajamana or Korakra, and had their subsistence on the proceeds. Any surplus on the annual reckoning became the property of the house for providing incidental expenditure on the occasion of marriages, funerals, and other ceremonies, as also for the purchase of new land in the interest of the family. If, however, an individual member by becoming a salaried officer or by coming into possession of money through marriage, was enabled to enter upon private speculation without any aid from the ancestral house, any property or acquirements thus made became his private property and were left at his own disposal by gift or will. Many young men have thus become separated from the ancestral house and established a new homestead, and as long as they contributed to the expenses of the former, they maintained their share in the proceeds. This is the proper mode of setting up a new house. Disintegration is now getting in, and some try to break up the ancestral houses by a division of the landed property among the members.

Adoption

The right of adoption is given to every Coorg house in the absence of male issue, or by an unmarried man or woman or widower in order to secure the inheritance of personal property or rights.

Kinship

The system of kinship among the Coorgs is of the type called classificatory. The most important feature is the use of the same kinship terms for mother's brother and father-in-law on the one hand and for father's sister and mother-in-law on the other. The fundamental feature of the system is the application of the same kinship terms in addressing most persons of the same generation and sex.

Social Organization

The Coorgs have a council of elders called Takka Mukkyastam who act as moral censors of their social affairs, though they are not invested with magisterial power by Government. The authority of the village Takkas extends over offences against social customs, non-attendance at public feasts, improper conduct during the same, and drunkenness. The offender has to appear before the village elders at the *ambala*, an open council-room on the village green, where the matter is discussed. The presiding Takka pronounces the verdict which may amount to a fine of rupees ten. In the event of refusal to pay up the amount, the offender may be excommunicated, when he may appeal to the district Takkas, and their decision is final. An outcast Coorg may be reinstated on payment of the fine. The influence of the official class, and the increasing knowledge of the people with the common law tend to subvert the authority of the Takkas, who relax their control by accommodating themselves to changed conditions and who do not venture on any excommunication.

Funeral Ceremonies

The Coorgs bury their dead. The common people are buried on the village burial ground and children, near some reserved place near the home. Men of importance have a tomb built over their graves with a masonry bull, the emblem of Siva, surrounding it. When a man dies, messages are sent round to every house of the village community. Each house must at least send one male and one female member to render service on the occasion. The Aruva of the family has the direction of affairs of the ceremonies. Under his direction the corpse is washed and dressed by the man who has followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. The handling of the dead by the funeral party does not ceremonially defile them. It is enough for them to bathe and change clothes on reaching home. The corpse is then carried to the hall and laid on a funeral bed near to which a lighted lamp is placed. The whole company gather round and break out in loud lamentations, beating the breast and tearing the hair. Guns are also fired in honour of the dead. Towards evening, the corpse is

brought into the yard in an open bier, a little water is poured into its mouth by the relatives and a piece of money is deposited in a copper dish, containing a little cocoanut milk, saffron, rice and well-water. The corpse is then carried to the burial ground. Each funeral attendant approaches, dips his finger in the copper dish, moistens the lips of the corpse with a drop or two and lays a piece of money into it. This collection goes to meet the funeral expenses. After all present have taken leave of the departed, the body is divested of its best clothes and ornaments, and decently laid into the grave or on the pile, the contents of the funeral lamp dish are thrown upon it, and the covering of the grave or the burning of the pile concludes the ceremony. Pollution lasts for eleven days. In the case of husband's funeral, the widow with two of her own and relative's children, carrying a brass vessel and a cocoanut brings an earthen pot full of water and carries it round the corpse thrice on the funeral ground, the cocoanut is broken and its water put into a dish for the purpose already mentioned, the widow standing near the feet of the corpse and with averted face lets the earthen water-pot fall sideways from her shoulders to the ground as a symbol of her shattered happiness, and the Aruva breaks the brass bangles on her wrist. The next morning, the relatives remove her garments, but her hair remains. As a mark of mourning, a woman leaves off wearing for one year her kerchief on the head and ties it round her neck. While in this state of widowhood, she neither wears bangles nor necklace, nor ear-ornaments.

On the 28th day or some time later, as late as six months, when due honour is intended for the departed, a final ceremony, the Thithi, is performed. In the interval, the relatives who offer themselves for this service undergo some fasting. They forego the early and the second meal. At noon they bathe, prepare their own simple food, eat part of it themselves, and gives the rest to the crows, which consume it for the dead. When the Thithi, the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to the feast in honour of the departed and for the repose of the soul, which ceremony concludes the funeral rites.

(To be continued)

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BOOK REVIEWS

BOOKS in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

OUR EDUCATION : *By Swami Nirvedananda. Published by S. Mandal, Vidyamandir, Dhakuria. Pages 169. Price Rs. 3-8-0.*

The book under review is inspired by the educational ideals of the Ramakrishna Mission whose achievements in the field of education, are, as is well-known, of no mean order. It is written by one who has devoted his life to the cause of education and as such deserves careful consideration by all who are interested in the subject. The book is divided into three sections with significant and self-explanatory titles, "As it is," "As it should be" and "How." The first section as the title shows, contains a review of the present system of education in India. In it the author analyses the defects and glaring omissions in the present system and exposes its fundamental weaknesses. He shows how cultural, economic, practical and physical education have been neglected and with what results. He also criticises the existing methods of education. The second section is devoted to an examination of the task before us. The author thinks, "This is a task that the Government of the country alone may handle." In this connection he approves the Sargent Plan of educational reconstruction as also the Wardha Scheme. But it will be years before effect can be given to these schemes and so "there is scope for hundred other organisations to come forward and take the field" in the interim period. They can not only take their share in the work of educational reconstruction and thus lighten the task to some extent, but they can also keep up the ideals and the spirit of Indian education and serve as models for others. The author then discusses what he thinks to be "the basic things" in the contents and organisation of education. Having thus developed his thesis in the last section of the book, the author discusses the various types of institutions through which the ideals are to be realised. In this connection he discusses among other things the place of "leisure hour training and hostels." He himself is responsible for founding and running one of the finest students' hostels in the country which is rendering yeoman's service to the student community of Bengal and his views are therefore well worth careful consideration. The book, replete as it is with many valuable and practical suggestions, is an important contribution to our educational literature. It is both stimulating and thought-provoking. We welcome it and recommend it

to all who are interested in the subject of Indian education. It is well-produced and its get-up is excellent.

A. N. Basu

MAURYA AND SUNGA ART: *By Niharranjan Ray, M.A. (Cal.), D.Litt. & Phil. (Leiden), F.L.A. University of Calcutta. 1945. Price Rs. 12 or eighteen shillings. Pp. viii + 117 + 33 plates.*

Much has already been written on this early phase of Indian art. But Dr. Niharranjan Ray has boldly approached the subject from a new angle: he has tried to relate the art of the Maurya and the Sunga periods to their contemporary social background.

After a detailed examination of the form and content, as well as the technique and execution of Maurya art, he has come to the conclusion that although part of it was contributed by local artistic traditions, yet the major portion was of extra-Indian derivation. The benevolent autocrat Asoka created an imperialism after the manner of the Achaemenid emperors; and the art which sprang up under his patronage was not only influenced by Achaemenid traditions, but in its later phase, was strongly tinctured by colonial Hellenic tradition as well. On the whole, it was exotic to India, and neither drew its sustenance permanently from the soil, nor did it succeed in exercising any very marked influence on the subsequent art-history of the land.

But under its influence, the local art of India, which had so long found expression in perishable materials, now found a new medium of expression. Artists now began to experiment in stone. According to Dr. Ray's skilful analysis, the Sunga art which thus came into being, was a translation in stone of the already existing and powerful folk-traditions of the Indian people. Sunga art was thus the opening chapter of a history which was destined to develop into a fulness of its own in later times.

The printing and get-up of the book are of a high order.

Nirmal Kumar Bose

RABINDRANATH: *By Dr. Amiya Chakravarti, Dr. S. K. Maitra, Dr. Sachin Sen and Dr. Niharranjan Ray. The Book Exchange, 217, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a one-volume introduction to Rabindranath, a co-operative venture by four doctors who are acknowledged experts on the aspects of Rabindranath treated by them. Dr. Chakravarti dwells upon the wonderfully creative vitality which the poet had in superabundant measure, and his treatment does not exclude the reminiscent vein, but is all the more enjoyable for it. Dr. Maitra explains Tagore's conception of man's personality as a concrete reality, full of content, always growing from more to more, and compact with the whole universe; and he carefully explains the poet's internationalism, his attitude towards science and modernism. Rabindranath's attitude to death deserves, however, to be more fully elaborated in an essay expressly devoted to the subject, and his beautiful book of poems—*Smarane* (in memoriam)—considered in the treatment. Dr. Sen's article is the longest in the collection, and he has succeeded in rousing the reader's interest in the poet's political ideas, a living force in the days when Rabindranath was alive. Dr. Ray devotes himself to a consideration of the last phase of the poet—the product of his last ten years, a rich and significant phase. But what does it signify? Is it merely the consciousness of the limitation of his powers? Or a richer sense of poetic content? Dr. Ray has harped on a thought-provoking, and debatable point.

The volume will serve as a useful introduction to students of Rabindranath and help to stimulate critical thought.

P. R. Sen

LIFE OF DAYANANDA SARASWATI: *By Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. Published by the Vedic Pustakalaya, Kaiserganj, Ajmer, Rajputana. Pp. 622 + cxxvi. Price Rs. 12.*

The author requires no introduction to the readers, since he is well-known by the Act of the Prevention of Child Marriage named after him. Although he has written a number of historical volumes, this monumental work is an outstanding one in scope and scholarship. This is the latest book of the aged author, who is now eighty years old. To produce such a stupendous work as this, which took three long years is a remarkable feat for a man of his age. The hallowed memory of Swami Dayananda inspired him to write with care and scrutiny this detailed and complete biography in English, which is the first book of its kind. As a child, Sardaji had the good fortune of meeting and exchanging a few words with the Swami, who placed his hands on his head and blessed him. Besides this, he had also the privilege of attending to a few of his lectures. Filled with profound respect for the founder of the Arya Samaj, the author has taken immense pains to collect all the available materials of his life and verify them. Since all the biographies of Swami Dayananda extant in Hindi and English are unfortunately wanting in factual accuracy and fullness, this complete and comprehensive volume will meet the long-felt want.

The book is divided into four parts containing in all thirty-two chapters. Besides dealing exhaustively with the life and teachings of this great reformer, it also presents an interesting account of his *guru*, Swami Virjanand Saraswati. Sardaji describes Swami Dayananda as a world teacher and to our surprise shows his superiority over other interpreters of the Vedas. The last part of the book not only discusses the teachings of Swami Dayananda, but also gives his criticisms of various religious sects prevalent in India. In the long introduction extending for about eighty pages the author contrasts Dayananda with Krishna, Buddha and Samkara. Therein he observes, "There is nothing to show that Samkara was taught the Vedas, the Sruti and Samhitas . . . Samkara did not touch the Vedas." and at another place he says, "As all these sects based their religious practices on some texts or others of the Vedas or the Brahmanas or the Sutras, Samkara with the vast learning he possessed . . . refuted their contentions . . . by quoting against them texts from the same books." These and other contradictory statements show that the author has not taken the trouble of studying Samkara's life and works carefully. A proper study of Samkara's original works must have convinced the author that the Acharya was a master of the Vedic lore. While Swami Dayananda visited Bengal in 1872-73, mention has been made about his meeting Keshab Chandra Sen and Devendranath Tagore; but no mention has been made about his meeting Sri Ramakrishna who was even then a great religious force in the province. The 31st chapter of the book, devoted to a study of the Brahmo Samaj, contains an unfair and uncharitable criticism of the great religious movement of Bengal as follows: "The Brahmo Samaj, which came into existence because of the disintegrating influence of foreign thought and western education has become an exotic plant growing in an uncongenial soil." Sardaji totally ignores the contribution of the Brahmo Samaj, which like the Arya Samaj, checked the high tide of Semitic influence in Eastern and Western India, brought into being a Vedic revival and heralded the dawn of Hindu Renaissance.

Swami Dayananda Saraswati stands undoubtedly as a prominent figure in the renascent India. His lifelong effort to usher into existence a Vedic revival in our country has endeared him to all Hindus. Hence a life of the Swami should be presented in such a way as to

be instructive and readable to the Hindus of all denominations. But the present work, we are afraid, fails to to come up to that standard, and loses much of its force and appeal, as it dogmatically criticises other religious leaders and their philosophy. The book would have been much better, if it contained a complete record of Dayananda's epoch-making activities and achievements alone, and omitted the unpleasant comparisons and contrasts with other religious thinkers, which have unfortunately lent a sectarian colour to this voluminous work.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE INDIAN PROBLEM AND ITS SOLUTION : *By R. P. Dutt. Vidyasagar Book Stall, 41 Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 478. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Here is an ambitious but disastrous attempt to analyse the causes of our national degeneration and lay out a concrete programme for our economic, social and spiritual emancipation. The author (not, of course, the famous Communist leader) maintains that all our misery originates from the rotten caste-system of the Hindus and devotes the larger part of his dry dissertation to proving this point. In the last chapter called *Reconstruction* he gives his fantastic picture of the new India that would emerge when we get rid of all traces of sectarianism. And in this process of regeneration, the author maintains, the help and goodwill of the generous British people will be of prime importance, as all our enlightenment has been due to the civilizing efforts of the white people !

The author has no understanding either of the interplay of economic and social forces or of the emergent values of history ; and consequently his treatment has no support of reality behind it. His vision of the future relation between India and Britain is extremely naive ; and one is profoundly amused at the picture of a future Indian school that the author depicts with awful ingenuity. One also fails to understand the origin of the inspiration for this wanton wastage of paper and energy. Lapses in style and misprints are numerous.

A. D. G.

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF LIBRARIES IN INDIA : *By S. R. Ranganathan. The Modern Librarian, Lahore. Pp. 36.*

Sir William Beveridge emphasised the importance of five giants which are to be killed—Disease, Squalor, Want, Idleness and Ignorance. While the first four will be taken care of by others and other means, libraries will go a great part in taking care of the last ; and in new India that is going to be re-born they are expected to take an important part. This is a very good little book ; but to appreciate its merits one must read it and think over it.

J. M. DATTA

THE PROBLEM OF HINDUSTANI : *By Dr. Tarachand. Published by the Indian Periodicals Ltd., Allahabad. Pp. 124. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The brochure contains addresses and articles in which the learned author, a zealous exponent of Hindustani, has discussed the problem of India's *lingua franca*. The advocacy of Hindustani is not only exaggerated but onesided also and we are constrained to say that it raises more questions than answers. A more reconciliatory attitude and non-partisan approach would have been more helpful and welcome.

M. S. SENGAR

HINDI

VIJAYANAGAR SAMRAJYA KA ITIHAS : *By Vasudeva Upadhyaya. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 4.*

It is well-known that not till long ago, the glory that was Vijayanagar had become a part of the lumber room of Indian History and that it is only in recent times that that glory has been rescued and re-presented to the people of the country. The book, under review is one of the few such "re-presentations." But being based on the facts of history it is not a story of the pursuit of the proverbial Golden Deer. It is, on the contrary, a kind of a watch-tower from which one has a vivid view of the social, economic, religious, political and cultural aspirations and achievements of the Vjayanagar Kingdom,—a Kingdom that served as a bulwark against the inroads made for several centuries on the sovereignty of Hindu Civilization. It is one of the "prize books",—and deservedly,—of the Bengal-Hindi Mandal, for, Shri Upadhyaya has successfully rescued for the Hindi-knowing people, from the dust of oblivion, a shining chapter in the history of India.

G. M.

KANNADA

SAIRANDHRI AND MAGANA GELAVU : *By Krishnamurti Puranik. Published by H. S. Patil. Ranga-Manga-Prakashana, Dharwar. Pp. 6 + 80. Price Re. 1-8.*

In *Sairandhri*, the poetical 'Rupaka' of eight scenes, Shri Krishnamurti Puranik has successfully depicted the most familiar and fascinating dramatic episode of Keechaka's diabolical overtures to Draupadi in Blank Verse. The delineation of various characters that flit across the pages of this play and the imaginative fervour with which the writer creates the several scenes and the dexterity of dialogue displayed in this Rupaka merit a critical and appreciative study. The style and diction of Shri Krishnamurti are vigorous, in tune with the themes that he has tried to depict. The book in question contains really two Rupakas woven out of the two memorable incidents in the Great Epic. *Magana Gelavu* portrays vividly the fight between father and son—Arjuna and Babruvahana. The characters depicted by Puranik in this play bear the stamp of classical poet Lakshmisha and Mr. Puranik is, without doubt, greatly influenced by the majestic grandeur of Lakshmisha's delineation of various scenes and episodes and hence he has not hesitated in borrowing Lakshmisha's lines profusely. The two Rupakas are written in Blank Verse style in the handling of which Shri Puranik appears to be fairly successful.

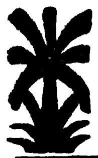
V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

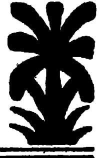
RAMA-PRAGNABHINISHKRAMAN : *By Raj Hans. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Works, Baroda. 1944. Khadi cloth-bound. Pp. 198. Price Rs. 4.*

The first part of this Kavya is taken up with incidents from Rama's childhood to his exile and stay in the Dandaka Aranya. The verses are full of vigour, and the very deep study of the several works bearing on the life of Rama, written by Valmiki, Tulsidas, Girdhar and others is so skilfully utilised and incorporated in the narrative, as to make it most attractive. The style adapted to the narration is suitable and the dialogues of the different characters are clothed in a language which is both terse and pregnant. It is a remarkable book.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Modern Poetry

We give further extracts from Rabindranath Tagore's article on modern poetry as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

The veil of illusion must be removed and the thing must be seen exactly as it is. The illusive dye which coloured the things of the nineteenth century has now become faded, and its mere suggestion of sweetness is not enough to satisfy one's hunger,—something tangible is required. When we say the smelling is half the eating, then we exaggerate by nearly three quarters. Let me translate a few lines from a poem addressed to a beauty of bygone days. It would be out of place to introduce any charm into the translation, also useless to try and do so.

You are beautiful and faded,
Like an old opera tune
Played upon a harpsichord;
Or like the sun-flooded silks
Of an eighteenth-century boudoir.
In your eyes
Smoulder the fallen leaves of outlived minutes,
And the perfume of your soul
Is vague and suffusing,
With the pungence of sealed spice-jars.
Your half-tones delight me,
And I grow mad with gazing
At your blent colours.
My vigour is a new-minted penny,
Which I cast at your feet.
Gather it up from the dust
That its sparkle may amuse you.

This modern coinage is cheaper but it is stronger, and it is very definite; it clearly sounds the modern note. Old-fashioned charm has an intoxicating effect, but this has insolence. There is nothing misty about it.

The subjects dealt with by modern poetry do not seek to attract the mind by their charm. Then what lends it support? Its strength consists in its firm self-reliance, that which is called character in English. It calls out: Ho there, behold me, here am I. That same poetess, whose name is Amy Lowell, has written a poem on a shop of red slippers. The theme is that in the evening snowflakes are whirling in the wind outside; whilst inside, behind polished glass windows, rows of red slippers hang like garlands, "like stalactites of blood, flooding the eyes of passers-by with a dripping colour, jamming their crimson reflections against the windows of cabs and tramcars, screaming their claret and salmon into the teeth of the sleet, plopping their little round maroon lights upon the tops of umbrellas. The row of white sparkling shop-fronts is gashed and bleeding,—it bleeds red slippers." The whole poem deals with these slippers.

This is what is called impersonal. There is no ground for being particularly attached to these garlands of slippers, either in the capacity of a buyer or a seller. But one has to stop and look; as soon as the character of the picture as a whole becomes apparent, it no longer remains trifling. The gleaners of meaning will ask—"What does it all mean, my dear sir? Why so much ado about slippers, even if they are red?"—To which one replies—"Just look at them yourself."—"What's the good of looking?" To which there is no reply.

There is a poem by Ezra Pound about Aesthetics. The theme is this. A girl was walking along the street, and a little boy in patched clothes cried out in uncontrollable excitement, "Oh, look, look, how beautiful!" Three years later, the poet met the same boy again. That year there was a big haul of sardines. His father and uncles were laying out the fish in large wooden boxes, in order to send them for sale to the market of Breschia. The boy was jumping about handling the fish, so his elders scolded him and told him to keep quiet. Then the boy, stroking the nearly-arranged fish, muttered to himself exactly the same words in a tone of satisfaction—"How beautiful!" On hearing this "I was mildly abashed," the poet says.

The pretty girl and the sardine fish, look upon them both and don't hesitate to make the same remark in the same words,—How beautiful! This observation is impersonal, pure and simple looking; even the slipper-shop is not outside its purview.

In the nineteenth century poetry was subjective in character, in the twentieth it is objective. Hence emphasis is now laid on the realism of the subject-matter, not on its adornment; for adornment expresses the individual's taste, but the power of pure reality consists in expressing the subject itself.

Before making an appearance in literature, this modernism had imposed itself on painting. By creating various forms of disturbances, it sought to contradict the idea that painting was one of the fine arts. The function of art is not to charm but to conquer the mind, it argued,—its sign is not beauty but truth. It acknowledged not the illusion of form but its character, that is to say, the self-advertisement of the whole. This form has no other introduction of itself to offer; it only wants to proclaim loudly the fact that it is worth observing. This strong case for being observed is made out not by appeals of gesture and posture, not by copying nature, but by its own inherent creative truth. This truth is neither religious nor moral, nor ideal—it is only natural. That is to say, it must be acknowledged, simply because it has come to exist—just as we acknowledge the peacock together with the vulture, just as we cannot deny the existence either of the pig or the deer.

Some are beautiful, others ugly, some are useful, others harmful; but there is no possible pretext for discarding any one from the sphere of creation. It is the

same with literature and art. If any beauty has been created, it needs no apology ; if not, if it possesses no innate strength of being, only sweetness,—then it must be rejected.

Hence present-day literature that has accepted the creed of modernity scorns to keep caste by carefully adjusting itself to bygone standards of aristocracy : it does not pick and choose. Eliot's poetry is modern in this sense, but not Bridges'. Eliot writes.

The winter evening settles down
With smell of steaks in passage ways,
Six o'clock.
The burnt out ends of smoky days.
And now a gusty shower wraps
The grimy scraps
Of withered leaves about your feet
And newspapers from vacant lots ;
The showers beat
On broken blinds and chimney pots,
And at the corner of the street
A lonely cab-horse steam and stamps.
And then the lighting of the lamps.

Then comes a description of a muddy morning filled with the smell of stale beer. On such a morning, the following words are addressed to a girl :

You tossed a blanket from the bed,
You lay upon your back and waited,
You dosed, and watched the night revealing
The thousand sordid images
Of which your soul was constituted.

And this is the account given of the man :

His soul stretched tight across the skies
That fade beyond a city block,
Or trampled by insistent feet
At four and five and six o'clock :
And short square fingers stuffing pipes,
And evening newspapers, and eyes
Assured of certain certainties,
The conscience of a blackened street
Impatient to assume the world.

In the midst of this smoky, this muddy, this altogether dingy morning and evening, full of many stale odours and waste papers, the opposite picture is evoked in the poet's mind. He says :

I am moved by fancies that are curled
Around these images, and cling ;
The notion of some infinitely gentle
Infinitely suffering thing.

Here the link between Apollo and the frog is broken. Here the croaking of the frog in the well hurts the laughter of Apollo. It is clearly evident that the poet is not absolutely and scientifically impersonal. His loathing for this tawdry world is expressed through the very description he gives of it. Hence the bitter words with which he ends the poem :

Wipe your hand across your mouth, and laugh :
The worlds revolve like ancient women
Gathering fuel in vacant lots.

The poet's distaste for this old dung-gathering world is evident. The difference from the past consists in this, that there is no desire to delude oneself with an imaginary world of rosy dreams. The poet makes his poetry trudge through this mire regardless of his laundered clothes ; not because he is fond of mud, but because in this muddy world one must look at mud with open eyes, and accept it. If Apollo's laugh reaches one's ears even there, well and good : if not, then one need not despise the loud leaping laughter of the frog. That is also something ; one can look at it for a moment in the context of the universe, even for this thing there is something to be said. The frog will seem out of place in the cultured language of the drawing-room ; but then most of the world lies outside the drawing-room.

The first awaking in the morning. In that waking there is first the realisation of oneself, the newly-born stirring of consciousness. This condition may be called romantic. This newly-awakened consciousness sallies forth in order to test itself. The mind gives form to its own thoughts and desires in the universe and in its own creations. It seeks to express its inmost desires outwardly in various illusive forms.

Then the light grows harsher, experience becomes harder, many veils of illusion are torn aside by the turmoil of life. In this unshaded light and unclouded sky one becomes acquainted with a clearer reality. This familiar reality is greeted by different poets in different ways. Some look upon it in a doubting and rebellious spirit, some look upon it with such contempt that they do not hesitate to treat it rudely and coarsely. Again

even in the uncovered form as revealed in the hard light, some perceive a deep mystery—they don't think there is nothing esoteric, that there is nothing beyond and beneath appearances. In the last European war man's experience was so harsh and so cruel, all the manners and decencies that had come down through the ages were so suddenly destroyed in the fatal conflict, that the established order of society in which he had so implicitly and complacently believed for such a long time, was torn to tatters in a single moment. On seeing the revolutionary destruction of all the manners and morals in which he had hitherto found refuge, man began to find a fierce delight in despising everything that he had considered respectable, as being a sign of weakness and a means of artificial self-deception. He has now come to look upon universal cynicism as a regard for truth.

But if modernism has any philosophy, and if that philosophy is to be called impersonal, then one must admit that this attitude of aggressive disbelief and calumny towards the universe, is also a personal mental aberration owing to the sudden revolution. This also is an illusion, in which there is no serious attempt to accept reality naturally in a calm and dispassionate frame of mind Many people think that this aggressiveness, this wantonly destructive challenging is what is called modernity.

I myself don't think so. Even though thousands of people are attacked by influenza today, I shall not say that influenza is the natural condition of the body in modern times. The natural bodily state exists behind influenza.

If I am asked what exactly pure modernism is, then I shall answer that it consists in looking upon the universe, not in a personal and self-regarding manner, but in an impersonal and matter-of-fact manner. This point of view is bright and pure, in this unclouded vision there is real delight. In the same dispassionate way that modern science analyses reality, modern

poetry also will look upon the universe as a whole, this is what is eternally modern.

But it is nonsense to call this modern. The joy of this natural and detached way of looking at things belongs to no particular age. It belongs to everyone whose eyes know how to wander over this naked earth. It is over a thousand years since the Chinese poet Li-Po wrote his verses. He was a modern, he looked upon the universe with freshly-opened eyes. In a verse of four lines he writes simply.

Why do I live among the green mountains?
I laugh and answer not, my soul is serene:

It dwells in another heaven and earth belonging to no man.
The peach trees are in flower, and the water flows on . .

Another picture :

Blue water—a clear moon . . .
In the moonlight the white herons are flying.
Listen! Do you hear the girls who gather water-chestnuts?
They are going home in the night, singing.

Another :

Naked I lie in the green forest of summer . . .
Too lazy to wave my white-feathered fan.
I hand my cap on a crag.
And bare my head to the wind that comes
Blowing through the pine trees.

A river merchant's wife writes :

I would play, plucking flowers by the gate;
My hair scarcely covered my forehead, then.

You would come, riding on your bamboo horse,
And loiter about the bench with green plums for toys.
So we both dwelt in Chang-kan town,
We were two children, suspecting nothing.

At fourteen I became your wife,
And so bashful I could never bare my face.
But hung my head, and turned to the dark wall;
You would call me a thousand times,
But I could not look back even once.

At fifteen I was able to compose my eyebrows,
And beg you to love me till we were dust and ashes . . .
I was sixteen when you went on a long journey,
Travelling beyond the Ken-Tang gorge,
Where the giant rocks heap up the swift river,
And the rapids are not passable in May.
Did you hear the monkeys wailing
Up on the skyey height of the crags?

Do you know your footmarks by our gate are old,
And each and every one is filled up with green moss?
The mosses are too deep for me to sweep away;
And already in the autumn wind the leaves are falling.

The yellow butterflies of October
Flutter in pairs over the grass of the west garden.
My heart aches at seeing them . . .
I sit sorrowing alone, and alas!
The vermilion of my face is fading.

Some day when you return down the river,
If you will write me a letter beforehand,
I will come to meet you—the way is not long—
I will come as far as the Long Wind Beach instantly.

In this poem the sentiment is not pitched in a high key, neither do we find any suggestion of ridicule or disbelief levelled against it. The subject is extremely familiar, yet there is not lack of feeling. If the style was given a sarcastic twist and it was held up to ridicule, then the thing would be modern, because the moderns scorn to acknowledge in poetry that which everybody acknowledges naturally. Most probably a modern poet would have added at the end of this poem that the husband went his way after wiping his eyes and looking back repeatedly, and the girl at once set about frying dried prawn fish-balls. For whom?—In reply to this query there are a line-and-a-half of asterisks. The old-fashioned reader would ask, "What does this mean?" The modern poet would answer "Things happen like this." "But they also happen otherwise." "Yes, they do, but that is too respectable. Unless it stinks a little it doesn't shed its refinement it doesn't become modern." The poetry of olden times had its luxury, which was bound up with courtesy. Modern poetry also has its luxury, which is the luxury of rotten meat.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



A Message to the People of Fiji—Broadcast by Sir Raghunath Paranjpye

Sir Raghunath Paranjpye, High Commissioner for India in Australia, visited Fiji in April, 1946, to study the conditions there and to make representations to the Government of India on affairs of the Indians settled in Fiji. The visit was an official one and the High Commissioner was the guest of the Government of Fiji. Everywhere in Fiji and by everyone in Fiji he was cordially welcomed and entertained. The following is the message he gave to the people of Fiji which we quote in full from the *Fiji Samachar*, May, 1946 :

I am very glad to have this opportunity of speaking to the people of Fiji where I have passed a very enjoyable fortnight of great interest and instruction. I have met here many of my countrymen, and it has been quite an exciting experience to meet so many of them far away from my native land, as I have been residing for nearly a year and a half in a country where Indians are few and far between.

The Little India of the Pacific

The large number of Indians here have led to these Islands being called the "Little India of the Pacific" which is the title given to a recent study of this part of the world by Dr. J. W. Coulter, of the University of Hawaii.

Regard Ourselves as Indians

When one goes from India to another country and meets people from the different provinces of India, one gets a more correct perspective of his own land than if he were merely confined to one little portion of India. Here we learn to regard ourselves as Indians rather than as Hindus, Mohammedans, Sikhs or Christians, or as Gujeratis, Punjabis, Tamils or Bengalees. I wish more persons, even leaders, from India could go abroad and see how their countrymen have set aside the smaller differences among Indians in favour of the supreme loyalty to India as a whole. I have also seen here how Indians have shed many of their non-essential customs to which we in India often attach too much importance.

Indenture System as Semi-Servile

Indians came to Fiji about seventy years ago as indentured labourers under conditions which the world now regards as semi-servile with the growing national consciousness in India and with the unflinching support of the Government of India, the indenture system was finally abolished about 25 years ago and all Indians here are now free men who have many opportunities for bettering their lot by their own exertions, and it is a pleasure to see that on the whole they are now in a better condition than they might have been in their own country ; especially at the present day when famine is stalking in so many countries in the world and India is in the throes of the worst famine in her history, my countrymen here are more lucky to be in a land where starvation in its starkest form is practically unknown.

What Fiji Indians Can Do for India

I may say in passing in connection with the famine in India that the Indians here should do everything they possibly can to help their hard-stricken countrymen. They can do this positively by sending actual help in the form of food parcels. Even if this is not practicable on any appreciable scale, they can at least help negatively by refraining from ordering out from India the foodstuffs they used to do in normal time. This is only a very small sacrifice, and I am sure my countrymen will cheerfully make when the matter has once been brought to their notice.

Why One Leaves Home-Land

We know of course that there are many difficult problems facing them here but it would be unfair to shut one's eyes to the brighter side of the picture. Every migrant to a foreign country leaves his home and cuts himself off from his native environment with the natural and intelligible object of bettering his lot. Australia or New Zealand or even America would have remained wild wastes if they had not offered many opportunities for material advancement and a free life to enterprising people, and it is therefore no reflection upon Indians here that they desire to improve their condition and aspire to a higher standard of living.

Effect of Colonization on Indigenous Races

The history of colonisation in old days has been marked by gross brutality, oppression and exploitation of the indigenous races. The American Indian has practically disappeared except for the few reservations to which they are now confined. The Australian aborgines are reduced to a few thousand and most of their land has been taken away from them by the incoming white races. In Tasmania, every single original inhabitant has been exterminated, and the last Tasmanian died but a few years ago.

South Africa

In South Africa, the indigenous races refused to be disposed of in this summary fashion and the evils of domination of a backward race by an advanced alien race are to be seen in South Africa, and in fact in most parts of the dark continent, and many of the problems there, including the comparatively smaller problem of the treatment of Indians, are to be ultimately traced to the presence of two conflicting races in that land.

The N. Z. Govt. and the Maoris

It is only in New Zealand that I was happy to observe that the indigenous Maori race has been treated on a footing of equality by the incoming whites, and

the Government of that country is doing its utmost to promote the interests of the Maoris. The result has been that the Maoris now form a valuable section of the population of New Zealand and in the last war contributed many sturdy warriors to the New Zealand contingent, one of whom won the Victoria Cross.

THE FIJIAN RACE IS MAKING PROGRESS

I am very glad to observe that in Fiji also the indigenous people are so far from being exterminated that they are increasing in number and are rapidly advancing in education and prosperity. The Maoris of New Zealand have demonstrated that there is no inherent difference between the potentialities of different races, and I believe the same will be proved by the Fijians under a sympathetic and farsighted Government. Indians have come here as strangers but I hope they will always regard the Fijians as their brothers and work for one another's progress. Already education is spreading fast among the Fijians and it is my earnest hope that they will soon reach the level of other races in modern culture, civilisation and material prosperity.

RETAIN ANCIENT CUSTOMS AND CULTURE

I do not mean that they should give up all their old customs and traditions and blindly imitate those of others. In fact, it seems to me that the world is far richer with people having different customs and institutions. I have never been in favour of even Indians giving up all their old ways of life and blindly following the western model. Just as India has a good deal to contribute to advancement of the world, I am sure the Fijians also will make their contribution to world culture and civilisation.

INCREASED COMMUNICATIONS

With the increasing facilities of communication, the world has now become much smaller than it was before. Various peoples of the world have come much nearer

and are in a position to influence one another. Fiji, being on the main highway of the Pacific, will necessarily be affected, I hope, for good by this increasing contact with other peoples, and I look forward to a time when Fiji will no longer remain to many an insignificant speck of land in the wide waters of the Pacific Ocean.

The Difficulties of Indians

During my short stay here, I have heard a good deal about the difficulties that face Indians here. They want a more secure tenure of the land they cultivate; they want greater educational facilities for their children and they complain about the injustice of the poll-tax. On all these matters I hope the Fiji Government will do its best to meet all their reasonable demands. Anything that the Government of India can do to help them will certainly be done, but in the main the Indians in Fiji will have to put their own case in a convincing and reasonable manner before their own Government, using all constitutional means for the purpose. They have their own capable representatives in the local Legislative Council who, I am sure, will be their best advocates. The Government in England will also, I am sure, see that justice is done to every section of His Majesty's subjects.

Democracy or Personal Rule

It is a fashion in certain quarters to decry democracy and to extol a kind of benevolent personal rule. But if we look at different countries of the world we find that in those countries where democracy is functioning efficiently the people on the whole are more prosperous and far happier than under any other regime. Britain, the British Dominions, America and perhaps France have on the whole a better sense of Freedom than other nations of the world. There we notice a greater feeling of security for the individual who does not feel himself to be a mere mechanical cog in a vast machine but considers himself to be a free and rational being.

India Appreciates Democracy

We in India have learnt to appreciate this freedom inherent in a democracy, and we are striving to achieve for India a similar system of Government. We know that there are great difficulties in the way, but we hope that those difficulties will be surmounted and that a free and democratic India will become one of the great democratic nations of the world, closely associated with the other parts of the British Commonwealth. We in India desire to eliminate all distinctions based on caste, creed or colour and I hope that my countrymen in Fiji will closely watch the various movements in India and learn from her successes as well as from her failures.

India a Great Power

We hope that a time will soon come when India will be one of the great nations of the world, taking her proper place among the big five or six, whose weight will always be cast on the side of peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Keep in Touch with the Mother Country —India

Indians in Fiji have the great good fortune of being the inheritors of an ancient civilisation and culture. We in India shall always watch with interest the progress and prosperity of our countrymen here. In olden days of difficult communications, when a group of people left their land for distant climes they became lost to their old country like the lost tribes of Israel. There is no reason why this should be so now and I hope that the Indians in Fiji will keep in touch with their old country and regard it with affection as their holy land but at the same time be loyal and true citizens of their new land.

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The Teli Temple Hazaribagh



An ancient Siva Temple, Hazaribagh



AKBAR DISCUSSING HINDU SHASTRAS
By Tilak Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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NOTES

Delhi Talks

The Delhi talks are dragging on for a pretty long time. The League was quick to accept both the long and short term plans of the Cabinet Mission, they were also equally quick to reject both and within two months the League has once again changed its mind and shows eagerness for re-accepting both. In the meantime only one thing has happened, attempts to stir up communal troubles all over the country have been made; in the Congress provinces the disorders have been quickly brought under control although in Bengal it is dragging on. In two months' time it has been apparent that the cult of the knife has failed leaving only bitterness for the League in the minds of honest, peaceful and law-abiding citizens. The League's Council of Action has held several lengthy meetings but has failed to formulate any concrete plan of "Direct Action" that can be presented to a civilised world.

In Delhi, points under discussion are mainly three, *viz* :

(1) The right of the Congress to nominate nationalist Muslims out of its own quota.

(2) Whether the Interim Government will be a Cabinet or retain the character of the old Viceroy's Council.

(3) Question of re-distribution of portfolios.

Regarding the first, we think it is conceded by now that the Congress is entitled to nominate whomsoever it pleases to nominate. The question is about the status of the nationalist Muslim. Mr. Jinnah's party claimed that the League must be acknowledged as the sole representative of the Muslims. We need not go into details about the League's right to represent any section of India, religious, ethnic or geographical. We saw enough in Bengal as to whom the League represented when tens of thousands of Muslim refugees from Burma poured into Bengal with only nationalist voluntary organisations to look after them ; and later, on a far larger scale when millions of Bengali Muslims stood at the door of death during the Bengal famine. Actually we believe more than two and a half millions of Muslims perished in the famine and millions more were rendered absolutely destitute. Enormous wealth accrued to some eminent members of the Muslim League but we doubt whether even a single tear of compassion was shed by any of the great ones of the League, to say nothing of its Fuehrer. At least we saw no tangible proof of it. Neither Mr. Jinnah nor any of his lieutenants even deigned to set foot on the soil of Bengal. Leaving the question of moral foundations with which the League has never been troubled, we could quote the Qaid-e-Azam himself to prove that the League is very far from being the sole representative of the Muslims. In his Id Day speech delivered at Bombay, Mr. Jinnah appealed to all Muslims in India, particularly those who are not members of the League—Jamiat-ul-Ulemas, Khaksars, Ahrars and Nationalist Muslims, "to unite and come under the banner of the Muslim League in the sacred interest of Islam."

As regards the status of the present Interim Government, it is apparent that if India is to keep on to the path of freedom and progress, the Government must function as a Cabinet. Let not Pandit Nehru and his colleagues have any doubts on this point. Deviation from the Cabinet system will mean serious retrogression. If Mr. Jinnah's party is really concerned with the welfare of India, Hindustan or Pakistan, they will find ample scope within the Cabinet for doing real and lasting good to their own people. The longer they work with their non-League colleagues in Cabinet in harmony, the more they will gain in prestige and positive results. If their intentions are, however, contrariwise, if they still want to carry on with the mission of the Imperialist, then there is no option left to the nationalists in India but to present a solid front of opposition to the forces of reaction, even if that means plunging the country in civil war.

Regarding portfolios, it goes without saying that the majority party must control Defence. Foreign Affairs, Finance and Communications. These four must be co-ordinated at every step in order that the affairs of India be regulated so as to keep abreast with the

times. Neither of these four can be made dependent on the whims of a Viceroy or made into a *quid pro quo* in party politics.

An American Opinion on India

The following is an editorial published in *The New York Times* of September 14, 1946, sent by *America-India Feature and News Service* of New York :

"The first all-Indian Government in history is now in office. That in itself is a milestone on the road to freedom. Pandit Nehru, its leader, has pledged himself to give a united nation complete independence within two years. But the dark clouds under which Nehru's Council assembled remain as dark as ever. The path ahead lies hidden in the mists of the future.

The division of religions which has torn modern India apart is still unbreached, with no present sign that this fundamental problem can be solved. The communal riots, which almost reached a state of civil war in Calcutta and left four thousand dead, continue on a smaller but bloody scale in Bombay. The mere fact that the warring factions learned no lesson of peace or forbearance from Calcutta is ominous. The black flag of the Moslem League flies in open defiance of the predominantly Hindu Congress Government. It waves as an incitement to riot. *The League and its reckless leader, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, refuse to co-operate with the interim regime. The only solution they offer is Pakistan, the separate Moslem state.*

But the sub-continent of India is a geographic and economic unit. If Pakistan were established with its own parts separated by hundreds of miles, as they would have to be, India would fall apart. The old question of religious minorities would remain, with the Moslem majority in Pakistan itself divided. Moslem minorities would remain in the Hindu states. Pakistan is not a workable plan but a dream of political inexperience.

So the outlook for a united India is still dim. Yet we must remember certain elements of union which seem almost forgotten in the present tension. *Despite India's many races the great division is not racial but religious. Until a few years ago both Moslem and Hindu managed to co-operate pretty well in their common aim of national independence.* Only three months ago the Moslem League tentatively endorsed the Congress program. *Fratricidal strife has undermined Jinnah's prestige. Much will depend on Nehru's tact and how far a spirit of conciliation animates his advisers. Britain has removed her last road block. India has her chance for freedom now. It is up to her people to prove they have earned it and can maintain it.*"

Wrong Step of Muslim League

Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan, in an article in the *Pakhtoon,* under caption "Wrong Step of Muslim League," unequivocally condemns the recent communal riots in the country and characterises the decision of the Muslim League to boycott the Interim Government as an unwise step. He says, "I want to point out to responsible Muslim League leaders that the times are extremely critical. They should in a cooler moment ponder over the best methods of achieving the Muslim demands. Anarchy, chaos and disorder would indeed lead to ruin and in the best interests of the Muslims themselves, these should be avoided."

Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan has given a fitting reply to the League contention that the present administration is a Hindu Government. He says :

> Why has the League given this opportunity to the Hindus? Why has it decided to quit? Come and occupy your chairs and work for the betterment of your community. Our sole aim in accepting the interim proposals was to effect the transfer of power from British to Indian hands as this is an important step towards the realisation of our long and cherished dreams. If we had missed the bus on this occasion, power would have remained with the British which in fact was their real intention.

Proceeding Badshah Khan, the name in which Khan Abdul Gaffur Khan is better known among the Frontier people, questions if it would have been an Islamic Government in case power had been transferred to Mr. Jinnah and the Muslim League according to the previous plan. He writes :

> To me there appears to be no difference between the two. The best thing for the Muslims is to stick to the League's original decision which they ratified at Simla and form a coalition Government at the Centre and work jointly for the emancipation of the country and all the communities, Hindus, Muslims and others, alike.

Badshah Khan is one of the most dispassionate observers of the effects of Churchill-Jinnah entente on Indian politics and the role that Churchill's men are playing in this country. A reference to the present political talks in Delhi was made by him when he addressed a large meeting of the Mohmand tribesmen at Peshwar. The following extract from his speech gives out his apprehensions about the real intentions of League leaders. Great weight should be attached to this frank opinion expressed by one of the toughest fighters for Indian freedom. He says :

> The Viceroy, in my opinion, has called Mr. Jinnah with a special purpose of his own. The Viceroy's experience of the new Central Government does not seem to be a healthy one. The Viceroy feels a gradual decline in his dictatorial powers. He, therefore, wants to convert the present smoothly running Interim Government into an arena for everyday quarrels.
>
> Had the Viceroy been Mr. Jinnah's friend, he would have given him Pakistan. He would have permitted him to form a Muslim League Interim Government. But to me the whole thing has got some other significance. If I were Mr. Jinnah, I would not have gone to meet the Viceroy after all this insult and affront.

Mohmand Tribes Opposed to Pakistan

The *Hindustan Times* correspondent reports from Mardan that the representatives of Mohmand tribes whom he had met at Sadaryab, expressed surprise at the recent radio announcement that Mohmands supported the Pakistan demand at a League meeting. They said, "No such meeting was even held and such stories are the creation of reactionary Political Agents to mislead the public."

The Delhi correspondent of the *Daily Herald* who reported that the Fakir of Ipi supported Pakistan and that other influential tribal chiefs were likely to follow

suit, appears to be taking tips from such reactionary officials. The *Hindustan Times* correspondent reports :

> The fact is that Political Agents are extremely perturbed over the new friendly policy towards the tribal people which Pandit Nehru intends to pursue. They, who have been fed on the doctrines of imperialist domination, fear dismissal as soon as Pandit Nehru's drive to organise an Indian foreign service materializes. Hence their desperate anxiety to obstruct Pandit Nehru's forthcoming visit to Waziristan.
>
> The C.I.D. are constantly watching the tribal people visiting Badshah Khan at Sadaryab. The atmosphere prevailing at Badshah Khan's camp today is similar to that on the eve of the tribal satyagraha in August, 1942. Then as now Badshah Khan sent batches of his trusted Khudai Khidmatgars among all tribes to spread his message of love and brotherhood. Political Agents on the other hand organized counter-campaigns of hatred and violence through their paid agents.
>
> Khudai Khidmatgars who have been doing solid constructive work among the tribal people spoke highly of tribal hospitality. Some were invited to live permanently there.
>
> Badshah Khan who believes in disinterested service, said : "Success or failure does not worry me. I want to serve the tribal people and do not expect any reward." He added he was firmly of the opinion that the new friendly policy of the Interim Government could succeed only if the whole Governmental machinery in tribal areas was overhauled and new men sympathetic to the tribal people were substituted for the present reactionary lot.
>
> People in close contact with the Fakir of Ipi speak very highly of him. "He has high nationalistic ideals. He aims at setting up a progressive republic in Waziristan. He strongly condemns kidnapping and dacoities," said one, who until recently held a responsible post in the External Affairs Department of the Government of India at New Delhi.
>
> I understand from another reliable source how the Fakir of Ipi tried to win over other tribal chiefs from British influence in 1942 and create an independent block sympathetic to the Indian nationalist movement. But he failed because through British channels in Afghanistan pressure was brought upon them to organize propaganda against the Jamiat and Khudai Khidmatgars. Therefore, the need for immediate reorganisation of the Indian Embassy in Kabul is stressed by many here.

The mass reprisals on tribesmen carried out on flimsy pretexts in the form of aerial bombings had been greatly resented by leaders like Badshah Khan and have now been stopped under orders from Pandit Nehru. The whole tribal policy of the Government of India is now under revision. The newly formed National Government have made it clear that henceforward the official policy will be peaceful propaganda among the tribesmen with a view to win them round from their unlawful activities. The policy of aggression hitherto followed has been abandoned.

Fakir of Ipi and Turangzai Chief Abjures League

The Fakir of Ipi, the celebrated leader of the tribal area on the north-western frontier of India, declared in a speech delivered before a *jirga* of prominent representatives of the various tribes and the leading tribal chiefs held in the jungles near his cave in the Shival Hills that, "no patriotic soul can have any truck with the Muslim League." He said, "We have the greatest regard for the Indian National Congress leaders. We hold them in the utmost respect. We treat Hindus and Sikhs as our brethren. I have never ordered my followers to kidnap any Hindu or Sikh. All these kidnapping incidents are the net results of the forward policy of British Imperialism and are caused by hirelings and henchmen of British Political Agents and also by absconding criminal offenders. No self-respecting and patriotic soul living in the tribal territory who knows the real significance of the teachings of Islam and loves freedom of his country can for a moment have any truck with the British-sponsored Muslim League which is out to strengthen the bonds of slavery of the mother country. If a true Muslim can co-operate with any political organisation, he can do so only by joining the Congress, a body of self-less patriots striving hard for the attainment of freedom of India. All tribal people, I can assert with confidence and all emphasis at my command, are absolutely with the Indian National Congress."

This important conference of the leading tribes, including the Mahsuds, Waziris, Budkhels, Shinwaris, Afridis and Mohmands was held under the presidentship of the Fakir of Ipi. With reference to the recent bombing of the Frontier areas and the formation of the Interim National Government by Pandit Nehru, the Fakir appreciated the part Pandit Nehru played in ordering the stopping of the bombing. He said, "We have been engaged for a considerable period in a regular crusade against the British forward policy with a view to maintaining our integrity and independence. We bear no grudge against the Hindu and the Sikh. Our conflict is directly against the British. We sincerely hope that with the shouldering of administrative responsibilities by the Congress at the Centre and with Pandit Nehru at the helm of that Government as Minister for External Affairs, every possible means will be explored to inculcate brotherly relations with the neighbouring tribes. I believe that positive steps will be taken to improve their economic and educational conditions and remove their backwardness in every sphere."

Addressing the gathering, Hazrat Badshah Gul, son of the late Haji of Turangzai, leader of the Mohmand tribe who played a great part in shaping Frontier politics, said, "My father, who laid down his life in the cause of India's freedom, always sided with the Congress during his life-time. Whenever the Congress started any movement in British India against foreign domination my late lamented father came into direct conflict with the British by supplementing the agitation in his own peculiar way. My mind had been poisoned against the Congress to some extent by misleading propaganda engineered by interested parties. But all doubts have now been cleared by the recent orders of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru stopping bombing operations in the tribal area, and I have realised my mistake. I can assert with confidence that Islamic interests are absolutely safe in the hands of the Congress and we should give ample opportunity to the new National Government to make an experiment and prove their bonafides."

A resolution congratulating Pandit Nehru on the formation of the Interim National Government was unanimously adopted. Pandit Nehru has since announced his intention to visit the tribal areas and the tribes people are now busy making arrangements for receiving the Premier of India in their midst.

Use of British Troops in India

The debate on India provided the Conservative Party Conference at Blackpool with a dramatic episode when Mr. Douglas Reed, one of the delegates, described the Conservative official resolution on India as "having a taint of patronage and superiority which took away the effectiveness that it might have." There was a commotion at the Conference when he clearly told the audience that "the Conservative Party is today hated in India and the Labour Party loved." Mr. Reed has recently gone home from India. He had been for six years a member of the Madras Legislature.

Moving a resolution, Earl Winterton affirmed in the good old Conservative fashion, that it was the duty of the Parliament to make sure that in any settlement the rights of the minorities and the States should be safeguarded and the British Mission in India honourably discharged. Earl Winterton emphasised that it was the inescapable duty of the Parliament to be prepared not to sacrifice the welfare of the minorities in India. In the official resolution, he pointed out, there was no intention of enforcing a policy of divide and rule in India. He claimed that there must be no dominant Congress rule and according to him there was a tremendous danger to be avoided—the use of British troops as hired mercenaries in preventing communal conflict in India. Earl Winterton concluded his speech with the following words : "Why has Pandit Nehru been so silent about the withdrawal of British troops from India ? Is it because he wants them to be used in quelling communal disturbances—to be used by Indian Government over which Whitehall has no control ?"

The questions put by Earl Winterton are not only untrue, but they have a very mischievous bearing. It is good that Pandit Nehru has promptly come forward to contradict them in unequivocal and unmistakeable terms. Here is Pandit Nehru's reply :

> Certain speeches delivered at the British Conservative Party's Conference held at Blackpool, indicate a hostile attitude on the part of some of its leading members towards the new Central Government of India. These speeches are irresponsible, full of malice and calculated to stir up strife and prevent unity and a settled Government in India.
>
> While we have expressed our willingness to cooperate with the U.K., I want to make it perfectly clear on behalf of myself and my colleagues in the Government that there will be no co-operation with those who adopt an unfriendly attitude towards us or trifle with the independence of India.
>
> The charge has been made that I am silent about the withdrawal of British troops from India and that we seek to use them for quelling communal disturbances. This charge, as much else in the speeches delivered at Blackpool, is completely false. *We do not want to use them for quelling internal disturbances.*
>
> *It was our policy before we took office, and it is our policy now, to have British troops withdrawn from India immediately or, at any rate, with the greatest possible speed. We do not want them to stay on in India for a day longer. It is unfair to us and unfair to them to keep them here.*
>
> I invite the leaders of the British Conservative Party to support us in these demands and help in giving effect to them in the immediate future.

Douglas Reed at Blackpool

Mr. Douglas Reed spoke at the Conference after Earl Winterton and Mr. Gammans had put forward their usual Conservative homilies about India and their concern over the "great Indian minorities and the States." Mr. Reed said :

> I came home from India four months ago and I am in disagreement with what I have heard. I have been 23 years in India and for six as a member of a Legsilature. I am proud of my association with the Indian people.
>
> This resolution you are asking us to pass will not, as a pious hope, do much harm. It is in keeping with the previous policy which has not been wrong, but it has a taint of patronage and superiority which takes away its effectiveness and will offend the great Indian people.
>
> In India today there is great hatred of the Conservative Party (cries of dissent). That is true, that is a fact and what is more there is a great love for the Labour Party which is held in affection.

Amid growing cries of dissent Mr. Reed went on : "I tell you, it is true. Whose fault it is, is not for me to say. As a good Conservative I do not like having to say it, but it is true and it is my duty to say what I know to be true. It is my duty also to pay a great tribute to the magnificent work of Lord Wavell and FM Auchinleck."

For the first time in our history we have two great Britons who are trusted by the people of India and who are doing their terrific job grandly.

Mr. Reed then dropped the notes from which he was speaking and said : "These are no good. I shall have to tell you what I know. I cannot make a set speech. There is nothing wrong with the Congress Party. That party is the Conservative Party of India. It stands for liberty and democracy."

There were shouts of protest.

"Yes it does," asserted Mr. Reed. "I have to tell you these things whether you like them or not because they are true. I know these people. I know the tremendous work of the Indian Civil Service, in which there are only 500 Europeans left. Whatever faults they may have, they work like martyrs and we must be very careful in our attitude and realize that this sort of talk that we have heard here is not going to do them or us any good.

It is no good talking like that about what I think and believe will be a great dominion, and, do not forget, we made it and it is going to be well worthy of us.

Mr. Reed then referred to the official resolution and said that the first of the three points in it referred to India being within the British Commonwealth.

I believe India will stay in. But do not forget that what has been said here this morning is not

going to help to keep India in. Indians are free to go their own way and they are going to say to you, "We will do what we like."

Concerning safeguards for the minorities and the negotiations with the Muslim League, Mr. Reed believed they would, in spite of all, be successful. "I know of another great minority, the Anglo-Indians, who, with their great leader Mr. Frank Anthony, have done their best to go with us but have now decided that their future lies with the Indian people."

"The sort of resolution I would have liked to have seen this morning is one which does not forget that we owe India £1,000,000,000."

Conservative Policy on India

Mr. Churchill spoke on the second day at the Blackpool Conference. He said, "The way in which the Socialist Government has handled the Indian problem has been much as to give the vast masses of the people of India hardly any choice but to become separated from the British Crown, which has so long shielded them from internal convulsions or foreign invasion." This characteristic Churchillian utterance has very little relation with truth. Congress has declared its intention to enter into a Treaty with Great Britain provided she honours her intention to quit. India has refused to remain a vassal in the British Empire, but she has not yet pronounced her verdict against her continuance as an equal partner in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Mr. Churchill's claim that the British Crown has shielded India from internal convulsions is totally untrue. If it can be called a truth, it is a truth of the Goebbels type. The Conservative Party claims that modern India has achieved a unity under their leadership as has never happened in her long history. But that too is not a fact. Conservative Party's Imperial policy has always been based on the theory of divide and rule, very carefully and skilfully applied in practice. Communal electorates have been deliberately created to separate one community from another, communal representation in the services has been introduced to pollute the nervous system of the social organism and communal favouritism by way of granting trade licenses has been bestowed to stir up economic rivalry between the communities. All sorts of schismatic and fissiparous tendencies have been carefully fostered. The sound principle of developing the good and stamping out the evil elements in the society has been buried under the weight of Imperial policy. The good elements in the society have been systematically discouraged and the evils helped and developed. A Jinnah, an Ambedkar and their followers are the net result.

Anglo-Indian Politics

Mr. R. A. Butler, in his speech at the Blackpool Conservative Conference, alluded to a letter written to him by the Anglo-Indian leader of this country, Mr. Frank Anthony. The Congress has stood by all legitimate demands and claims of the Anglo-Indian community. Some of their leaders have been returned to the Constituent Assembly with Congress votes. Emboldened with this recognition of a community which has never been politically organised and whose policy can hardly be called anything like a national one, the Anglo-Indians claimed one seat on the Interim Government. It was suggested that the Parsee nominee should be dropped and an Anglo-Indian taken in his place. That could not be done and it elicited an angry protest from Mr. Anthony. He went a step further and wrote a letter to Mr. Butler. After a reference made to his letter, Mr. Anthony has now released it for publication. We give it below :

Mr. Anthony says :

I address you with regard to the serious disservice done to the Anglo-Indian community by the Cabinet Mission and the continuing policy of the British Administration, apparently directed to destroy the future of the Anglo-Indians in India.

In spite of the fact that, shortly before the Cabinet Mission arrived in India, the Sapru Committee, consisting of the most eminent Indians, recommended a seat for the Anglo-Indian community in the future Indian Cabinet and also specific representation in a Constituent Assembly, the Cabinet Mission wantonly took away from the Anglo-Indians the recognition which we had secured with difficulty from the Indian leaders.

Our position in India has been made difficult merely because of our past service to the British Administration. We naturally thought, therefore, that the British Ministers would welcome the recognition which the community had been able to secure from the Indian leaders. Instead the British Ministers and the present Viceroy seem to have been inspired by almost deliberately malicious motives in singling out the Anglo-Indians for political and consequent economic extinction.

The first disservice which the Cabinet Mission rendered to my community was to exclude us completely from the Constituent Assembly. Thank God, this terrible disservice has been remedied by the Congress Party, which, unlike the British, had good reason to hold that the Anglo-Indians had been hostile. The Congress have enabled us to secure with their votes two seats in the Constituent Assembly. In addition, I have been returned to the Constituent Assembly exclusively on the votes of the Anglo-Indian M.L.As. in Bengal.

The next and crowning disservice was the deliberate exclusion by the Mission and the Viceroy of the Anglo-Indian community from the Interim Government. Surprising though it may seem, the Congress had made a request to the Viceroy that an Anglo-Indian should be included in the Interim Government in preference to a Parsi, as we are more numerous than the Parsis and the latter had representation in the Government on previous occasions. The Viceroy, however, saw fit to ignore this recommendation of the major political party and selected Sir N. P. Engineer, although he happened to be a servant of the Crown.

In the negotiations covering the formation of the present Interim Government, the Congress did everything possible to secure a seat for the Anglo-Indian community. They emphasised the fact that since they had been asked to form the Government there was no need to adhere to the formula of June 16, namely, six-five-three. They wanted the number increased to fifteen in order to include an Anglo-Indian. When this was turned down by the Viceroy, they submitted a list of fourteen members which included my name. This also was turned down by

the Viceroy. The Congress made it clear that as soon as the Muslim League indicated its willingness to join the Interim Government, the formula of six-five-three would be reverted to, and there was therefore, no point in excluding an Anglo-Indian at this stage by rigid adherence to his formula.

History will find it almost impossible to produce a parallel instance where representatives of a particular nation have gone out of their way to destroy a community, fighting for its rights against tremendous odds, for whose existence that nation has been responsible.

Bitterness at the deliberate disservice done to us by the Cabinet Mission and the Viceroy is steadily increasing. Our task of surviving in the future India has been made a thousand times more difficult by the Cabinet Mission's awards, and more particularly by the present Viceroy's insistence on excluding us from a position in the Interim Government. We at least did not expect this unwarranted betrayal.

The Parsees, since the birth of the Congress, have served the cause of Indian freedom through that august body. Many of them have risen to the Presidential Chair of the Congress through their unstinted service to the country. They never asked for any special favour for them and have always fought against separate electorates. Although small in numbers, they are great in qualities and have risen to the present position of esteem in the eye of the Indian people through their wholehearted association with Indian national aspirations. But what have the Anglo-Indians done? Till very recently, they allied themselves with the Imperialist Britain, were contemptuous of Indian aspirations, fought for their own sectional and communal interests, and successfully exacted separate electorate and statutory reservation in certain public services. They have their best friend in the Congress, but the Anglo-Indian members of the Bengal Legislature voted against the Congress in the no-confidence motion brought in to censure the Bengal Ministry for its failure to maintain law and order. It is time that Mr. Anthony had dropped his "claims and demands" and organised his community through the path of service to the country in whose freedom their future lay. The position of the Anglo-Indians in India has been made difficult through their own actions.

Diehard Britons' Role in India

Writing in the *Social Welfare,* on the Europeans' role in Indian politics, Mr. Joseph John says that it is a grave mistake to think that the sincerity which animates the Labour Government in Britain in their policy towards India actuates the Europeans resident here. The freedom that is India's due has never been relished by them as a welcome or necessary good but often dreaded as an unavoidable evil. The economic interests which they represent, the illegitimate privileges they have always enjoyed here as the ruling class have been too precious to be set aside in order to hasten the advent of Indian freedom. British bureaucracy and big business have shown themselves a consistent enemy of Indian nationalism. The history of Indian struggle abounds in instances. The country's assertion of its right to freedom could not tolerate any compromise for the sake of appeasing British officials and businessmen here. That is why, at the time of the Cabinet Delegation's talks, the Congress insisted on excluding the Europeans from the Constituent Assembly. In provinces like Bengal and Assam, the British members of the Legislatures abstained from voting but in some other provinces like the U.P. they abused the power which the 1935 Act unjustly gave them and took part in the voting for the Constituent Assembly.

Mr. John emphatically asserts that the British in India have learnt nothing from the history of the last few years. They still seem to feel that by lining up with the enemies of Indian nationalism, either with a cloak of neutrality or coming out as their open supporters, they would be able to stem the advancing tide of freedom. Of the European bureaucracy belonging to that category, Sir Francis Mudie is, according to Mr. John, the worst example—an anachronistic survival from the days of Tottenham's two-anna pamphlet. But he has evidently forgotten that there are dozens and scores of Mudies at the official Secretariats busy in hatching plans for placing newer hurdles on India's road to freedom. The I.C.S. and the I.P. still hold the most substantial administration centred in their hands. The Calcutta carnage is the best example of how administrative power can be manoeuvred in favour of the bureaucracy's League friends. With a supineness that is unbelievable in British gentlemen, the British Police Commissioner and the British members of the Civil Service, they let the League Ministry indulge in the orgy of violence in the name of Direct Action.

Mr. John concludes his article with the following words:

> The Europeans in India have their vested interests to safeguard. For this purpose they wouldn't rely on the goodwill of the Indian people but on their own unjust power which, they ought to know, cannot last for all time. They crouch for safety when the Leaguers threaten direct action and would deftly let their wrath spend itself on their fellow Indians.
>
> They shiver at the very mention of the goonda, cry aloud for freedom from his rule, and then prostitute their power for some immediate advantage. They play no mean part in provoking the fratricidal war between Indians. And when the corpses begin to stink, they drink and dance away the nights.

No-confidence Motion Against Bengal Ministers

The no-confidence motions against the Bengal Ministry were defeated in the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The European and the Communist members remained neutral. The Anglo-Indians voted with the Ministry. One Indian Christian voted for the motion. With Mr. Fazlul Huq's re-entry into the League, the Muslim members formed one solid bloc in the House, the full strength of which was used to throw out the no-confidence motions. Leaders of all the parties spoke on the motions which were debated for two days. We give here the extracts from a few speeches which would be sufficient to indicate the trend of the debate. Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said:

> They had been discussing the genesis of the disturbances. Time would not permit him to go through the details of the history and the course of events during the last few years but let him say this that what had happened in Calcutta was not

the result of a sudden explosion. It was the culmination of an administration, corrupt and communal which had disfigured the life of this great and happy province. What was the resolution passed in Bombay at the session of the All-India Muslim League Council? It had been stated on behalf of the Muslim League that the Cabinet Mission proved unfaithful to the Muslim interest and thereby created a situation which had no parallel in the history of Anglo-Muslim relationship in this country.

I will certainly hold responsible Mr. Suhrawardy, Chief Minister, who lost his mental balance when he made that statement from Bombay that he was going to declare Bengal to be an independent State. He knew that troubles were ahead. If you analyse his speeches it would appear clear that he knew that troubles were ahead. I am not raising this question as to how many Hindus or Muslims had lost their lives. The question is have Government succeeded in protecting lives and properties, no matter to which community they belong.

Mr. Suhrawardy says that at 12 noon on Friday he realised that the situation was very bad. Very well, what did he do at that time? Why did he not call for the military at that time when the civil police failed to protect life and property? On Friday he knew that the trouble was there, no matter if the Hindus were aggressors or the Muslims. Why did he not immediately proclaim Section 144? Why did he place the entire city at the mercy of *goondas*? Why did he allow the Maidan meeting in these circumstances? We charge him with the deliberate offence of having played havoc with lives and properties of the citizens of Calcutta. On Friday night in a message to the *A.P.I.* he said that the condition in the city had improved. Section 144 is supposed to have been promulgated on Friday night. On Saturday the Curfew Order was promulgated but neither of these was actually enforced. How is it that in spite of Section 144 and the Curfew people were allowed to move about committing looting and murder? You have heard that within a stone's throw of Lalbazar Police Headquarters, shops were looted, people were murdered and all sorts of offences were committed without the police being able to check them.

On the 23rd the Chief Minister broadcast a message of peace to the people of Bengal and within half an hour of that he sent out a special message for foreign newspapers through foreign correspondents. What was said in this document was entirely different from the message of peace broadcast to the people of Bengal. In the message for foreign consumption Mr. Suhrawardy said that it was Hindus who were to blame for the riots. Then he blamed the British Government and lastly he said he could not say what would happen in future if the Interim Government functioned.

Mr. Suhrawardy has complained that he cannot control the Police Commissioner. If that is so, how Mr. Suhrawardy interfered with the administration of a police office in a manner unworthy of any Home Minister of a province? In Park Street Police Station seven *goondas* were taken by a European Inspector with looted property. . . .

[Mr. Suhrawardy objected to Dr. Mookerjee calling these people goondas and was heard to remark that Dr. Mookerjee was a goonda.]

I might be a goonda, but Mr. Suhrawardy was the prince of goondas. Were all these people who were arrested with looted property then Muslim gentlemen? Was it not a fact that within 10 minutes Mr. Suhrawardy appeared on the scene and got those persons released? It is on record (cries of 'shame, shame,' from Opposition Benches).

[Mr. Suhrawardy admitted that he interfered in the matter but the property was not looted property but rice and dal that was being taken in a lorry to a *Musafirkhana* on Chitpur Road. He interfered otherwise the men for whom these were meant would starve. He had no knowledge of any arrest in this connection.]

The Muslim League had asked for 500 gallons of petrol from the Bengal Government. That was not granted. But petrol coupons were issued in the name of individual ministers and special coupons were issued to the extent of 100 gallons in the name of the Chief Minister. That was how preparations were going on and arrangements were made under the very nose of the Home Department of Mr. Suhrawardy (cries of 'oh, oh' from Muslim League Benches). Could Mr. Suhrawardy deny that he himself went to Howrah and met local officers there and chastised them, took them to task because Muslims were unprotected there? Did he take similar pains. . . . (prolonged interruptions from Muslim League members).

At last I have said some home truths which have made my friends opposite nervous and hysterical. Mr. Suhrawardy is playing a double role. How can he do all this things while he is a Minister? Is he not responsible for preservation of life and property of people so long as he is a Minister? Whatever my friends opposite can say, it has been proved beyond a shadow of doubt that Mr. Suhrawardy and other Ministers are unable to administer the affairs of the province, impartially at any rate. They have hopelessly failed and on that ground they are not fit to occupy office for one single moment.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq said :

The great disturbance had not risen from the moon. Whether it had been the result of well-planned action made by one side or by both sides they did not know. God alone knew that and the future might say the truth. On Friday morning telephones began to come to me from the Muslims and Hindus of various parts of Calcutta that troubles had broken out. I thought that the troubles were of a minor nature and the calls were the result of the sense of intoleration that was in the nature of the Bengalees and the Indians, however, gentlemanly and intelligent they were. I advised all of them to ring up the police and came to know that, although the police was being appealed to in some cases, their reply was that they (police) had no orders. Wonder of wonders! What the police were here, and why were they paid for, if they had not known that when peace and tranquillity was disturbed? Their first duty had been to jump into the situation in order to defend public peace and tranquillity.

In the afternoon, Mullick Bazar which was within half a mile from my house was looted. I was then standing on the veranda and I found people rushing in great merriment on all sides and the

police paharawallas accompanying them. Everyone was happy, as if they were accompanying a marriage procession. In the same night, the Park Circus Market was looted. I sent my nephew and the Editor of weekly *Mohammadi* to the Park Circus police outpost. To my astonishment I learnt that the officer-in-charge told the informants that he had no time to go and see what happened. Certainly, some change must have come over to the Calcutta Police! On the next day, I believe, the Mahisadal Rajbati was attacked. There was a traffic police outpost nearby. In spite of that all the belongings of the house were looted within two hours, and the police were looking on. Men were carrying the looted properties and I had reports that a member of the Provincial Service had been found carrying a silver tray in his hand. I wanted that the House should know why the trouble was allowed to grow to this gigantic proportion and within 24 hours, the entire situation was made to drift beyond control.

It seemed to me that during those days, not only the British rule had ended, but that some learned Nadir Shah had come over Calcutta and had let loose his hordes of plunder and loot.

On every occasion I wanted police help, but the reply had come that my complaints had been noted and help would be sent to me in proper time. The situation had been such that police officers would not control, Control offices would not control and the Government House was not available. It was my impression that this thing would never have happened if the police and the military had taken a strong measure on Friday, the 16th, when troubles broke out. The inactivity of the police was directly responsible for the great loss of human life.

Already we have blackened our face to the civilised world that the Hindus and Muslims cannot live together. It would be a tragedy if the debate on such a matter cannot be carried on without passion and prejudice and calm judgment. These are matters which requires to be carefully looked into in order that any recurrence of what had taken place might be effectively prevented. The present motion, I think, is somewhat inopportune and ill-advised. As has been spoken by some speakers we are going to have a Commission to sit and investigate into all matters connected with the disturbances. And now we are discussing here practically many of the important issues which are subjudice before the Tribunal. Secondly I feel that while we are discussing the affair in this House, issues of far greater moment and importance are hanging in balance in the talks that are going on in Delhi. While we are shouting here in this House, the fate of India is going to be decided, not by a resolution here and there, but in Whitehall and Delhi. It would have been well if the upshot and the result of these talks that are going on between the Viceroy and the Party leaders come to a settlement. I am an optimist in this respect. I feel that all will end well. If there is a Coalition Government at the Centre, there is no reason why there should not be Coalition Governments in the provinces (cries on 'hear, hear,' from the Government Benches). I have been a believer in Coalition Governments.

Mr. K. S. Ray, Leader of Opposition, said:

The Moslem League had been preparing for this day. It had issued appeal to all Moslems to observe the day. It had organised a Volunteer Corps. It had even organised an Ambulance Corps for each area in Calcutta. It is difficult to imagine why an Ambulance Corps was necessary—for a peaceful demonstration. But we did not see any appeal from any responsible leader of the League asking the Moslem public to be peaceful, non-violent, not to compel others to close their shops. On the contrary, there were the highly exciting articles in the Muslim League papers preaching unrestrained hatred of other communities. Even my friend Khawaja Nazimuddin whom we all have known as an iron upholder of law and order hinted that the League was not restricted to non-violence. I hope it will not be maintained that there was no organisation behind the hooligans. They shouted the same slogans—they acted in the same way, it was obvious that they were obeying orders. They had sufficient supply of petrol. They had numerous lorries. In Beniapukur area they compelled Hindus to sign Pakistan pledge which were later on published in the *Azad*. They forcibly converted persons to Islam.

Now what was the police doing all the time these preparations were being made? We would like to know if the Criminal Intelligence Department had made any report regarding preparations that were being made for an armed procession. Every member in this House—every person in Calcutta knows that no precautionary measure was taken. There was not a single policeman anywhere in Calcutta. Even the ordinary precaution which is taken during the Moharrum or Puja procession—of sending some policemen with the procession—was not taken. Even after looting and assault began on the morning of the 16th—even after the gun-shop in Chowringhee was looted—the police did not make any effective move. All appeals for help from the the police proved useless. Looting, murder, arson took place before them without their making any arrest. Everybody who approached the police got the same reply—"no orders." On occasion—hundred times less serious—we have seen machine-guns on the streets of Calcutta. Military or Police petrol, I do not know which—came out in the evening of the second day but they drove along the main roads at 40 miles an hour without stopping to arrest hooligans or rescue those who were in danger.

We have a suspicion that the posting of officers has been made in such a way that in some districts all the administrative officers from the District Magistrate to the thana officers are Muslims. I would like to know how many District Magistrates today are Muslims—how many Hindus—how many Europeans. I would like the Hon'ble Chief Minister to tell us how many Superintendents of Police in charge of districts are Muslims, how many Hindus and how many Europeans. I would also like him to state the number of thanas in Bengal and how many thana officers are Muslims and how many Hindus. I do not wish to cast reflection on all Muslim officers but it is undeniable that the canker of communalism has affected the service. No Hindu feels safe, if the officer is a Muslim and I believe that a Muslim feels the same if the officer is a Hindu. But unfortunately for the Hindus with the advent of the League Ministry most of the key positions not reserved for Europeans have gone to the Muslim officers. Even during the riots in Calcutta, Hindu officers have been

transferred and our protest was of no avail. Therefore, Sir, this conspiracy of crushing the minority community in Bengal began not with the Direct Action Day. It began much earlier, It began from the first day the League Ministry took office. It was their deliberate plan to fashion the administrative machinery in such a way, that the minority community would be reduced to utter helplessness.

Mr. Suhrawardy's Reply

Replying to the charges levelled by the Opposition against his Ministry, Mr. Suhrawardy made certain significant admissions. He tried his best to shift the responsibility for the carnage from the shoulders of his ownself and the League leaders, on whom it fairly and squarely rested, by repeating the totally false and trumped up accusations. In the same breath he made the Hindus, the Congress and the British Government responsible knowing full well that all these three were separate entities. He said :

> It seems that the incidents which took place were the results of a chain of circumstances in various fields of life, the magnitude of which no one could foresee and which was outside the experience of everyone. The first and most important link in the chain are undoubtedly those factors which produced political tension between the Hindus and Muslims. The ideologies of Pakistan and Hindustan were being asserted by Muslim and Hindus in their separate camps with vigour and determination, backed by threats of civil war. Each party went to the polls in the last elections and appealed for support to the electorate on this issue. The Muslims almost usanimously voted for Pakistan. Congress won its victories on the issue of undivided Hindustan. But all this remained academic until, firstly, the Parliamentary Party and, subsequently, the Cabinet Mission came out to frame a plan for evolving a new constitution and for installing an Interim Government.
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> The Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission on the very last day—June 25. Muslim India was thunderstruck at this shameless betrayal. I have not met one single Englishman who has not hung his head in shame at the manner in which the Muslim League was betrayed by the Cabinet Mission.
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> So, on one side the Muslims were burning with resentment against the British Government for its signal betrayal. It is true that Congress had allied itself with the British Government and had accepted an Interim Government to the exclusion of the Muslims. But the Muslim League, as far as I know its mind, though resentful of the Congress attitude, still deemed British Imperialism its chief foe having played fast and loose with the Muslims.
>
> What of Congress ? Alas, they took their position too seriously. They considered that their entry in the Interim Government as Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council had given them unlimited powers. They considered direct action as directed against them and not against the British, whose successors they fondly imagine themselves to be. I believe they feared that if direct action should succeed, it might induce HMG to modify their offer of power to Congress.

In the following words of the Premier, it is apparent that he had previous knowledge of the coming trouble. He said :

> Police precautions were taken. Instructions were given to the Civil Supplies Department to keep all their vehicles in their depot until such time as it might be known whether disturbances would take place or not. Similar advice was given to the oil companies in view of the high vulnerability of their oil tankers, and our opinion was conveyed to the military that their vehicles should not run unless under escort.
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> On August 15, the Commissioner of Police informed all police officers that the Emergency Action scheme, which had been prepared before this Ministry took office, would be brought into operation with effect from 8 a.m. on August 16.

Mr. Suhrawardy, as Minister in charge of Home Affairs, knew that incidents had begun since early morning of the fateful day. During the debate, he sought to minimise the gravity of the morning incidents saying that they were of a minor nature probably for the good reason that the perpetrators of those crimes w[illegible] his co-religionists. He knew that by 8 o'clock in the morning the situation was taking a grave turn when the Emergency Action scheme was being put into action by the Police Commissioner with his knowledge. He was in the Police Control Room by 2 o'clock and felt that the situation was going beyond control of the civil police. By 2-45 p.m. situation was about to go out of the hands of the police when military authorities were asked to remain in readiness. By 4-30 p.m., the situation apparently went beyond control of the civil authorities and military authorities were asked to come to the aid of civil power. This is Mr. Suhrawardy's own admission and even after this, he permitted the maidan meeting to be held, himself presided over it and moved the Pakistan resolution and permitted inflammatory speeches to be delivered there. He could not cite a single instance of Hindu attack on Muslims in purely Hindu areas earlier than 3 o'clock when a small procession of Muslims coming from Tollygunge was obstructed on Russa Road near the railway bridge. At the maidan meeting very many of the "audience" were armed with lathis and daggers. We have published photographs to prove it and this has b[illegible] admitted by everybody except the perpetrators of the crimes. Here is what Mr. Suhrawardy himself said about the beginning of the events :

> The police force, such as it was, was fully mobilized on the morning of August 16. Incidents were reported as early as 7 o'clock, but they were of a minor nature, and the two parties were kept apart by the local police. But the situation rapidly developed and grew from bad to worse. It was, however, localized, and although obstruction was offered to processions passing through Hindu areas —several processions which passed through purely Muslim and European areas found their way to the Maidan. I hope it will be appreciated that the police force of Calcutta or for that [illegible]tter of any city is not recruited to cope with a general communal conflagration in every part of the city. They have been found generally sufficient to deal with normal disturbances, and on previous occasions, even under a Section 93 regime, the military have been called

out days after a disturbance broke out. The Commissioner of Police, to my knowledge, put the emergency scheme into operation early in the day—at 8 o'clock. He utilized the forces at his disposal to the best of his ability. He accepted all calls for assistance that were made on him at Lalbazar. He and his officers worked unceasingly. He himself remained on duty until the early hours of August 17, and he and his officers took it by turns to be at Lalbazar throughout.

It has been stated that, generally speaking, the police stood idle and allowed assaults and looting to take pace under their very eyes. It is stated that when the police were asked to intervene, they said they had received no orders, or they had orders not to interfere. I have been solemnly asked by some people to ascertain from the Commissioner of Police if he gave such orders. I can categorically state that no such orders were issued. How, I ask you, can I, or the Commissioner of Police, be held responsible if in some place or places the police at hand do not intervene and do not perform their duty in preserving law and order ?

I am asked, why did I go to the Control Room, and what was I doing there ? As far as I remember the incidents of that crowded day, I entered the Control Room about 2 p.m. after having visited several localities and having ascertained for myself that tension was rising and the conflagration was likely to be general. At that time the compound of Lalbazar was flooded with armed police and lorries. Some had gone out on urgent calls. I gave to the Commissioner of Police my appreciation that the military should be called out. At 2-45 p.m. a warning was communicated to the military authorities to be in readiness as their services might be required. At 4-30 p.m., a decision was taken and communicated to the military authorities requesting them to come to the aid of the civil power, and for this purpose to concentrate a force at Sealdah in order to keep open certain important thoroughfares.

In the Control Room, where calls were pouring in unceasingly I too took down reports and passed them on to the Commissioner of Police for I was thus able to watch the course of the disturbances and how the reports were dealt with and what action was taken on them and I have no doubt that not being entirely dumb. I offered suggestions when I deemed expedient.

I insisted that very evening on curfew being proclaimed and on the military being put into position. The report from Howrah not being satisfactory, arrangement was made for troops to be brought to the Howrah Rest Camp from Barrackpore. It was clear as time passed that calls were increasing, that the disturbances was spreading and that the police would be fully extended. At 11 o'clock it was decided that the military would patrol the area already designated.

Voting in the No-confidence Motion

As we have mentioned at the beginning of the note on the No-confidence Motion, this motion was defeated. But a few remarks about the voting of the different groups seem to be called for.

European members' role in this debate deserves special notice. Their action has thoroughly justified the Quit India policy of the Congress. They have made it abundantly clear that so long as their part of loot and plunder remains in tact, they are not concerned with anything else. We would say that the Europeans of Bengal have "nobly" kept up the traditions of the East India Company, that ruthless and shameless band of adventurers and cheats, who came to this country when it was ridden with civil war. They took good care to set brother against brother and to put premiums on dishonesty, corruption, treachery and faithlessness. In this way they succeeded in carving out an Empire in what was once the world's richest country. Two centuries have since elapsed. The East India Company has gone with the wind but the "successors" to that band of rogues have carried on. Thanks to the lust, and rapacity of Europeans in this country, India today is perhaps the world's poorest country.

There is a lot of correspondence about the Anglo-Indians in the daily press. We have not much to say at present but we consider that one of their own community who wrote a book entitled *Cimmeri* was fully justified in calling his community benighted. The Anglo-Indians in opposing the Bengal no-confidence motion, showed themselves to be allied with the powers of darkness as did some of their community who joined with the looters during the riots. They have to make up their mind whether to march in step with nationalist India or to remain camp-followers of the reactionaries and exploiters who have infested India for the past two centuries. The Anglo-Indian cannot run with the hare and chase with the hounds.

Three members of the scheduled caste have left the Congress party and voted with the Ministry. We had previously remarked that we had seen in the Congress nominations to the Bengal Assembly and the Constituent Assembly not only carelessness and partisanship but criminal negligence so far as nationalism in Bengal is concerned. The defection of these three members, elected on Congress tickets, proves again that our judgment was right.

New Turn in Burmese Politics

With the acceptance of office by U Aung San and his colleagues, representing the premier political organisation in Burma, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, Burma politics is now very near a satisfactory solution. Although it is too early to express unqualified optimism, it is certain that things will change for the better in a very short time and the country's major economic problems will now be solved. The future is brighter, because, the Executive Council includes not only the AFPFL but also the Myochit Party and the Thakin Party, the two important groups outside the League. The only notable point is the non-co-operation of the Sinyetha Party and the non-inclusion of its leader Dr. Ba Maw.

Of the eleven seats in the Council, ten have been so far filled. Six have gone to the League. U Aung San, besides being the Governor's Counsellor for Defence and External Affairs, heads the list of Councillors as Deputy Chairman and Member without portfolio. The other five Leaguers in the Council are Thakin Mya (Socialist), Home and Judicial ; U Ba Pe ("Veteran Politician"), Commerce and Supplies ; U Thein Pe (Communist), Agriculture and Rural Economy ; Maha Ba Khaing (Karen), Industry and Labour ; and U Aung Zan Wai (Arakanese), Social Services. Four seats

go to U Saw (Myochit Party), Education and National Planning; Thakin Ba Sein (Thakin Party), Transport and Communications; U Tin Tut (Independent), Finance, and Sir Maung Gyee, who was a member of the old Executive Council.

In a statement issued by its Executive Committee, the League has made it clear "that the Interim Government in which the AFPFL has decided to participate does not as yet satisfy the complete requirements of a National Government as we have envisaged and this is certainly not yet a Provisional Government which could lead us straight to the establishment of a free, independent Burma." The statement shows that the main reason for the League's acceptance of office is its desire to end the political deadlock "which has brought in its train evermounting political and economic reparcussions throughout our land, culminating in existing and increasing economic strikes of all sorts—embracing even the various ranks of Government services."

In a broadcast talk, Sir Hubert Rance disclosed that it is H.M.G's desire and the Governor's firm intention that, in practice, the Executive Council should have all the authority and power that its Ministerial predecessors exercised under the 1935 Act, that H.M.G. have agreed that the Governor should have a Burman Counsellor for Defence and External Affairs who should at the same time be a Member of the Executive Council; that H.M.G. have agreed to some relaxation of Treasury control and "that the new Council will consider these proposals in detail at the earliest opportunity and that the Council's recommendations will be forwarded to H.M.G."; lastly, that H.M.G. have agreed that the Council shall be kept fully informed about all matters concerning the Frontier Areas, though responsibility for these areas will continue to rest with the Governor.

Inter-Asian Relations Conference

For the first time, Asia is to witness a gathering of the representatives of as many as 33 Asiatic countries when the Inter-Asian Relations Conference meets in India early next year to discuss problems of common interest and to foster close relations between the Asiatic countries. The venue has not yet been decided but in all probability Delhi will be selected. Pandit Nehru will preside. His position as the first Premier of India will vest the Conference with the dignity and status accorded to international conferences in the world. It is learnt that the Conference will be opened by Mahatma Gandhi, who is the acknowledged leader of the struggle for freedom of the subject peoples of Asia.

Not all the countries that are being invited by the Indian Council of World Affairs, which is sponsoring the Conference, are subject nations. Some enjoy full sovereignty, and some are semi-independent, while the majority of them are either colonies of Western Imperialist powers or are just emerging from Imperialist domination. In the case of subject nations, invitations are being issued to the party struggling for the freedom of its country.

The following countries, it is understood, are going to be invited to the Conference: Turkey, Palestine, Saudi-Arabia, Aserbaijan, Kurghistan, Uzbekistan, Tibet, China, Formosa, Thailand (Siam), Indonesia, Syria, Transjordan, Yemen, Armenia, Kosakhistan, Afghanistan, Nepal, Japan, Philippines, Viet Nham, Siberia, Lebanon, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, Turkmenistan, Mongolia, Bhutan, Korea, Burma, Malaya and Ceylon. While the present conference will be constituted of purely Asiatic countries, it is expected that it will be enlarged so as to include countries of the Indian Ocean Region like Australia, New Zealand and West Africa, as the conference will not be complete without the inclusion of these countries which are showing more and more affinity for co-operation with Asiatic countries,—a fact which was stressed by Pandit Nehru in his last address to the Indian Council of World Affairs in Bombay.

The Conference will discuss many topics relating to problems of mutual interest to the invitees. Among the subjects that will be discussed are national movements for freedom in Asia, racial problems with special reference to the real causes of racial conflict, transition from a colonial to a national economy, inter-Asian emigration and the status and treatment of immigrants, welfare problems with special reference to public health and nutrition, problems of industrial labour and industrial development, cultural problems with special reference to education, art, architecture, scientific research and literature and finally the status of women.

People of India fully realise that freedom's battle in Asia is one and indivisible. All the exploited peoples of Asia and the East must now stand united against political, military and economic aggression from the West. Pandit Nehru's idea of a Pan-Asiatic Federation of Free Nations is a great and noble conception. It is necessary that peoples of Oceania and Africa should also be included in the Pan-Asiatic Scheme. A Federation of Asia, Africa and Oceania will embrace more than half of humanity.

India's Foreign Policy

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his first Press Conference as Minister in Charge of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, made a number of announcements on future Indian foreign policy. These are the main points:

(1) In future, India will have a much larger number of diplomatic representatives in foreign countries and shall deal with them direct instead of through the British Foreign Office. They will have a higher status and will in time be ambassadors. Direction and advice to them will go from India.

(2) A scheme for the creation of an Indian Diplomatic Corps will be placed before the Cabinet soon.

(3) The kernal of Indian foreign policy is ending colonialism all over Asia, Africa and elsewhere.

(4) The India Office is bound to be liquidated soon.

(5) A goodwill mission is to be sent to the Middle East and the Government hopes to get Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as its leader.

(6) A similar goodwill mission to Eastern and Western Europe will also be sent and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon is expected to be one of its members.

(7) Pandit Nehru proposes to pay a personal visit to the Frontier Tribal Areas early in October and hopes to have Khan Abdul Ghaffur Khan with him. The visit would be preliminary to a fresh examination of the problem of tribal areas. Pandit

Nehru made it clear that there was no intention of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they were defending so zealously and valiantly.

(8) In practice, the Indian National Government extends recognition to the Indonesian Republic. Pandit Nehru said, "We have 100 per cent sympathy with them. We want them to win through and establish their freedom, and we want to help and support them in every way.

(9) The Government are considering the advisability of forming an Advisory Council for Baluchistan drawn from representative institutions and organisations. This will be a preliminary to the introduction of a fuller democratic system of administration.

(10) Pandit Nehru proposes to visit Ceylon soon.

Pandit Nehru announced that in the sphere of foreign affairs India would follow an independent policy, keeping away from the power politics of groups aligned one against another. He added that India would uphold the principle of freedom for all dependent peoples and will oppose racial discrimination wherever it may occur. India will work together with other peace-loving nations for international co-operation and goodwll without exploitation of one nation by another.

With reference to the international contacts that are to be made, Pandit Nehru said :

It is necessary that, with the attainment of her full international status, India should establish contact with all the great nations of the world and that her relations with neighbouring countries in Asia should become still closer. Towards this end it is proposed to despatch a goodwill mission to the Middle East and to establish contacts, which will in the first instance be informal, with countries of both western and eastern Europe. It is also proposed to station an Indian consul at Bangkok and a vice-consul at Saigon in the near future.

So far as her near neighbours are concerned, India will watch with close interest the development of events in Palestine, Iran, Indonesia, China, Siam and Indo-China, as well as in the foreign possessions in India itself, with every sympathy with the aspirations of the peoples of these lands for the attainment of internal peace, freedom (where they lack it) and of their due place in the comity of nations.

With the U.S.A. and China, India already has a form of diplomatic contact. The relations thus already existing will, it is hoped, shortly be strengthened by the exchange of representations on an independent diplomatic footing.

At present there are Indian diplomatic officials in the U.S.A. and China, High Commissioners in Australia and South Africa (the latter being at present in India), Representatives in Burma, Ceylon and Malaya and Trade Commissioners in several countries. With the creation of the new service the existing posts will be strengthened and new ones opened. It will be necessary to work out a system of priorities, but obviously first consideration must be given to countries with which we already have contacts and to our neighbours in the East as well as in the West.

With regard to the Frontier policy, Panditji said :

The question is one of all-India importance, for the tribes are the guardians of the northern doorway to India and the security and well-being of these areas is, therefore, a definite factor in the defence of this country.

I should like to make it quite clear that in reviewing the problem there is no intention whatever of depriving the tribes of their existing freedom which they have defended so zealously and valiantly for many years ; still less to impose any scheme on them against their will. It follows that the Government's approach to the problem will be essentially a friendly one seeking in co-operation and consultation with the tribes ways and means of solving their economic difficulties, promoting their welfare generally and bringing them into a happy and mutually beneficial association with their neighbours in the settled districts.

I have said that the question is one of all-India importance. So it is. But there is a wider aspect to it than this. The tribal areas of the North-West Frontier lie along an international frontier—the frontier which divides India from its friendly neighbour, Afghanistan. From this situation arises an international obligation, for our friends, the Afghans, look to us to preserve peace and order in the tribal areas in the interests of tranquillity of their own country. They may rest assured that in seeking a new approach to the problem the fullest regard will be paid to our obligations.

The reaction of the Frontier tribes to Pandit Nehru's declaration has been singularly helpful. It is now hoped that the everlasting frontier trouble will now come to a permanent end and the tribal people together with the Frontier Pathans will form one solid block as National Guards on the Western Front.

Pandit Nehru declared that India's attitude towards the United Nations Organisation is one of wholehearted co-operation and unreserved adherence, in both spirit and letter, to the charter governing it. To that end, India will participate fully in its various activities and endeavour to play that role in its Councils to which her geographical position, population and contribution towards world peace entitles. India was sending a delegation to the forthcoming General Assembly of the United Nations. The following two important matters will be taken up by them at this general meeting of the U.N.O. :

The most important item on the agenda from India's point of view is the case against South Africa. It is understood that South Africa will contend that the matter is not within the jurisdiction of the General Assembly as it is essentially one of domestic jurisdiction. With this contention, the Government of India do not agree. In their view the treatment of Indians in South Africa is fundamentally a moral and human issue which, in view of the 'purposes' and 'principles' so clearly stated in the charter of the United Nations, the General Assembly cannot disregard.

A further important matter will be that of the new international trusteeship system. The Indian delegation will stress the point that sovereignty everywhere vests in the people of a country. If for any reason, immediate independence is not feasible then India would not object to the territory being placed under United Nations trusteeship for a limited period. The attitude of the delegation will be that all Asians and the people of dependent

countries stand together for freedom and for emancipation from foreign control, as this is the only way for bringing about world peace and progress.

Pandit Nehru made it clear that India was no longer going to function just in a bloc with the Commonwealth countries in the sense that India must follow whichever way the bloc goes. He said, "We shall confer with them. We shall try to get them round to our view point. When we do not succeed, we shall differ and go our own way. In the past Indian delegates functioned very much like a kind of camp followers of the British delegation. About 15 or 20 years ago they were practically appointed by the Secretary of State in consultation with the Government of India or vice versa." That practice had been gradually fading off, and is now going to stop. Pandit Nehru now envisages strong collaboration of Indian delegates in International Conferences with representatives from Asian countries because India felt that Asia had certain interests, which they should protect all together

Atom Bomb a Monopoly of U.S. Cartels ?

A veritable torrent of printers' ink is now pouring down on Bikini Atoll, writes Lucien Castet in the Paris newspaper *Liberation*. There is plenty of talk, and yet it all amounts to nothing. For the crux of the matter, the only thing worth saying is not being said —namely, that the atom bomb belongs neither to America nor to the United Nations, but to the trusts. The real owners of the atom bomb, says Castet, are three powerful trusts : the International Radium and Uranium Consortium which supplies the raw material ; the Westinghouse Electric Company which monopolises the extraction of metallic uranium from the raw material and the Dupont de Nemours Chemical Trust. The International Radium and Uranium Consortium is the actual owner of all uranium deposits in capitalist countries. In this capacity it controls the production of atomic bombs at the very source, for it can either sell or refuse to sell the required raw material at its own discretion. Until 1939 this concern was interested only in radium. Step by step it got control over all the main raw material sources. Its policy was to limit production and raise the price of radium, so essential for medical purposes. The sufferings of cancer victims were turned into a source of mounting profits. The great trust laid its hands on the Canadian radium ore deposits, then on the Katanga mines in the Belgian Congo, and to all intents and purposes obtained a monopoly over radium mining in all capitalist countries.

Since uranium is mostly found in the same ores as radium, the bulk of the known uranium deposits found their way into this concern's hands. Beginning with 1939, when prospects of tapping atomic energy began to take tangible shape, it rapidly bought up the uranium deposits that still remained outside its control.

Officially, the uranium ore needed to produce atomic bombs is supplied by Canada and Belgium. In fact, however, the governments of these countries have little to say in the matter, for they do not possess even a fraction of the Radium and Uranium Consortium's power as regards the disposal of uranium ore.

It was the American Westinghouse Company's laboratories that solved the problem of extracting pure metallic uranium from the ore, one of the most difficult technical problems involved in the generation of atomic energy. The uranium had to be obtained in an absolutely pure form : it must not contain even a ten millionth part of impurity. By agreement with the U.S. Government, Westinghouse undertook to do this job on an industrial scale during the war—on condition however, that the Government did not deal with any competing firms and that the company's representatives participated in the direction of all research on atomic energy.

Finally, the contracts for the construction of the atomic energy plants at Clinton, Tennessee and Hanford, Washington, were granted by General L. Groves to the Dupont Chemical Trust, which controls either directly or indirectly most of the American war industry and is closely linked with leading international cartels.

Describing the methods through which this private monopoly was set up, Castet writes :

> On Dupont's insistence, a clause was inserted in the contract concluded with the War Department, binding the Government to take every measure to protect the firm from possible losses. This clause was detailed in a secret agreement between the War Department and Dupont, in which the U. S. Government "in view of the highly conjectural nature of the work undertaken by Depont de Nemours, and the enormous risk involved," granted the firm for an unlimited time the exclusive right to manufacture atomic bombs. Dupont was further granted the exclusive right to exploit the industrial use of atomic energy for a term of thirty years, beginning from the time when methods for this industrial use might be worked out and tested. As a supplement to these agreements, close ties, including exchange of research workers, were established between Dupont's research department and the various agencies of the office of Scientific Research and Development—in particular, the so-called Metallurgical Laboratory at Chicago University.
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> The participation of Dupont's representatives in the direction of atomic research was one of the vital safeguards of the secret agreement that ensured Dupont the monopoly in the manufacture of atomic bombs and in the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. This finally consolidated the domination of the trusts over the whole field of the utilisation of atomic energy.

Thus, says Castet, a situation has been brought about in which the International Radium and Uranium Consortium controls the raw material, Westinghouse controls the processing and extraction of fissionable materials and Dupont controls the actual process of manufacture. As Castet points out, an agreement between these Big Three is sufficient to set up a vertical trust with incalculable power and enormous weight in deciding the fate of the world. These three American Trusts are in close association with trusts of other capitalist countries through international Cartels. Castet believes that as a result of secret Cartel manipulations such German monopolistic interests as I. G. Farbenindustrie, Krupp and Schering Chemical Concern may obtain possession, if they have not already done so, of the secrets of atomic energy.

Castet then reveals some recent changes in this build-up. He says :

On June 5, American army representatives announced that the Dupont firm, which built and operated the government-owned atomic plant at Hanford, had asked to be relieved of the responsibility of operating it—ostensibly because it was primarily interested in chemical and not in power development. In this connection, the army authorities announced that General Electric, another monopoly trust, had agreed to take over the operation of the plant beginning on September 1 this year.

It is still difficult to say what caused this shift in the forces of the American monopolies. But at any rate, it is not a change for the better.

The General Electric Company has always been closely associated with German monopolies. As far back as 1907, G.E.C. concluded an agreement with the German A.E.G., dividing the world into two great electrical empires, the one controlling the United States and Canada, the other Germany, Austria, Russia, Holland, Denmark, Switzerland, Turkey and the Balkans. Secret agreements were entered regarding subsidiary companies in new branches of industry and in countries not yet formally assigned to either of the trusts, as well as for the exchange of inventions and scientific and technical discoveries.

Describing the link with the German, Castet says :

In the period following World War I, and also during the course of the last war, G.E.C. continued to maintain close ties with the capitalist monopolies of Nazi Germany as has been proved by numerous documents and materials collected by the U. S. Department of Justice. It made big investments in a wide range of German business undertakings.

G.E.C. owns some big research laboratories (situated in Schenectady, New York) and employs a substantial number of research workers, including some eminent physicists and chemists working in various fields of 'nucleonics,' as the Americans now call the science that treats of nuclear reactions. It is notorious for its tendency to establish monopolies and when its interests so dictate, to obstruct technical progress.

For example, the data obtained by the U. S. Department of Justice established that G.E.C. laboratories had bee. conducting special research on how to lower the quality of incandescent electric lamps and to hinder the introduction of fluorescent lamps which would consume considerably less current.

Closely associated as it is with various electric power concerns, G.E.C. is obviously not interested in the speedy wide-scale use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, which would threaten to depreciate its enormous capital investments and slash the guaranteed profits of its electrical empire. At any rate, it is anxious to secure a monopoly hold on such development. And at the same time, as its president, Mr. Wilson, recently announced, it intends considerably to expand research of a military nature.

Baruch Plan of Atomic Research and the Soviet Proposals

Discussing the Baruch Plan, Castet writes :

The influence of these trusts can be clearly traced, not only in the methods of controlling atomic energy within the U.S.A., but also in the American proposals for international control, which Bernard Baruch submitted to the U. N. Atomic Energy Commission.

The various provisions of the Baruch Plan essentially amount to making the international control body—Americans have already christened it 'ADA' or 'Atomic Development Authority'—a sort of international cartel which would be sole owner of all deposits of uranium, thorium and other prospective sources of atomic energy throughout the world. ADA would moreover have exclusive rights to acquire, manufacture and operate all installations producing U235 plutonium and other fissionable materials, to issue licences, and, according to Clause 4 of the Baruch Plan to "conduct research in the field of atomic explosives."

To expect proposals like these to prevent the use of atomic energy for war purposes is like invoking Beelzebub to exorcise Lucifer. Since Baruch also proposes to abolish the right of veto in questions pertaining to atomic energy, ADA would be for all practical purposes independent of the UNO Security Council, but fully dependent on the American trusts. It would serve as an instrument of their international policy and a safeguard of their monopolistic interests.

Castet says in his article that world monopolies and in particular the chemical trusts, are aiming to set up a powerful atomic bomb cartel. Their plans go even further than that they want to make use of UNO to isolate the Soviet Union and to establish the world government of the monopoly trusts.

The secret diplomacy of the international monopolies is, indeed, most active in connection with the problem of the control of atomic energy. It is trying to palm off the Baruch Plan as an effective means of preventing the military use of atomic energy. But the plan actually proposes the establishment of a world monopoly in the mining of atomic raw material and in the production and utilisation of atomic energy, as well as a monopoly of scientific research in the sphere of atomic explosives—that is, in the perfection of the atomic bomb and the increase of its destructive power.

The Baruch Plan for the control of atomic research is quite different from the Soviet proposals put forward in this connection. There are mainly three points of difference. Firstly, the Soviet proposals sought to ban the use of atomic weapons completely to prohibit the production of such weapons and require the destruction of all existing stocks within three months of the date, the international convention comes into force. The Baruch Plan, on the other hand, resorts to vague and confused promises without specifying any definite date of fulfilment. Secondly, the Soviet proposals were designed to fit into the U.N.O. framework, in full conformity with the principles of its charter. The Baruch Plan aims at breaking down the fundamental principles of U.N.O. Thirdly, the Soviet proposals leave the organisation of the peaceful industrial use of atomic energy in the hands of the various sovereign States, at the same time allowing for a broad exchange of scientific information. The Baruch Plan proposes to transfer all authority in this field to an international monopoly organisation and to introduce

the customary system of licenses. This would mean, as past experience shows, that the peaceful use of atomic energy would be either prevented altogether or at all events greatly hampered.

It is gratifying to find that the progressive American press and prominent scientists have begun to draw public attention to the role of the trusts.

Thus *P.M.* says in an editorial : "There is a danger that atomic energy, instead of benefiting mankind, will fall into the hands of the monopolists of destruction."

Capitalist monopolies are trying to convert the greatest of modern scientific discoveries into their own private weapon, to be used in their struggle for world domination. But as Oskar Lange, the Polish delegate at UNO, observed at the meeting of the Atomic Energy Commission : "No temporary advantage, by whomsoever held, will prevail against the will of the people."

World Food Surpluses

Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao, member of the Indian Food Delegation to the Food and Agricultural Organisations Conference at Copenhagen and the Economic Adviser to the Food Department of the Government of India, who arrived at Karachi, reviewed the work done by the Indian delegates at the various conferences in Canada, Denmark and Holland. He said :

> The conference at Copenhagen marked a new step forward in the direction of taking concerted world action for raising nutritional levels of peoples all over the world and also of ensuring the prosperity and success of the farmers and agricultural workers of the world. Whereas the Food and Agricultural Organisation has hitherto been merely an advisory agency, this conference has now accepted the need for the creation of an international executive machinery for the purpose of facilitating maximisation of production, equitable distribution and stabilisation of prices.
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> The nations of the world are now agreed that there should be some organisation like the World Food Board or whatever else it may be called, which will have the power to bring about its objectives. The conference has not discussed the details but has set up a preparatory commission for the creation of the world food executive organisation. The recommendations will then be placed before the first conference of the Food and Agricultural Organisations and subsequently transmitted to the United Nations Assembly.

We in India are interested in meeting our needs both by our efforts to increase production and by supplementing our resources by imports.

Referring to the Quebec Conference Dr. Rao claimed that it was he who first brought forward to the attention of the conference the need for linking up the utilisation of surpluses with the satisfaction of the nutritional needs of the lower levels of consumption. His suggestion, that the principle of the 'stamp plan' followed in the United States of making surplus food available to the lower income groups at special low prices should be extended to international realm, received endorsement of the committee on marketing at Quebec and subsequently by the plenary session.

At the Hague, he further developed this point and the committee after long deliberations, agreed unanimously to the two-price system—one applies to supplies and sales through proper commercial channels and the other through non-commercial and presumably Government channels to meet the needs of the lower income classes.

Dr. Rao suggested that the world food surpluses should be disposed of at concessional rates to the countries with low nutritional levels.

Dr. Rao then referred to the discussion the Indian delegation had at the Hague about the economic implication of world food survey and said that they strongly objected to the manner in which optimum targets had been set for countries with better nutritional levels and intermediate optimum targets for countries with low nutritional levels. The low levels in the countries should be raised by increasing world food production and distributing it equitably with a special emphasis on the needs of countries poor in nutritional standards. At Copenhagen, it has been agreed that the next world food survey should contain maximum optimum for all countries in the world.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Food Situation

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Minister of the National Government, in his broadcast on the food situation said that the over-all picture, although gloomy, is not altogether dark. He said, "Our people have a knack of facing up to calamities which may well break others. We all have to make a pull, a strong and determined pull and we shall have passed to determine the crisis. We refuse to be defeated. Courage, discipline, fellow-feeling and a little sacrifice by each for all and by all for each cannot fail to see us through." He pointed out that there were only three ways of facing up to this calamity. The first was to increase production of crops which could be grown between the major harvests, the second was to secure assistance from abroad and the third was to distribute the incidence of shortage as evenly and equitably as possible.

Regarding increase of production and inadequacy of imports, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

> As regards the increase of production, to aid which is the function of the Department of Agriculture, it will suffice to say, for the present, that encouragement was given both by Central and Provincial Governments to grow short-term crops, subsidies were granted to cultivators and concessions were given in the form of revenue remissions, water supply and free manure. It was, however, not expected that these subsidiary crops could really break the edge of the scarcity except to a very limited extent in local areas.
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> In our efforts to secure adequate imports of grain from abroad we have had a series of disappointments. That was inevitable in a world desperately short of food. At the time of the visit of the Indian delegation to Washington, the world's wheat demands were 20 million tons against supplies of 12 million tons and the demands for rice for the second quarter only were 2 million tons against supplies of 523.000 tons. It has, therefore, never been possible for India to get a quota from abroad sufficient to meet her demands ; nor has it been possible for her to get firm allocations of wheat or wheat substitutes, such as maize. The International Emergency Food Council has had to pro-

ceed month by month programming such supplies as became available. Of rice we were allocated for the second quarter of the year 146,000 tons against a demand for 500,000 tons and for the second half of the year the allocation was 270,000 tons against a demand for 700,000 tons. Against the minimum import demand of 40 lakh tons India has till now received only 12½ lakh tons of which only 173,000 tons is rice.

A major development has been the seamen's strike in U.S.A. Even if the news of the end of the strike is true, already we have lost many days which in terms of tonnage means a short-fall in October arrivals of nearly 100,000 tons, if not more. We had been hoping for large imports of maize and other grains from Argentine and to expedite matters we had sent out a Mission headed by Dewan Chaman Lal. In spite of the efforts made by the Mission, export licences have not been made available yet for all our purchases and the short-fall in arrivals against our previous calculations in October will be no less than 60,000 tons. The diversion of three ships by U.N.R.R.A. carrying about 24,000 tons of wheat, which was announced a few days ago, would have been a great help to us if they arrived in time, but the seamen's strike will affect the loading of these ships also. Again, supplies of rice from Brazil have been delayed. The supply position in the Far East has also deteriorated. We had been allotted 207,500 tons by the International Emergency Food Council from Burma and Siam for the second half of this year. We now estimate that we are not likely to get more than 137,000 tons out of this allocation, which will thus result in a short fall of 70,000 tons. The short fall from Siam is due largely to internal difficulties and lack of sufficient facilities of transport some of which we have tried to meet. On the day that I took over office I had the opportunity of impressing upon the Siamese delegation who had come to sign an agreement for a loan from India of five crores of rupees, the serious situation in this country and the absolute necessity of Siam speeding up her exports to the utmost. The prospects from Burma are a little better than estimated a few months ago but as the supplies from Siam, Burma and Indo-China are treated as a pool by the International Emergency Food Council, the excess supply from Burma will not all come to us. There has been one source to which we have been looking, and that is the offer of the Indonesian Republic to give us 5 lakh tons of rice or 7 lakh tons of paddy. The formal agreement with the Indonesian Republic and the Netherlands East Indies Government was concluded last month. The main problem there has been to move the rice from the interior to rail-heads and to the ports. For this coal and motor trucks are required. India could supply these. But some difficulties have arisen and we are not able to take full advantage of the generous offer and our supplies from that source so far have been inconsiderable and may not be very appreciable in the critical months ahead.

With the failure of crops in our own country, short allocations from abroad, a heavy short fall in the arrival of these allocations, difficulties of transport in Siam and Java, and non-materialisation of expected imports from Argentine, India is faced with a grave situation within the next two or three months. This can be met, as Rajen Babu points out, only to limited extent by imports from outside. We must realise that we have to depend mainly on ourselves to prevent a breakdown. This we *can* do and *must* do. We must each and all be prepared to share whatever we have with others. We need all the skill and determination we can muster to produce more and save whatever we can, remembering that every little addition to the common pool is going to make a difference to the common man in distress. We must refuse to be defeated. Famine must be averted.

Development of Indian Civil Aviation

Syed Ali Zaheer, Member for Communications in the National Government, in a Press statement, has explained the new Government's Civil Aviation policy. He said, "In a country of the size and magnitude of India, civil aviation can play a very important part in the communications system. Unfortunately, the progress of civil aviation, due to various reasons, has not been as fast as it should have been. The popularity which even the limited growth of civil aviation has gained so far, proves clearly that its value is fully appreciated by the people of this country."

He discussed the constitution and work of the Air Transport Licensing Board, the question of nationalisation of air transport and the co-ordination of national aviation policy with that of the provinces and Indian States. The Communication Member said :

"So far as Government is aware no fewer than about 19 private companies have been floated in order to take part in the civil aviation of the country. The authorized capital, though not the issued capital, of these companies comes to about Rs. 40 crores. Applications for various routes by some of these companies are pending for disposal. There was a general feeling in the country that the Air Transport Licensing Board, which had been constituted, was not broad-based, as it had a majority of officials on it. The first step, therefore, which the Government took was to change the constitution of this Board. The Cabinet has agreed and the licensing rules are being amended.

"This Board will now consist of three members including the Chairman, who is a judge of a High Court It must, however, be emphasized that Government attaches very considerable importance to the maintenance of high technical standards in civil aviation. Close co-operation between the Civil Aviation Directorate and the Air Transport Licensing Board will have to be maintained in order to ensure technical efficiency. It is not Government's intention to put unnecessary obstacles in the way of the working of the various operators who may be desirous of operating on various routes, nor does it intend to create a monopoly in favour of one or a few of the operating companies. It is Government's intention to put no restrictions on various companies obtaining their machines from any source which may be available to them or in the purchase of serviceable machines in India.

"The allocation of various routes to particular companies will be the function of the Board, whom the companies will have to satisfy in respect of their financial resources and technical organisation. On these considerations and on the basis of sound economic operations it might not be possible for all the companies now floated to secure a licence. Permission to

grant of a licence and this has been made clear to the promoters.

"A stage has been reached when it may be expected that various companies will be able to work without any subsidy from Government, which will continue to provide and keep properly equipped landing grounds, wireless stations, meteorological facilities, etc., for the use of the aeroplanes operating on various routes."

The question of nationalisation of air services has already been raised. The present policy of the Government on this question is to allow private companies, licensed by the Air Transport Licensing Board, to operate the internal routes. In coming to this conclusion Government has been greatly influenced by the consideration that its machinery is not as yet so highly developed as to enable it to undertake actual operations in aviation. There may be doubt as to the desirability of this step at this early stage of the development of civil aviation. The policy adopted at the time of promoting railways by permitting the construction and operation of railways by companies with the Government retaining the right of acquiring them after a certain number of years may profitably be followed here as well. This will provide ready outlet for the investment and utilisation of private wealth. No opportunity should be lost to break the shyness of Indian capital to be employed on profitable undertakings. If the airways are operated under strict supervision of the Government there is no harm in staying nationalisation for some time. The progress of civil aviation can be achieved more by permitting private companies to operate on internal routes under strict Government licensing and supervision.

With regard to the external air services, Syed Ali Zaheer said:

> Government is at present carrying on negotiations with a number of foreign countries who want their services to operate to and across India. Government's policy in this respect will be a liberal one. At the same time it will have to safeguard the vital interests of the country and interests of Indian operator. Government hopes to obtain from these countries reciprocal operational right.
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> The external services will naturally begin by operating to the neighbouring countries lying towards the east and the west of India, but there is no reason why India should not, within a very short interval, be able to establish air services going round the globe and operating to and across most of the countries of the world. The world is shrinking rapidly and unless India keeps pace with the developments which are going on in other countries in the field of aviation it will be left very far behind.

Dollar Pool and Indian Interests

Reviewing India's contribution to the Empire Dollar Pool, the Government of India has issued a Press Note explaining the Import policy from and outside the sterling areas. It is explained that barring certain modifications of policy and procedure, the Government expect that currency considerations will no longer hinder the rapid development of industry in India. During the war, the whole of the sterling area's holdings of foreign exchange were held in one pool in the custody of the Bank of England and the British Treasury. As the U.S. dollar was the most important foreign currency in this pool, this whole arrangement came to be known as the Empire Dollar Pool instead of the sterling area pool of foreign exchange. In the working of the pool, the individual Empire countries were given no specific allotments of the various foreign currencies which they were entitled to spend. This has reacted very hard on India, because although this country always held large dollar balances, she was prevented from utilising them in making purchases in the U.S. of essential commodities and machineries for civilian needs. It was the declared intention of the British Government, which controlled the pool, that the member country should itself be the judge of the essentiality of its own requirements. But in practice the agents of the British Government at New Delhi acted in a way which was beneficial to Britain and wholly detrimental to Indian interests.

Giving details of India's contribution to the Pool and describing the prospects of the post-war Dollar Fund the Press Note, says:

> Since the beginning of the war up to the 31st March, 1946, India earned Rs. 405 crores worth of U.S.A. dollars and spent Rs. 240 crores, having a net surplus of Rs. 165 crores. Against this has to be set off the fact that India spent more than she earned, to the extent of Rs. 41 crores, of other hard currencies, namely, those of Canada, Sweden, Switzerland and Portugal. India's net contribution to the pool has, therefore, been about Rs. 114 crores till the close of the year 1945-46.
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> During the quarter ending June 1946 for which preliminary figures are now available, there has been a substantial net drawal by India on the pool, mainly on account of food imports and other payments on Government account. These figures must not, however, be taken as our share" in the dollar pool for what we can spend is, strictly speaking, not related to nor limited by what we have contributed.
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> The public are aware that there is a fund known as the post-war dollar fund to which the pool has contributed 20 million for the year 1944. In the year 1943-44 His Majesty's Government agreed, in view of our large dollar contributions to the Empire dollar pool and of our willingness to agree to give reciprocal aid to the United States, to put at our disposal a sum of $20 million in a separate fund to be utilised after the conclusion of hostilities with Japan for restocking and capital expenditure in the U.S.A. All expenditure for these purposes was to be met from the fund and not till this fund was exhausted, were we to ask for dollars from the pool for the financing of such expenditure. This figure of $20 million was a percentage of our dollar earnings on trade account in the year 1944 and H.M.G. agreed that they would credit the fund with similar sum, up to a maximum of $20 million, for the year 1945 if dollar earnings on the same basis for that year were on the same order as for the year 1944. In respect of 1945, H.M.G. have just intimated an allocation of $20 million. It is generally believed that this fund represents the total resources in U.S. dollars which India possesses for the purchase of capital goods. Such a belief is, however, erroneous. The limit of our purchases is not necessarily the amount in the fund for we have the right to draw on the pool for all capital goods the import of which we regard as legitimate. As against the $20 million

float a company does not with it carry a guarantee of

allotment, the Government of India have issued sanctions for the import of capital goods, the purchase of ships and for other industrial purposes up to $28 million.

Future Indian Trade Policy and Interest of Workers

In formulating any plans for the expansion of external or internal trade, the Government would always keep in mind the interests not only of commerce and industry but also of industrial workers and agriculturists—thus declared Mr. C. H. Bhabha, Commerce Member of the Interim Government. He was addressing a meeting of the Trade Policy Committee in New Delhi. Among the points which emerged in the meeting of this Committee were :

(1) If highly developed countries desire free access to raw materials, economically backward countries should have a reciprocal free access to capital goods and technological skill.

(2) Indians should have equal rights to establish business in foreign countries such as U.S.A. whose nationals are given similar rights in India.

(3) Unfair trade practices by which highly developed countries discriminate against the produce or trade of less developed countries should be exposed and put an end to.

Mr. Bhabha said that no commitments would be made at the forthcoming meeting of the Preparatory Committee of the United Nations Economic and Social Council which India would attend. Before the commitment stage was reached, Government would consult all shades of opinion in the country and the interests of labour and agriculturist, as the primary producers, would receive special attention.

Referring to various suggestions made by the Committee, Mr. Bhabha said that Government did not underestimate the important role of internal trade in India's economy, but considered that there should be an integral development of both external and internal trade. As regards a long-term tariff policy Mr. Bhabha agreed that India's policy must be determined by our own interests and not by the trend of discussions in these international meetings.

But I don't see how, at this early stage, before our plans of development are ready and the needs and requirements of the future are known we can commit ourselves to any specific long-term tariff policy. Our immediate task is to clarify our trade objectives and to ensure that no international commitments are made by India which would prevent us from adopting a suitable trade policy at any time, rather than to determine finally the specific measures we are going to adopt.

As conditions change, our trade policy too will change, for trade—as I cannot too often repeat—will not be regarded by us as an end in itself, but merely as a means—perhaps a very subordinate means—of furthering India's economic development as part of our larger plans for the promotion of the welfare of the Indian people."

Since this meeting, the Import policy of the new Government has been explained in a Press Note. The relevant portion of it is as follows :

Recent criticisms about the import control policy of Government have been based on two grounds ; first, that the administrative machinery for the grant of import licences was slow and inefficient and, secondly, that the strictness with which exchange control was administered made it very difficult for importers both of capital and of other goods to import them from outside the sterling area. With the altered conditions brought about by the termination of war, the Government of India have recently made a number of changes in the administration of import control with the result, they hope, that the procedure for obtaining import licences has been very considerably simplified and shortened. They have also adopted the policy of removing as many items as possible from the list of controlled items and of placing them on the open general licence for the sterling area. Other items have been placed on the universal open general licence which mean that these items may be imported freely from any source whether within or outside the sterling area. Items which can thus be decontrolled are continually under review and the list is gradually being increased.

The Government of India have also relaxed substantially the rigidity of exchange control and the two tests of essentiality and non-availability are now applied with more flexibility. Requirements are now held to be essential if they are necessary for the maintenance and development of the national economy or the maintenance and development of the standard of living and non-availability is determined with due reference to the quality, price and period of delivery of comparable articles in the sterling area. Further, the burden of proving non-availability has been shifted to Government from the importer so that it is now for Government to satisfy itself by its own enquiries whether goods required to be imported from outside the sterling area are available within it or not instead of, as heretofore, for the importer to prove that they were not so available. Another modification that has been introduced is that various currencies of the world have been guarded in the order of their difficulty and the tests of essentiality and non-availability are applied to imports with a decreasing degree of strictness in accordance with the comparative easiness of the currency concerned. With these modifications of policy and procedure it is expected that currency considerations will no longer hinder that rapid development of industry in India.

In formulating the Indian trade policies under British auspices, India has been jockeyed into positions, which were not suited to her own special position, on the plea of conformity with high-sounding international "principles" manufactured to suit industrially advanced countries like the U. K. and the U.S.A. It is a good sign that this is going to stop.

Health Development of India

Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Health Member in the Interim National Government has given an assurance that while detailed plans for health development are to be prepared and carried out by the provincial governments, "the Interim Government will do all in their power to assist sound health development in India." Sir Shafaat was addressing the Conference of the Provincial Health Ministers convened in New

Delhi. He said that the Interim Government proposed to implement the Bhore Committee's recommendations by setting up a committee to advise the government regarding the establishment of an All-India Institute for training and research, providing facilities in Calcutta for licentiates from all parts of India to take their M.B.B.S. degree and sending selected students abroad for training. A nursing college has been opened which would provide a course for a University degree in nursing. The Malaria Institute of India would be expanded. Legislation for pharmacy, dental and nursing professions would be undertaken. A Bureau was being set up to collect information regarding equipment of medical institutions and the question of collecting population and vital statistics was engaging Government's attention.

The Bhore Committee has done a great service in laying emphasis on the influence of conditions of living and environment on the health of the individual and the community. In Sir Shafaat's address, we find a new angle of vision. He has realised the full import of Bhore Committee's observation and instead of planning for the Indian people's health in terms of buildings, scholarships and research centres, has taken interest in all those government and social activities which promote health or might be used to promote it. Referring to the need for improvement of environmental hygiene and preventive measures stressed by the Committee, Sir Shafaat said :

> Even in some of the largest towns the sanitary organisation is notoriously inefficient, while in the rural areas there has been, in most provinces, no systematic attempt to improve sanitary conditions. If there is a question of priorities--and planning means priorities—I think all will agree that an active programme for the improvement of water supply and sanitation in our towns and villages is one of the most urgent of our jobs.
>
> In regard to preventive medicines, he said that science had placed within our reach powerful insecticides and drugs to fight diseases like malaria, the direct or indirect cause of tremendous mortality, and the means for effective application of the knowledge made available had to be found.
>
> It is only the outermost fringe of such public services and amenities as the country enjoys that occasionally comes within the orbit of the cultivator's daily life. Time has come for an effective programme to bring these benefits of modern medical science within the reach of the cultivator. He endorsed the Committee's proposal for the development of a district health organisation with a primary health centre for every 40,000 people, a thirty-bed hospital for every 2,00,000 and a secondary centre with a 200-bed hospital for each district.

We would have been glad to see him go deeper. In our opinion, it would be much better to develop the indigenous health centres and to equip them with modern appliances. For example, the rural midwives can be trained in modern methods. A midwife supplied from outside and appointed on a salary basis in a village health unit will certainly be much more costly. There are women in villages who are good midwives. To train and develop them would mean less cost to the people and a provision of employment to the rural folk. This can surely be done in collaboration with the Kasturba Memorial Trust.

Lack of funds has always been an excuse for holding up all nation-building projects. Pandit Nehru has answered this bureaucratic excuse in inaugurating the Conference. He said :

> If funds could be available for big wars, there was no reason why they should not be provided for to fight against ill-health, which was like the enemy form within and weakened the nation. No doubt, it was a gigantic task, but it was one of those urgent questions which had got to be attended to if we were to avoid situations like the aftermath of the Bengal famine.
>
> So far attention had been paid more to the towns whereas India lived in the villages. The producer of the country's wealth should be physically strong, and expenditure on him should not be grudged. It is necessary to concentrate the preventive health measures rather than on huge buildings for hospitals.

The Congress Exhibition

The Congress session at Meerut is drawing near. Among the several features of the annual meeting of Congressmen from all parts of the country will be an exhibition. Mahatma Gandhi, writing in the *Gram Udyog Patrika*, advises the organisers as to how the exhibition should be conducted. These suggestions may profitably be utilised while organising smaller exhibitions on different occasions, specially during the winter season. Gandhiji writes :

> The Congress Session is likely to be held in the next two, three months and so naturally the question is asked what should the exhibition be like. If we want and believe that the villages should not only survive, but also become strong and flourishing, then the village perspective is the only correct view point.
>
> If this is true then in our exhibitions there can be no place for the glamour and pomp of the cities. There should be no necessity for games and other entertainments that belong to the cities. An exhibition should not become a *tamasha* nor a source of income, it should never become the advertizing medium for traders. No sales should be allowed there. Even khadi and village industry products should not be sold.
>
> An exhibition should be a medium of education, should be attractive and it should be such as to infuse in the villager the impulse to take to some industry or other. It should bring out the glaring defects and drawbacks in the present-day village life, and show methods to be adopted to set them right. It should also be able to indicate the extent of achievement in that direction ever since the idea of village uplift was sponsored. It should also teach how to make village life artistic.
>
> Now let us see what an exhibition will be like if it is to conform to the above conditions.
>
> (1) There should be two models of villages—one as is existing today and the other an improved one. The improved village will be clean all throughout. Its houses, its roads, its surroundings and its fields will be all clean. The condition of the cattle should also improve. Books, charts and pictures should be used to show what industries give increased income and how.
>
> (2) It must show how to conduct the various

village industries, wherefrom to obtain the needed implements, how to make them. The actual working of each industry should be demonstrated. Along with this the following should also find place:

(a) Ideal village diet.
(b) Comparison between village industry and machine industry.
(c) Model lesson on rearing animals.
(d) Art section.
(e) Model of village latrine.
(f) Farmyard manure Vs. Chemical manure.
(g) Utilisation of hides, bones, etc., of animals.
(h) Village music, musical instruments, village dramas.
(i) Village games, village Akhadas and forms of exercise.
(j) Nai Talim.
(k) Village medicines.
(l) Village maternity home.

Subject to the policy enunciated in the beginning, this list may be further expanded. What I have indicated is by way of example only, it should not be taken to be exhaustive. I have not made any mention of the Charkha and other village industries as they are taken for granted. Without them the exhibition will be absolutely useless.

Treatment of Red Indians in America

Mr. Devere Allen, writing in the *Worldover Press*, gives a graphic account of a neglected island of oppression regarding which the Americans have probably never been aroused at all. He says:

> A neglected people, forced to suffer poverty, illiteracy, and a colonial status, is herded on a kind of island, right in the mainland of the United States. The place is not far overseas but in Arizona and New Mexico. It is the Navajo Indian reservation. No fewer than 55,000 Indians live there. A few are well off. Most are terribly poor and in danger of becoming poorer. In 1940, the average per capita income was $82 a month, which means that thousands hung close to the edge of disaster and some fell over. After a few wartime years when things were better because of temporary earnings, they are now back where they started from.
>
> They are worse off than then, as a matter of fact. Their land has been overgrazed. They had only half an acre of farmland apiece, and because they have the fecundity of a primitive people the population has gone up 12 per cent in six years. That $82 a month came from government work, to the tune of 30 per cent, not now available. The Office of Indian Affairs has to help some with special gifts, but funds in that quarter are low, and last year only 740 Navajos got this aid.
>
> More than 80 per cent can neither read nor write. Only a handful speak English. Those living on the fringe of white towns get firewater easily, and use it no more wisely than in the old days of the pioneers. Only one in four is provided with a school to go to. Out of 49 government day schools, 19 are shut for lack of funds. The U. S. Congress is tight with Indians. Those quaint hogans, so interesting to the tourists, have dirt floors and no light; if the Indians prefer them in some cases, they could be taught the advantages of good housing if the Americans really tried.
>
> The Americans break their own laws when it comes to Red Indians. In 1937, the Federal Government adopted the citizenship act which gives citizenship to all Indians. The social security law applies to all political subdivisions, and the reservation is divided into precincts and counties where white residents can vote, though from the right of suffrage the Red Indians are barred. Yet though required to by law, neither New Mexico nor Arizona grants social security welfare to Indians.
>
> Some states are poor, so don't blame these two entirely. Neither has a large population, nor great financial resources. They could hardly finance a real welfare programme without Federal grants; but why don't they ask for help, and pitch in and try to do a worthy job? The Red Indians are, after all, a tourist attraction, and New Mexico alone, it is estimated, received $63,000,000 in tourist money in the last year before the war. Couldn't the red man have a little slice?
>
> Islands of oppression, anywhere in the world, command American sympathy. Let Britain neglect a colony, Russia ride over a nearby state, or Uncle Sam fail in Puerto Rico: a gratifying number of sensitive people in America manifest dissatisfaction and often bring about reforms. But this scandalous mistreatment of 55,000 people in the U.S.A. seems to have escaped notice.

Bengal Riots and the Congress

Bengal today is witnessing the fruition of the fiendish plans of British Tory Officialdom allied with the Muslim reactionaries. During the course of the last twenty years almost every vantage point in the Executive, Police and Control organisations of Bengal had been filled by them with reactionary Muslim officials whose main qualification is their allegiance to the Muslim League. Strongly entrenched on all sides in this fashion and fortified with the British gift of absolute majority in the Bengal Assembly, the League has had no hindrance in letting hell loose in Bengal. Calcutta went through it in August, and the position today is as critical, from the point of view of public confidence, as it was a month back. The districts now are smouldering in the East. Indeed, the news of a major conflagration is filtering through the official news blackout as these notes are going to the press.

The Muslim League through its spokesmen like Messrs. Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy and Ghaznafar Ali, has been openly holding out threats that civil war on a still larger scale will break out if their blackmail demands be not fulfilled. But we hope this will not deter the Congress from resolutely proceeding on the path to complete independence. Bengal has passed through forty years of official repression and savage communal oppression. She has survived with hardly any help or even sympathy from the sister provinces, indeed on the contrary. If necessary, Bengal must make her own way through hell, so that, the rest of India may live in freedom and in safety. The Congress must be prepared for the worst, that is civil war, and hope for the best in the shape of the return of sanity to the League. Lack of preparations as in 1942 must not be explained away. Indeed, there will be no time for explanations, for the times are critical to the point of being perilous in the extreme. No homily is called for now, only action. We would reiterate our point and say that the Congress must not show any weakness and use the case of Bengal as an excuse for the same.

THE SPANISH ISSUE

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

The Spanish issue is threatening to explode again, and it is inevitable more or less since several of the present governments of Europe are dominated by the more politically conscious elements, arrayed more pronouncedly against fascism and who are not likely to leave the Franco regime to carry on undisturbed like a bacilli incubator. A battle has raged within and without the U. N. O., but it has not yet been possible to establish "officially" that the existence of this fascist power endangers peace. This prolonged battle and the decisive attitude of France especially in closing the frontier as an answer to the execution of ten Republicans has afforded Franco both the opportunities as well as the occasion to try and entrench himself more firmly. Nevertheless winning the battle of Spain is decisive for France. Alvarez Del Vayo, who was one of the Ministers in the old Negrin Government of Republican Spain, says in a recent report on Spain: "Franco is stronger than he was six months ago. The explanation is simple. The Spanish dictator has stopped taking allied statements about his regime seriously . . ." Although a prolonged wordy battle between the various delegates to the U.N.O. has been published in the press, the various reports that build up a powerful case against Franco, have seen little light of day. A few of the following facts would serve to throw light on the conditions obtaining in the Spain of today. There are still half a million prisoners rotting in jails. The world outside is deliberately misled and confused by a peculiar ruse of Franco's, under which he releases a few hundreds under what is called amnesty. Then after a short interval the same are arrested again on the pretext of having violated some regulation or another of the hundreds in force today. The recent wave of executions at the Alcala de Henares prison was provoked by such a silly incident as would have hardly been noted anywhere beyond calling perhaps for a reprimand. One of the prisoners was punished for a slight infringement of the rules by having his head shaved. This was retorted by the others by all getting their heads shaved. For this they were to be punished by refusing interview to every tenth man. These interviews were most precious. But as one man, the prisoners answered this uncalled-for provocation by all refusing interviews Then followed the mass executions.

Black-marketing is one of the most lucrative sources of revenue the Franco regime has built up. The food which the farmers are made to forcibly disgorge by the Government at a low price, it sells back to the people at fabulous prices in the black-market. This naturally causes acute scarcity and runs up the prices of all foodstuffs even in the white market. Fifty per cent of the revenue is absorbed to keep the military machinery intact. For, the army is one of Franco's main props, abetted by five kinds of security police. Traditionally reactionary, the army has grown more rigid and arrogant, preened and pampered by Franco. Seven hundred thousand strong, it is the largest in Continental Western Europe, though few know it. The Falange, the Fascist Party, is the political arm but has no mass base. It rests on the big vested interests who want to prevent a mass revolution and a drive back to the old literal regime. But part of Franco's security also comes from the heavy pall of weariness which has settled on the people—the aftermath of a prolonged war and continued repression, and above all the dread of a resurgence of another civil war. It must not be forgotten that as has been pointed out by Del Vayo, Franco's power today rests mainly on the uncertainties and confused purposes of the democratic countries whose foreign policies are still tainted with past appeasements, in spite of the oft-repeated declarations of the war objectives to end fascism. It is no doubt directed partly by the growing fear of Russia just as in the past. Even the shattering experiences of a colossal world war have failed to teach these wavering powers that the challenge of Russia can be best met by the strengthening of the vital forces of democracy and not the arsenal and base of fascism. For totalitarianism, no matter whether of black, green or red tint, can be liquidated only by the gathering strength of democracy. However, the Republican ranks proved no better which is even a more tragic fact and it served to provide the fitful policies of the Allies ample scope to patronise Franco and give him an undisturbed sway over his kingdom.

Certain of the Spanish factional groups continued their customary campaigns against each other and against the exile government unabated even in exile, if anything with greater virulence. Even the fact that most of the big powers were still either lukewarm or indifferent to the fate of Spain, seemed to make no or little impression on these factions to whom their own petty little importance towered over that of the Nation's fate. Thus while several European exile governments and resistance partisans could get complete or quasi recognition from the Allied governments, the Spanish Republican Government got completely left out in the cold. On the contrary, members of the exile government were under a sort of a cloud, so meticulous were the Allies for a long time not to offend neutral friend Franco. Thus Dr. Negrin, the Spanish Republican Premier, found it no easy matter to move from England to America or carry on open propaganda for his cause. In the same way at the San Francisco Conference, when the first official steps were taken to present the case of the Spanish Republican Government to the governments of the United Nations and letters were addressed to the four Chairmen of the Conference, had not discordant notes been struck and the exile government been allowed to speak with one voice, the result might have been different. The acclamation with which the Mexican delegation's resolution excluding the Franco Government from the World Security Council was received, was undoubtedly an indication and promise

of a more definite and direct policy that might have led to a practical decision to sponsor the Republican Government appeal at least by those countries which had either never recognised Franco or had broken with him, which would in practice have meant granting recognition to this Republican Government. Such an event might have set up a very different chain of events from those which have now emerged. The obvious disunity in the Republican camp prejudiced even those who were favourably disposed and strengthened the hands of those who wanted to evade the issue, with the result even those, especially the South American and other smaller countries that wanted to take some positive step, were successfully prevented. The logical step for the United Nations to take, that of breaking off relations with Franco, was never taken. These divisions provided the big powers an easy pretext for postponing action. After all they could always frown and occasionally growl to tell the world that they do not really smile on Franco ! Thus the appeal of the Spanish Republican Government protesting against the United Nations' decision to treat Spain as a neutral and preventing Dr. Negrin's government from participating in the World Security Conference, went unheeded. In vain the exile government pleaded :

"Such a decision ignores the fact that during three years and before any other European people, the people of Spain fought alone against German-Italian totalitarianism in defence of its independence and its democratic institutions ; it ignores also the fact that neither the Spanish people nor their legitimate representatives ever yielded or gave up the fight . . . In stating our solemn protest, we take into account that two of the inviting powers and a considerable number of participating powers maintain relations with the regime of force established in our country by the rebels as a consequence of an internal aggression provoked by Mussolini and Hitler, in a form and under conditions identical with those used by Fascism in its later attacks on other countries."

The flutter in San Francisco had had its repercussions on the Franco regime. The Generalissimo set about a frantic reshuffling of his cabinet to stave off a complete collapse by a change of facade, and ministers like Arrese, Secretary of the Falange, were removed together with an attempt to sheer off the notorious Falangists who rather struck the international anti-Franco elements in the eye and stank in their nostrils. In fact the move seems to have been to show to the world that a new regime had been created to sort of nullify the San Francisco resolution, whilst in reality Franco was creating the new cabinet in his own imagination if only camouflaged. This made it imperative for the Republicans to act and act quickly. In spite of the endless obstacles and delays in his path that Dr. Negrin encountered, thanks to the dubious attitude of England and America, he eventually reached Mexico where the majority of the exile Republican Government people were to make one supreme effort to bring about some decisive action to offset Franco and his new tactics. But Dr. Negrin found his task immeasurably more arduous than expected.

No doubt the recent developments in Spain provided ample incentive to the Republicans to overcome their differences, but the personal animosities and differences which had sort of simmered and kept coming to the boil during the exile, had already created an atmosphere that was bound to make the solution of even pressing problems extremely difficult. A Government created under such circumstances was bound to find it difficult to count upon the support of all parties and organisations, several of which had, during their sojourn abroad, split and sub-divided into contending factions. The authority of the existing cabinet as well as the Parliament had suffered considerably as a result of attempts by some of the Republican leaders to use political institutions for their own factional manoeuvres. But obviously such a situation could not be allowed to continue now that the Republican issue had been forced to the point of imminent decision. A regime had to be organised to seize the earliest moment to direct the fight inside the country while sponsoring the cause outside. So it was a question of whipping up the largest measure of support from the Republican forces.

Dr. Negrin was of the firm opinion that whatever the changes, they should be made as far as possible constitutionally, for he felt that adherence to the original Republican constitution would strengthen the government's position at home and abroad. For this purpose, two things needed to be done, convening of the Parliament, the Cortes, and the election of the president, even if it be a provisional one, for after Senor Azana's resignation in 1939, the old regime had been left without a president.

Twenty-six parties and organisations sent their representatives to a preliminary meeting designed to bring the various sections together which in itself was an achievement. *After three weeks* of skilful negotiations, a formal procedure was arrived at whereby all the institutions of the Republic in exile became operative. The Cortes was summoned and its former president Senor Martinez Barrio, re-elected, whereby he also became the head now of this Republican State. Dr. Negrin in strict conformity with parliamentary procedure placed in the hands of the president the resignation of his government. And now started a regular whirlpool and dizzy political eddies and all the pent up factional bickerings came surging to the surface. It was, however, obvious from the first that dangerous manoeuvres by the rightist elements were afoot to cripple the old guard under Dr. Negrin and destroy the old policy of resistance. These elements seemed to have completely overlooked the fact that the arduous and complicated task of restoring the Republic which faced them just now, demanded that the Prime Minister be in a position to direct a policy in all its aspects, that national and international policies could not be separated, nor could the support of some nations be enlisted without guarantees of a national policy that would permit re-establishment of the Republic without unnecessary violence. However all these considerations seemed to have weighed less with some of the factions than their own group or factional interests. It is not uncommon to find the more sincere and disciplined groups giving way to the less patriotic in order to what is felt to be the need to tide over an exigency, for while the loyalty and the support of the former can always be counted upon unconditionally, that of the latter cannot, so the finer elements are sacrificed to the grosser at the altar of "Exigency" weakening the cause and the entire

edifice by doing so thereby. Thus President Barrio called upon Senor Jose Giral, one of the leaders of the Right, to form the new cabinet yielding to the rightist minority in the hope of preserving unity. Immediately the old threads snapped and a new situation arose. For it was obvious from the first that unity was impossible. The agreement stands today but without the workable part of it. Several groups, including the powerful Socialist Party, the U.G.I., the strongest Trade Union Organisation, an important section of the Left Republicans (party founded by ex-President Azana), the Federal Party, the Basque Nationalist Action, the Asturian Workers' Alliance, decided to stay out of the newly formed government asserting their joint responsibility for the decision. They rebuked Senor Giral at the same time for playing the same game as the enemies of the Republic during the war and explained that the reason for their decision was their belief that "only a strong policy of resistance" such as was maintained by the last Republican regime could secure the establishment of a democratic rule in the country —not a factional partisan one as now set up. They went further and asked Dr. Negrin not to accept any office under this cabinet for as they pointed out pertinently: "Dr. Negrin's political significance would have been neutralised, had his name appeared side by side with those of the persons now in the cabinet—very honourable men but some of them representing a policy utterly different from and even contrary to what we believe indispensable at the moment." This makes it abundantly clear that the decision for staying out has come from political differences, not personal or factional hostility, that while they will continue to remain loyal to this government, they do not see their way to assuming any responsibility for its policies. But as has been pointed out, it is an agreement but not workable. And although Giral has now proclaimed the decision of his cabinet to act, the cabinet itself has failed to evoke the necessary enthusiasm to carry the wish out, even though a few of the Left elements have agreed to join him now and Negrin has publicly pledged his support.

Internationally too the Giral Cabinet's prospects are far from bright. Up till now his government has in the main remained unrecognised, for apart from Mexico whose recognition was assured in any case even before the new cabinet was formed only the smallest of the South American countries, Panama, Venezuela and Guatemala have extended recognition. Senor Giral's friends who had banked on a quick-sure success because of their sober moderate views, a faint anti-Soviet flavour, have so far met with coolness all over and London and Washington seem more distant than ever. Herbert Mathews, the press-man cabling from London reported, "No government without Dr. Negrin and the Left groups can receive world-wide recognition." Nor has Paris taken cover under any ambiguous silence. It has come out in frank but polite terms through its spokesman, Foreign Minister, Georges Bidault that the French Government is in no hurry to recognise a Government not fully representative of all the Republican parties, if the Giral 'non-intervention,' the ugly symbol still flies high. Though France was for decisive action, she has feared to act and risk offending the United States to whom she is looking hungrily for a two-billion dollar loan—she dare not even bring the issue before the Security Council. It is Poland that does it, but it is unable to convince England and America that Spain is a threat to peace! For with their tongues in their cheeks these powers demand proofs. The ghosts of 1936 haunt the world again. The evidence would only prove what everybody knew. The 'Democracies' had, however, to *say* something in place of action. So in the same antediluvian method, the three issued a note expressing a hope that "Patriotic and liberal-mindel Spaniards may soon find the means to bring about a peaceful withdrawal of Franco, the abolition of Falange, the establishment of an interim or care-taker Government . . ." It skipped hastily over a vague threat to sever diplomatic relations and ended up with a pious assurance (which was hardly necessary) that "there is no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain."

All this paper indictment was just so much puffing and blowing and did not get anybody anywhere. "God is with me," said Franco, "and those God helps along never fail to win." Franco counted as much on the rivalry between Russia and the Anglo-Saxon powers to enable him to keep his victory, as on his God. He evidently counts equally on his own ability to outbluff the democracies until this rivalry between the three Big Powers rises to the pitch of an open War when God will once again help him to sidle up to the Anglo-Saxon powers as one of their ardent and devoted allies, ready to resume the holy crusade against Russia.

In the meantime the stranglehold over the nation's regimented, venally exploited economy and social life continues—wealth and want keep spinning ever farther. The unfilled dugouts of the civil war house the jobbers and the hungry, and the landless sprawl over the vast estates, like outcasts.



I MEET LIN YUTANG

By S. CHANDRASEKHAR, M.A., Ph.D.,

New York City

"No matter who is responsible for the idea of Pakistan, I am opposed to the division of India," emphatically declared Lin Yutang, Chinese author and philosopher, to my question concerning the fate and future of India. in a recent interview in his apartment in New York.

"At that rate, we would have to dissect China into a Confucian China, a Christian China, and a Moslem China !"

Dr. Lin, author of such widely read and best selling books as *The Wisdom of China and India, My Country and My People, The Importance of Living, With Tears and Laughter,* and currently, *Vigil of a Nation,* camouflages his wit and piercing observations behind a serene countenance and round-rimmed spectacles. Despite his extensive studies in Europe and America—he is a graduate of Harvard and Leipzig Universities—he continues to see things, he claims, from a Chinese point of view.

"It is my personal opinion that the British have created Pakistan by harping on it, encouraging it, and publicizing it, while on the other hand, they have minimized and hushed all efforts of other leaders toward unity." This was before the British Cabinet Mission decided against Pakistan and announced their plan for a united free India.

Some time ago, Dr. Lin had a brief stay in India where he met Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Mr. Sapru, Mr. Jayakar and Prof. Radhakrishnan.

"Oh these Indian names are so difficult," he smiled apologetically as he stumped over the last one. "The Professor is perhaps India's foremost intellectual. We talked of many things and I came away agreeing with everything he said ! His powerful mind struck me as clear and original."

To Dr. Lin, Democracy is a hard thing to learn, both for the rulers and for the ruled. "It implies the ability of the majority to rule," he explained, "and the ability of the minority to criticize and abide by the majority." Any Indian unable to subjugate self-interest and religious differences as a price for freedom is not a true patriot, he declared with fervor. "Hindus and Moslems should get together to obtain freedom first."

I asked Lin Yutang what his answer would be to those adolescent imperialists like Churchill who deplored India's independence, fearing she is "not ready for it." India, he admits, has not had the time to develop along the well-planned pattern of a free enterprise in a democracy at peace. Like China, she is passing through a transition.

"But she has no time to lose," he warned. "Everything must be planned and sped up into a general, national program." He did not, however, advocate rebellion. An immediate revolution would delay chances of progressive and orderly development. It would lead to the imprisonment of Indian leaders—"and you can't help your country from prisons," reminded Dr. Lin.

II

Lin Yutang, born in Changchow, China, in 1895, became associated with the masses of China at an early age through his father who, before becoming a minister in the American Reformed Church Mission, sold, bamboo-shoots and rice to the local prisons. Educated at mission schools and St. John's College in Shanghai, Lin thought of becoming a minister but found himself unable to accept certain religious precepts. He calls himself "happily a pagan."

Following his graduation, Lin taught English at Tsinghua College, the American Boxer Indemnity College. He later married a girl of a mission family. He pays her his greatest compliment of a "perfect housewife !" The Lins have three daughters, Adet, Anor and Meimei—all of them young and already successful novelists and writers.

After receiving his M.A. degree from Harvard University and his Ph.D. from the University of Leipzig, in Germany, Lin returned to China to join the faculty of the Peking National University. Because of his non-"non-violent" participation in student demonstrations, Dr. Lin was classified as a "radical" and spent many months hiding when his name was blacklisted.

When rebellion broke loose in China, Dr. Lin joined the new Wuhan government as Secretary in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. But he soon discovered that while he "liked revolutions" he could not say the same of all revolutionaries. He quit politics when he discovered, "I was vastly better at minding my own business than that of others." Since then he has been resident in this country, devoting his time entirely to writing.

III

Of the civil strife in China today, Dr. Lin has much to say. He is bitter toward the communists in China. If they want to be a political power, Dr. Lin contends, they should first give up a separate army and not carry on an armed rebellion.

"The Reds won't come out and say they are for communism," he complained. "They try to confuse democratic opinion by saying they are democrats. This communistic strategy is practised in all countries" and he gave as example the communistic party revolt in Azerbaijan province of Iran. The Communist Party in Iran there goes under the name of the Democratic Party in order to get the sympathy of Western democracies.

What were his feelings toward Indian communists? Not too cordial.

"Indian communists are all wrong. They ought to fight for political freedom first, see what it is the people want, and then have their own party in a democratic set-up."

We discussed Attlee's Labor Government and what part it could play in this post-war world, particularly in Asia,"—but judging how it has handled the situation in Indonesia, I despair," said Dr. Lin. "I hope," he added, "the question of Hong Kong will be re-opened by the Chinese Government. And I hope the British Government will have the judgment to settle the

question peacefully and strengthen goodwill between these two governments."

World War II has very evidently been a fight for naked imperialism, not principles,—"everyone knows that," admitted Lin. "As Huxley put it, and as Churchill planned it, all Asiatic countries are in a squeeze between colonial and communist imperialism. That leads to war." He sank back into his armchair resignedly, with the remark :

"But I have given up educating blockheads."

I asked him if he thought the United Nations Organisation was the answer to the world's ills. Dr. Lin shook his head.

"The big powers killed the United Nations Organisation before its birth by the veto power, by refusing to let it become a truly democratic organization with all nations as equals before law and justice."

There was so much I could ask and discuss with Lin Yutang—dealing with personal matters his likes and dislikes as well. He is like a suppressed volcano, bubbling within. He himself admits his interests are most catholic, "from literature to electric shavers, from atoms to pretty girls" and his ambition still is to invent the "best Chinese typewriter," which I believe he has almost completed, though I do not know about the commercial possibilities of such a typewriter.

What about the United States and her role in the affairs of the East ?—I asked.

Americans, Dr. Lin is convinced, are thoroughly confused by Chinese politics. What America can do is to promote unity in China under Chiang Kai Shek and not "become involved in an internal Chinese civil war."

As for India, Lin Yutang is struck by the similarities between his country and India, particularly in the "helpless frustration among the people" regarding the political situation. He is certain that in a reconstructed, free Asia, India and China can get together.

"Once India overthrows the British, she will learn not to look to England as the only civilized country in the world. India has the splendid leadership of Gandhi and Nehru, no matter what the West may say," concluded Lin Yutang. "All they ask is that they be given a chance to solve their own problem. But India cannot solve her internal problem unless she has her political freedom !"

As far as China is concerned, Lin is happy that China along with the Allies, particularly the United States, has emerged victorious from the long struggle when she fought Japan almost single-handed for a while. He was happy over the transformation. According to Lin, the seven years of war that ended last year, but not conclusively (for the Communist trouble is still there), has changed China from an Open Door country to a Front Porch country. The Open Door policy meant that the door of China was to be kept open for anybody to go in at any time of day, like a house without an owner, and if there was an owner, it was not his business to inquire about the visitors, who the visitors were, what they came for and what they did inside when they entered the door. Now the owner has returned. China has reached maturity. Her sovereignty is restored. There are no more extra-territorial rights. And now a sign is hung on the door reading : "Please knock before entering." The era of front porch is this : Like good neighbours, China's neighbours drop in at the front porch, light their pipes, exchange gossip until the moon is high and then bid goodbye and turn in for the night.

But this does not mean all is well with China and that she has become a unified sovereign nation. There is the well-known problem of Yenan. Besides this political conflict—the Kuomintang-Communist clash of ideologies—there is a greater battle, a battle of ideas, a rift deep and almost unbridgeable. Behind this seemingly incurable political fight is the fundamental opposing attitudes regarding the survival of Chinese culture. The question today is whether the traditional Chinese culture must be saved and salvaged or whether it should be uprooted and discarded completely. This intellectual conflict probably is not known abroad, but it is a seething and swift current invading the minds of men and women in modern China. This is bound to affect the face of coming China.

But is there anything worth saving from classical Chinese culture ? Has Chinese culture outlived its utility ?—I wanted to know. Lin is no feudalistic old fogey, for he is a deeply humanized and modern-educated scholar. And when the radical extremists say in all seriousness that Chinese students should not study classics and all classical Chinese books contain poison, feudalistic and fatalistic, it makes Lin mad, very mad.

Lin pointed out that past Chinese philosophy of life and national culture is worth defending and preserving and all Chinese history is not just a stinking pot of corruption and exploitation of the masses. What will be the outcome, one wonders. But Lin does not wonder, for he feels he knows the outcome. If the epitome of China's intellectual struggle is the never-ending bout between the quiet, mellow, wise and silken-bearded Confucius and crusading, vitriolic, dialectical-minded and bushy-bearded Karl Marx, China is bound to come out pro-Confucius. Why ? Lin's reasoning is simple. China can never be Marxist and Communistic, because, the humanistic viewpoint of Confucius is far, far away from the turbulent message of Marx. China can never embrace Karl Marx out of her own free will and volition.

Lin declared blandly that the Chinese Communist Party is not *Chinese* at all, for the *modus operandi* of the Communists is anything but Chinese, different as it is from the broad Chinese humanism. It is not Communist in the Leninist sense of the term, that is, no more Communistic than the present-day Soviet Russia is Communist. It is, however, Marxian in ideology because its whole intellectual outlook is based on materialistic dialectic. It believes in the necessity of class struggle and social revolution. It is inimical to popular conception of family and religion and all bourgeois institutions. It talks and thinks in Marxist symbols and cliches. Finally, to Lin, the most distressing thing is its anti-nationalist and totalitarian attitude toward China.

If Lin is so intensely opposed to Communism, it is not because he is "totalitarian" in outlook or too uncivilized to brook opposition or tolerate another and opposite point of view. He is for the Communists operating as a legal political party without a separate army and other governmental paraphernalia. He is for a free press and a Chinese *Daily Worker*. Talking of the freedom of the press, he said that it is more important than the enactment of laws and constitutions. People who do not know how to talk against their

government do not deserve democracy. And the best government in the world, when it is deprived of the goading of democratic gadflies soon gets bored with its own virtues and dies of inanity. "I sometimes think God himself created Satan because He was so sick of the singing and flattering angels and wanted to save himself from boredom! If the Kingdom of Heaven cannot do without opposition, how much less can a human secular government?"—That is Lin.

Mr. Lin Yutang wanted to know a few things about India, that most foreigners, even a Chinese scholar, are puzzled about. After answering his queries, I found myself wondering what people can do to mentally bridge the ever-deepening chasm between Eastern and Western outlook and ideologies. I wondered what Lin Yutang had accomplished. He has acquired fame and a fortune through his books. But is that all?

There was a time, not long ago, when China was perhaps the most misunderstood country in the world, sharing that doubtful honor with India. The little "Chinatowns" all over the great cities of the world were openly looked down upon. The United States was perhaps the worst sinner in this respect. The first Chinese Exclusion Act debarring Chinese nationals from immigration and citizenship rights was passed at the close of the last century. In California and the West Coast in general, the Chinese, cultured and other wise, were synonymous with laundrymen or at best the owner of the corner Chop Suey restaurant. A stereotyped Chinese character in American pulp magazines was the drugged, slender-bearded, Chinese denizen of the underworld. Whether a Chinese national was a Harvard graduate or an Alcatraz inmate, he was definitely a second class citizen.

Today after some thirty years, America's attitude toward China, her people and institutions, has remarkably changed for the better. What wrought this welcome change? It is difficult to be precise about the factors responsible for this change of heart. Quick transportation is definitely an important reason, for today China and America, the two Pacific Coast countries, are not really far away. Every day planes take off from San Francisco to Shanghai. The small, hard-working and law-abiding Chinese communities in all American cities have contributed no end to the mutual goodwill, for it is this common man in the traditionally forgotten Chinatown that forges unity at the bottom. Then there is the ubiquitous Chinese restaurant and the delectable, if spurious, Chop Suey that seems to please the American palate so well. The recent common enemy, Japan, drew China and America closer than ever before. But for the war America would have taken probably another hundred years to understand China. Important as these factors are, I believe the most significant reason for the change of attitude is the remarkable writings of Lin Yutang for the last one decade, for it was in 1935 his history-making *My Country and My People* appeared. Perhaps I should say Lin Yutang and Pearl Buck. Pearl Buck's novels and writings about China have been indispensable in dispelling many a popular misconception about China of that day not only here in America but in the English-speaking world. While we all like a country described by a national of that country, we seldom like that country being defended by a national, for obviously he will be prejudiced in favor of his country. But if a country is defended by a non-national, people give more credence. The why of this phenomenon I do not know but it is so. If a Chinese writer pleaded for the abolition of the extraterritorial rights, nobody cared too much, for what else could a Chinese say. But if an American pleaded the same cause, people took notice. I have noticed this particular human trait often in this country during the last five years of my sojourn here. During the war when the British Official Information Services here spread the canard that Gandhi was tremendously pro-Japanese and American hysteria about Japan being what it was then Gandhi was easily the most unpopular man in the United States. All the writings and lectures of all the Indians here, including the present writer, only increased American skepticism. We had to wait for the appearance of Louis Fischer's little book *A Week with Gandhi* to do the trick. Fischer said the same things that Indians here have been shouting about, but he was an American and so couldn't just be pro-India without good reason. And there you are! So Lin Yutang described China and Pearl Buck defended her, and jointly they did the trick of changing the American national attitude toward China. Yes, that is what Lin has accomplished in the last ten years. And changing a national attitude is no mean task.

When China produced a Lin Yutang and converted Pearl Buck to her cause she acquired a pair of most articulate, mellow and moving voices in what had been before a voiceless wilderness,, at least to the Western world Lin's works—his ideas and his rare ability to combine sound scholarship with popular exposition—in explaining, defending, and criticising his country have made more friends for China than all her diplomats and Ministers of Information put together.

As I took leave of Lin from his well-appointed and book-lined study, I wondered, who in our own India, came closest to him. I was nonplussed for a moment, for it seems as though we have yet to produce a Lin. Perhaps Radhakrishnan comes closest but I am afraid the comparison is superficial. Radhakrishnan is too much of a scholar and an ivory-tower resident to wield the great popular appeal that Lin's writings have. *My Country and My People* and the *Importance of Living* are only ten years old but each of them has gone through some twenty editions not to speak of translations. But Radhakrishnan has another appeal which Lin lacks. When Radhakrishnan begins to lecture—as he recently did in this country to crowded audience—one is completely swayed by his forceful eloquence and the flow of his measured and well-rounded sentences. Lin is rather uncomfortable on the platform and lectures only on occasion, for I suppose no Chinese has yet mastered the English accent as some Indians have. As for his abilities in addressing an audience in the Chinese language, I have never heard him in his mothertongue and even if I did I would be least competent to have an opinion about it. While hearing Radhakrishnan is to witness a steady, subdued Niagara Falls. Lin's talks have the quality of a reposed, confiding, fireside chat. Had he entered politics he might have become China's Nehru. But as he decided that he is much better minding his own business than others' he has become China's Radakrishnan, the Radhakrishnan he so very much admires.—*(Author's copyright)*

THE STRUGGLE OF INDIANS TO ATTAIN EQUAL RIGHTS IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA*

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Watumull Foundation Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University

I

It is a matter of great pleasure on the part of Mrs. Das and myself to participate in this meeting which I regard as a kind of victory celebration. It is a celebration of winning a partial victory in the long drawn out struggle for freedom of man from bondages created by men and their governments.

The immediate occasion for this celebration is that it has been decided by the enactment of a law by the United States that the people of India will enjoy technically the same rights for immigration and naturalization as the people of other countries, especially those of China and the Philippines. In celebrating this victory, we are here to honor those who worked for this specific objective for many years, and in particular, Sirdar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, who with the aid of many Indians and a large number of devoted American friends, played a leading role in getting the Bill, which accords the right of acquiring American citizenship to the people of India, passed through the Congress of the United States. May I say that by honoring these and all others who have worked for the cause of human freedom, some of whom are no longer with us, and some of whom are not on the active battle-front, we are in actuality taking a new and solemn vow to uphold the cause of justice and liberty through many-sided activities, and also taking a vow to win a more complete victory on many fronts.

It may seem to you, ladies and gentlemen, that I am not very enthusiastic about the victory won because I refer to it as a partial victory. The reason for this is that the fight to obtain the right to become American citizens is only a very small engagement in the battle for the abolition of discrimination against men—discrimination due to the concept and practice of so-called racial superiority, color of skin, and even the religion of a man. The struggle—the great world struggle—is to end political, economic, racial and cultural imperialism so that this world will give every man an unfettered opportunity to give the best that is in him for human progress.

II

But the special task allotted me this evening is to give you a brief historical survey of the struggle for winning the right of American citizenship for the people of India. I am inclined to think that I have been selected for this job because I am one of the oldest among you who came to the United States more than forty years ago and because I became an American citizen after having won several legal battles as early as June 1914. It is quite possible that you might have thought that I would give some insight to the struggle, even before the days of the arrival of Sirdar J. J. Singh to the shores of the United States of America. Lack of time, however, will not permit me to give you a detailed story of the struggle, but I shall tell you some of the important points.

There have been two aspects of this fight. One is the point of Indian national honor—to remove the stigma that Indians, because of their race and color, *i.e.*, being Asiatics and also being brown men, are not worthy to enjoy full civic rights in the United States of America which is the most progressive of all Western democracies. The other point is that this is a fight to break up isolation of the Indian as well as of the American peoples.

As far as India is concerned, this struggle began centuries ago. It became victorious at times and then again it lost its ground in a peculiar way. In the past, one of the fundamental features of Indian victory was in the field of spirit and thought spread by Indians and those from foreign lands who went to India on pilgrimages in search of India's contribution to world culture. Those were the days when India was free and independent and her influence was a dominant factor in the schools of Alexandria, the cities of Greece, the Near and Middle East, China, Central Asia, Korea, Japan and all of the Indian and Pacific Islands. This Indian expansion was checked after the Moslem conquest of India. No nation has ever been great during the period of political slavery and that was also the case with India. Indian expansion virtually stopped after the European ascendency in India and other parts of Asia—except for the transportation of semi-slaves, indentured laborers, to various parts of the world controlled by the British and others in order to work for the material enrichment of their masters. This fate of India was a part of the fate of all Asiatic lands which were reduced to semi-slave nations politically.

Political isolation of the people of India was a necessary requisite for keeping them under subjection and therefore the British rulers devised every conceivable means to keep India isolated. To make this isolation complete, it was necessary that the people of India must not have the opportunity to migrate as freemen in a free world on the basis of equality. In this program of checking world expansion of the people of India, nay the peoples of Asia, all those nations that have been interested in keeping Asia in subjection consciously made a common cause of excluding the people of Asia from enjoying equal rights as men. They were forced to accept this position without effective protest and opposition because they were not strong enough to overcome the opposition and world conditions were adverse to them. It is not always easy to overcome the opposition over which one has no control. *But it suffices to mention that the struggle for Indian freedom and the struggle for the independence of Asiatic peoples is the fountain-head of the struggle for the peoples of Asia to acquire racial equality in theory and fact.*

One phase of the struggle for Indian freedom is based upon the desire of the Indian people to remove all obstacles which thwarted them from asserting their

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* An address delivered on the occasion of a dinner given on August 4, 1946, at Ceylon India Inn, New York City, in celebration of Indians winning the right to become American citizens and also in honor of Sirdar J. J. Singh.

mastery in their own home thus depriving the British rulers of their special privileges which they acquired or usurped and even sanctified by so-called legal sanctions. The other and larger phase of the struggle was that Indians must have the same right to participate in human endeavors in all parts of the world without any hindrance and on the basis of equality. Thus one may point out the often overlooked fact that the struggle for Asian Independence and the movement for free immigration of Asians are two aspects of the same great movement. *I may also emphasize the point that as Indian Freedom has a very close relation to Asian Freedom, similarly the right of Indians to have equal human rights in America and other lands has also very close relation with the efforts of other Asian peoples for the acquisition of the same rights.*

III

1. During the early part of the nineteenth century when Raja Ram Mohun Roy and others were working for re-assertion of Indian cultural life and spiritual assets, America was in contact with India through men of the type of Thoreau, Emerson, Channing and others. This might be regarded as the first stage of Indo-American contact, although one should not overlook the role of the Yankee traders in Indian trade and the role of some of the persons who made their fortunes in Indian trade and were also instrumental in establishing such institutions as Harvard, Yale and Vassar.

2. The second point that must always be kept in mind by Indians is American influence in the Indian struggle for freedom—the formation of the All-India National Congress. It is generally emphasized that David Hume, a British official, was instrumental in helping to organize the All-India National Congress movement for constitutional agitation and also to divert the youth of that generation from the underground revolutionary movement. It is not emphasized that the name *Congress* was adopted through the suggestion of a young Indian who had studied the history of the American and French Revolutions very carefully —the late Sir Surendranath Banerjee who was one of the founders of the All-India National Congress. In 1904, Surendranath Banerjee disclosed to me, a young man who was then a political agitator of some importance, that the Philadelphia Congress which had declared the independence of the colonies from British rule in 1776 was the ideal behind the All-India National Congress. We all know that at the Lahore session of the All-India National Congress of 1930, the "Independence Resolution" was adopted, but it is not emphasized that India's Declaration of Independence is something like a paraphrase of the American Declaration of Independence.

3. During the latter part of the nineteenth century when Asian peoples were preparing to resist further expansion of European powers, India sent her most enlightened and sainted patriot, Swami Vivekananda to the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. This was in 1893. Vivekananda came to America with the same spirit as the Indian saints and sages went to all parts of the world in ancient times to impart India's cultural heritage to the rest of the world. *This is the Vivekananda Era of Modern India* which began in 1893 and which will last for centuries. The movement started by Swami Vivekananda in America is the only firmly established and truly Indian movement in America and it will grow and will one day be the most important factor in Indo-American co-operation having spiritual affinity as its basis. Vivekananda's idea was that India must not go to the world as a mere beggar and that her children should not be regarded as "coolies,"* but as teachers.

4. It should be remembered that the Vivekananda Era began about the time of the Sino-Japanese War (1895), and that it was followed bp the *Swami Ram Tirth Era* which started about the time when the Japanese were victorious over Russia (1905) and also at the time of the struggle against the "Partition of Bengal," a factor in the history of Indian national freedom.

It is very important for all Indian students to remember that if Swami Vivekananda had the idea of educating the American people with the highest spiritual ideals of the sagas of India, Swami Ram Tirth, who was a professor of mathematics and a philosopher of great repute and who hailed from the Punjab, was an advocate of *India should learn all that is best in America*. Swami Vivekananda came to the United States *via* Europe and Swami Ram came *via* Japan. In 1905, there was a large number of Indian students in Japan. Their number was larger than that in the United States at that time. Swami Ram, with his saintly character and unadulterated patriotism, influenced the life of some of the Indian students in Japan. After his arrival in the United States, he preached Vedanta and at the same time asked his American friends to organize a movement so that some Indian students would be brought to the United States to study agriculture and other useful subjects, and so that these students would be able to help the people of India to raise their standard of living. Swami Ram helped some Indian students from Japan to come to the United States. This may be regarded as the beginning of the movement to enable "self-supporting" Indian students to come to the United States, and the beginning of the forming of societies for cultural cooperation between India and America, such as the Hindusthan Association of America, which was organized by me in 1909 in Seattle, Washington.

5. The fifth point that is to be remembered is that although Indian teachers and students began to come to the United States during the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, Indian laborers did not lag behind them for any length of time. Around 1904 and 1905, Indian workers began to come to the shores of the North American continent. Indian soldiers, policemen and watchmen in China—Shanghai, Tiensien, Peking, Hongkong and other places, and in Malaya learned from their contact with the Japanese and Chinese that in America they could earn more in one month than they were able to earn in a year at their jobs in China. It was the stalwart Sikhs, Punjabees and the Pathans who were the pioneers to come to the American shores. At first there were a few dozen on a ship, but when their letters reached members of their family and their friends, all wanted to come to this country. Furthermore, the Canadian Pacific Steamship Company was anxious to induce Indian immigrants to sail to America so that this steamship company would be able to make money by selling them passage.

By 1906-1907, Indian immigrants began to come

* By the way, Swamiji was once called a "coolie" in the United States.



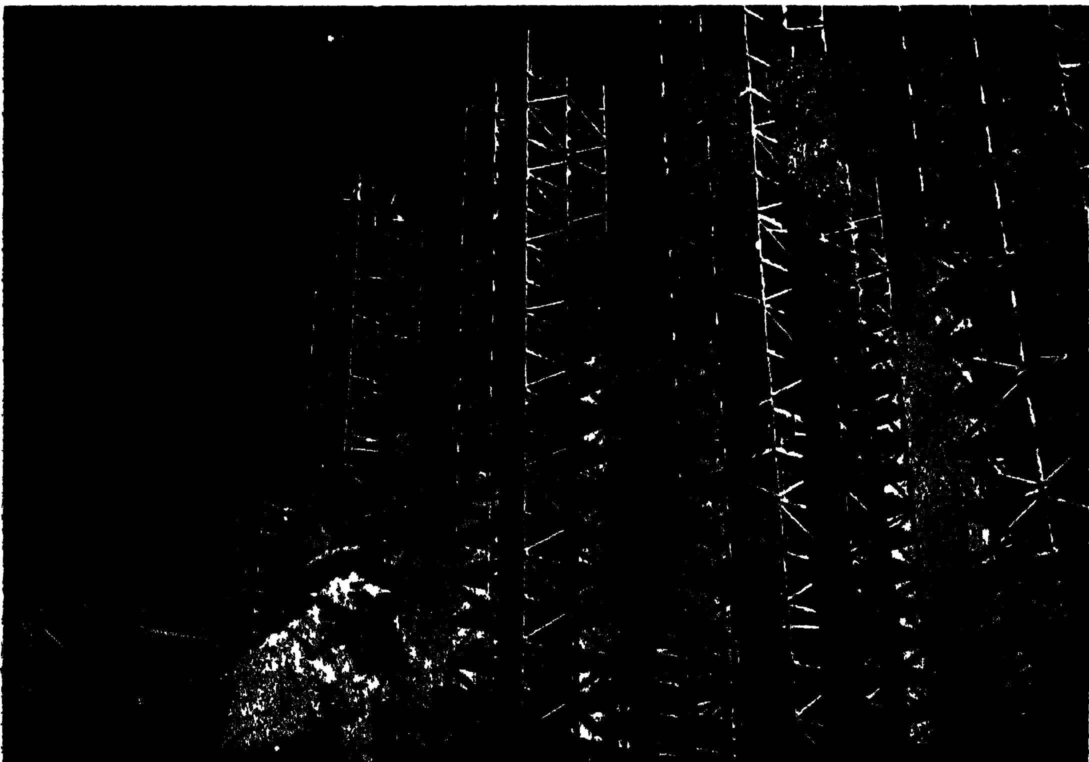
Large spherical and cylindrical tanks of unusual design are used to store the volatile refined products of crude oil at the plant of a southwest U.S. oil company



This "big inch" pipe line, 24 inches in diameter and extending from Texas to New York City, delivers a daily flow of 300,000 barrels of oil



These three new catalytic oil "cracking" units are turning out gasoline at the plant of a large U S refining company of Louisiana



Towers for the making of butadiene, an ingredient of synthetic rubber derived from crude oil

by the hundreds to America—small numbers directly to the United States and large numbers through Canada *via* Vancouver or Victoria where they then crossed the Canadian border. By 1908, the Canadian and the American Governments were thinking of checking Indian immigration into Canada and the United States. There were economic and political motives behind this movement. Indians in the United States were showing signs of being influenced by free institutions and were thinking in terms of establishing a Federated Republic of the United States of India. The thought was spreading among the Indian workers and through them, slowly but surely, among a certain section of Indians who were in the British army. Furthermore, at this time Asiatics were already being excluded as immigrants from South Africa and Australia and the movement for Asiatic exclusion from North America was taking a definite form.

6. The next point that is to be kept in mind is this : Literally thousands of Indians, mostly from the Punjab, hearing the news of the possibility of making their fortunes by hard labor, sold their possessions, cattle, small land holdings, etc., and even borrowed money to get passage to the United States and Canada. Ninety per cent of these prospective immigrants were refused admission on technicalities—suffering from contagious diseases or liable to public charge—I was directly connected with the United States Immigration Service at Vancouver, B. C. and know many things about the struggle of the Indian people residing on the Pacific Coast. I cannot discuss these for want of time.

During this period, some Indians in the United States decided to become American citizens and at that time the American naturalization law was being so interpreted that Indians could become citizens. The law was : "All White persons and persons of African birth and nativity can become citizens of the United States by naturalization." The phrase "white persons" was then interpreted as "persons belonging to the Caucasian race" and Indians were regarded as Caucasians. But very soon opposition developed so that Indians could not be naturalized. The British Government secretly supplied the main inspiration in this opposition, because the British authorities felt that if Indians enjoyed greater rights in the United States than they enjoyed in Canada, Australia and South Africa, then there would be greater agitation against the British on the issue of Racial Imperialism. One must also keep in mind that about this time Indians in South Africa under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi started their fight* for human rights.

This issue of Indian immigration to the American continent then took an interesting turn which affected the movement for Indian Independence. The Canadian authorities, to check Indian immigration into Canada, issued an 'Order-in-Council" that Indians seeking entrance as immigrants to Canada must come from their land of nativity or citizenship by a *continuous voyage*. This legal subterfuge was adopted because at that time no steamer was running between India and Canada and most of the immigrants from India used to take passage from India by the British Indian Steamship Co., or by the P. & O. Steamship Company. Then after arriving at Hongkong, they would take either a Canadian or a Japanese ship. The Canadian authorities, therefore, thought that by imposing this restriction Indian immigration would be completely checked. But the result was just the opposite.

Indian leaders in Canada—most of whom have died as martyrs, Bhai Balbant Singh, the priest of the Sikh Temple ; Bhai Bhag Singh, one of the five Trustees of the Sikh Temple ; Bhai Harnam Singh, and others in consultation with some other persons decided that a Japanese ship should be chartered to bring Indian immigrants to challenge the Canadian policy. If this failed, it would be a source of rousing the Indian people about the nature of British Imperialism. I can tell you definitely that Bhai Gurdit Singh who later chartered the S.S. *Kamagata Maru* was not solely responsible for this historic move. I can also tell you that to support the immigrants on the S.S. *Kamagata Maru* in their historic voyage, Indian workers in Canada and the Pacific Coast spent more than one hundred thousand dollars for meeting the expenses for chartering the ship, paying for the overdue damages, legal expenditures and feeding several hundred men for months while the ship which was opposed by the guns of the Canadian warship, *Rainbow*, was not allowed to enter Vancouver. It is well-known that many Indians from the Pacific Coast left America and joined the *Kamagata Maru* in its return voyage to India and were made martyrs in their struggle for freedom. It may be safely asserted that Indians in America have contributed more than their share in the struggle for Indian freedom.

7. The seventh point that should be remembered is that during the World War I, Indian workers on the Pacific Coast contributed their share in producing food—rice, vegetables ; at the same time the Indians in America carried on agitation for Indian freedom. During World War I, the British authorities in the United States went so far as to suggest to some of the American University Presidents that Indian students should not be allowed to study Chemical Engineering and such other subjects which may have military value because their knowledge might be used by Indian Revolutionists. But during World War I, anti-Asiatic agitation was temporarily suspended because the Asiatics, the Chinese, the Japanese and Indians, were fighting the Germans.

8. After World War I was over, there came the movement for absolute exclusion of the Asiatics from the United States. This movement coincides with the Washington Conference which was held to curb the Japanese power. In the meantime, new instructions were issued from Washington that all applications for naturalization of Indians should be opposed on the ground that they were not "white persons." This was done not only to please the British Government, but also to save the face of the Japanese and Chinese governments which were asking for the right of their subjects to become American citizens so that they would not be deprived of certain rights which were taken away from them by the anti-alien land laws of California and other states of the Pacific Coast. The issue came before the Supreme Court in connection with the case of Bhagat Singh Thind.

In this historic Thind case the late Solicitor-General of the United States, the Hon. Mr. Beck, was aided by the experts of the British Embassy at Washington, D.C. to prove that Indians were not "white persons," and the famous decision against the Indian right to become citizens of the U.S.A. was rendered by a Canadian-born naturalized American;

* This fight in South Africa is still going on.

Justice Sutherland. By this decision it was held that "Indians do not look white and thus they are not white persons according to the original meaning of the law." This was a significant political decision which deprived the Indians the right to become American citizens.

9. Immediately the Indian community in the United States felt the necessity for taking steps to right the wrong done them. At that time, the organization which was effectively fighting for India's freedom and also for Indian rights in the United States was the Friends of Freedom for India. This society was first organized to protect Indian political refugees from being deported to India. Prof. Robert M. Lovett, Dr. Norman Thomas, Mr. Roger Nash Baldwin, Agnes Smedley, Margaret Sanger, Sailendranath Ghose, Basanta Kumar Roy and others played an important role in its supremely important activities for many years. At that time, there was no India League of America which was, however, organised later as a successor to the Friends of Freedom for India.

As early as 1924, it was Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, the Director of Friends of Freedom for India, who first took the steps for introducing a bill in the United States Senate for recovering the right of Indians to become American citizens. This bill was introduced by the late Senator Copeland and supported by the late Senator La Follete and the late Senator Norris. Mr. Ghose made several efforts but he failed to accomplish the end, because the United States Government itself was opposed to it.

10. Then men like Dr. Syed Hossain, Dr. Haridas Mazumdar, Mobarek Ali, Ramlal Bajpai, N. R. Checker and many other persons also tried to enlist the support of some American Congressmen to recover Indian rights, but they also failed to gain the end for the same reasons.

11. One of the by-products of the Bhagat Singh case was that the United States Government, unconstitutionally, applied the decision retroactively to cancel citizenships of those Indians who secured their citizenships long before the decision of the Bhagat Singh case was rendered in 1923. Many of the Indians who were American citizens lost their citizenship, because they did not fight their cases, while some of us—Mr. S. G. Pandit of Los Angeles, Dr. Sudhindra Bose, Dr. Kokatnu., Mr. Profulla Mukerjee and others—fought their cases and after great difficulty retained their citizenship.

However, the most interesting and unfortunate development of this retroactive application of the decision affected the rights of those American women who had married Indians and who were American citizens. Because at that time, by the existing law, it was provided that American women, who married aliens who were ineligible to citizenship, lost their citizenship. This rendered some American women, including my wife, "stateless persons."

My wife, with the aid of the National Women's Party of which she was a founder-member, started the fight against this infringement of right of American women, and in 1930 the *Cable Act* was so amended that an American woman was not to lose her American citizenship unless she wished to renounce it. One may claim that in this case, American women became the beneficiaries of the struggle for retaining American citizenship by Indians and their American wives.

12. Now it is my pleasant task to mention that recently, during the last four years, it was primarily through the efforts of Sirdar J. J. Singh and his co-workers, the support of their American friends, and *above all the Indian workers and businessmen on the Pacific Coast who supplied the large amount of money that was necessary to carry on the educational campaign, etc.*, that the fight for this right of Indians to American citizenship has been recovered. It has a world significance because it means driving another nail into the coffin of racial bigotry. India, all Asia, and even America is indebted to Mr. Singh and his American and Indian supporters, especially those American legislators—Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York, Congresswoman Clare Boothe Luce of Connecticut and Senators Ball and Capper.

IV

We are celebrating a partial victory and there is still much unfinished business: (1) There is the task of the promotion of co-operation between the United States, culturally, economically and politically. (2) There is the struggle for the enforcement of racial equality all over the world, particularly the present struggle that is going on in South Africa. India has a complaint against South Africa before the United Nations Security Council; and this fight must be won. I hope that Mr. Singh will take up the work as he did in the case of India's right in connection with U.N.R.R.A. (3) India must attain her rightful place in the world; and the Peace Conference now being held at Paris must recognize India's claims in settling the Peace treaties. It is a fact that India's contribution to the defense of the Near East, Middle East, Africa and the Mediterranean region is in no way less significant than that of Great Britain and the United States. It is well-known that a large section of the Italian and German armies surrendered to Indian forces. *India should have the colonies of Eritrea and Italian Somaliland as compensation for her sacrifices in men, power and money.*

Indians in Africa are being ill-treated. *India has historical interest in Africa and the Indian Ocean for her national defense. India's population should have an outlet. Vast territories in Australia, Canada and Siberia are closed to Indian immigration. Africa must not be fenced in by western powers for future colonization by white men and the barring of the peoples of Asia—specially India. India must demand this right and I hope that Mr. Singh and others will take up this fight.*

Lastly, while Indians are fighting for their rights all over the world, they must not be unmindful of the sufferings of other peoples. In the past all persecuted peoples received refuge in India and in that process the Parsees came to India to avoid persecution by the Moslem invaders of Persia. Today Parsees are among India's minority communities and the greatest assets of India. The Parsee community has done a great deal for the economic, the political and the educational progress of India. *Today the Jews are being persecuted all over the world and I hope that India will offer refuge to some tens of thousands of Jews who will be assets to India and also help the cause of the fight for human brotherhood.*

There are many aspects of the unfinished business of the struggle for Indian freedom which is a part of world freedom. We have won only a partial victory in one of the engagements and let us hope that Mr. Singh and the others will carry on the struggle for greater and more glorious victories.

WATUMULL FOUNDATION AND INDO-AMERICAN CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.

I

Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University and Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford University, England, arrived at New York on the 18th of March, by S.S. "Queen Mary" and will spend six weeks in the United States. As a *Visiting Professor to American Universities, under the auspices of the Watumull Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles*, Prof. Radhakrishnan will lecture extensively in American universities. Briefly his programme will be as follows :

During the evening of the 20th of March (Wednesday), Prof. Radhakrishnan will speak before a special meeting at the Riverside Church on the topic of *Religion in India*. On Thursday afternoon, the 21st, he will address the Philosophy Seminar of Columbia University. On Friday evening, the 29th, he will speak before the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Centre of New York. On Saturday morning, the 30th, he will speak before the Town Hall (New York) at 11 a.m., on the topic of *Can We Find a Spiritual Basis of Peace?* On Sunday morning, the 31st at 11 a.m., he will be the guest-speaker from the pulpit of the Community Church. The meeting will be held at the Town Hall. His subject will be *The Role of India in the Present Crisis of Spirit*. On Monday evening, April 1st he will speak under the auspices of the Institute of Arts and Sciences, Columbia University on the topic of *Essential of Indian Culture*. On Tuesday, April 2nd, Sir S. Radhakrishnan will address a special luncheon meeting of "Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion," on the topic of *Meaning of Religion*.

Dr. Radhakrishnan during his tour of the United States will speak before Harvard, Yale, Brown, Cornell, Princeton, Johns Hopkins, Pennsylvania, Chicago, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, California and American University (Washington, D.C.). At Washington, D. C., he will speak at the Library of Congress, on the topic of *Purpose of Literature*. Before leaving for England, he will address the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society, on the 24th of April.

It is a part of the activities of Watumull Foundation to bring to the United States distinguished cultural leaders of India to promote friendly understanding between the United States and India. The Foundation will also send American scholars to India as well. Prof. Merle Curti, who was selected last year to visit Indian universities as Watumull Foundation Visiting Professor to Indian Universities will be leaving for India coming September.

II

Watumull Foundation Fellowships for 1946-47

The Watumull Foundation of Honolulu and Los Angeles announces the award of twelve Fellowships this year to the scholars of distinction, listed below, who were chosen from among a large group of applicants. The Selection Committee composed of seven eminent educators and scientists in the United States selected candidates on the basis of outstanding achievement in their respective fields. Ten Fellowships were awarded for all India and two Fellowships to the province of Sind.

The requirements for the Fellowships this year were somewhat different from those of last year, the most important change being the one requiring the candidates to be members of Indian university or college faculties. Another condition also required is that each successful candidate return to teach in his university or college for at least three years after studying in the United States.

For each candidate selected, the Committee also chose an alternate. However their names will not be announced but should any candidate be unable to accept the scholarship given him his alternate will receive it. The complete list of the candidates selected, their subjects and their present university affiliations are as follows :

1. *American History, Government and Foreign Policies* : Mr. Devavrat Nhanubhai Pathak, M.A. (Bombay University), Assistant Professor of History and Economics, Seth Lalbhai Dalpatbhai Arts College, Ahmedabad, Bombay University.

2. *Agriculture* : Mr. Sankata Prasad, M.Sc. (Benares Hindu University), Lecturer, Benares Hindu University.

3. *Education* : Mr. Salamat Ullah, M.Sc., B.T. (Aligarh Muslim University), Lecturer, Teachers' Training Institute, National Muslim University, Jamia Millia Islamia, Jamianagar, Delhi.

4. *Education* : Miss Binapani Roy, M.A. (Lucknow University), Member, Teaching Staff, Issabella Thoburn College, Lucknow University.

5. *Economics and Sociology* : Mr. T. M. Joshi, M.A. (Bombay University), Professor of Economics, Willingdon College, Sangli, District Satara, Bombay University.

6. *Political Science* : Dr. Harnam Singh, M.A., Ph.D. (Lucknow University), Member, Faculty of Law, Delhi University.

7. *Home Economics and Nursing* : Miss Sushila Maneklal Kusumgar, M.A. (Indian Women's University), Indian Women's University, Ahmedabad.

8. *Applied Physics* : Mr. Kantilal M. Gatha, B.Sc. (Electrical Engineering Benares Hindu University), Lecturer, Engineering Department, Delhi Polytechnic.

9. *Applied Chemistry* : Dr. Madhab Chandra Nath, D.Sc. (Dacca University), Lecturer in Physiological Chemistry, Dacca University.

10. *Sanitation and Public Health* : Dr. P. R. Venkataraman, Ph.D. (Bombay University), Research Chemist, Department of Biochemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

Province of Sind Special Fellowships :

11. *Education* : Miss Hari Valiram Vaswani, M.A. (Benares Hindu University), Lecturer in Sanskrit, D. G. National College, Hyderabad Sind.

12. *Public Health—Maternity and Child Care* : Dr. (Miss) Ganga F. Lakhani, M.B., B.S. (Punjab University), Resident Medical Officer, Lady Aitchison Hospital, Lahore.

The Foundation will arrange for the admission of its scholars into those American universities and technological institutes which offer the finest courses in the subjects the scholars have chosen for research. Since the transportation is apparently easing up, it is expected that all would be able to reach the United States early in the fall of this year.

III

Watumull Foundativn and Its Future

Very broadly speaking, among other things, the ideal which prompted Mr. and Mrs. G. J. Watumull to establish the Foundation is to further the cause of *Service to Humanity*. No doubt, this goal is to be attained by manysided activities. With the limited means at the disposal of the Foundation, at the present time, special emphasis has been laid on two courses of action : (*a*) promotion of friendly understanding between the peoples of U.S.A. and India, through cultural co-operation in its various aspects, and (*b*) raising the standard of national efficiency of the people of India, *through Education,* in the broadest sense of the expression.

Thus, when the Watumull Foundation extends aid to various existing institutions, it gives effective expression to its policy of co-operation with agencies pursuing educational and cultural activities. It is the policy of the Foundation to work through existing institutions whenever possible and not to create new organizations, unless absolutely necessary to carry out its aims.

Visiting Professors, Research Scholars, Teaching Fellows, Travelling Fellows, ordinary Fellows and special scholarship-holders of Watumull Foundation are human instruments who are selected to carry out the ideal of the Foundation, through their activities. Thus, the responsibility of those Indians and Americans who have the privilege of receiving aid and recognition of Watumull Foundation have personal and collective responsibility of promoting better understanding between U.S.A. and India, and raising India from her present depressed position to a more prosperous and elevated status as a nation.

Although the economic strength of any organization of the type of the Foundation is a vital factor in its success, yet it is my firm conviction that the future of the Watumull Foundation lies not so much with the funds available for carrying on its activities, but rests primarily with *services and co-operation* of those who become associated with this adventure, which cannot be bought by pecuniary grants.

I sincerely hope that with active support of friends of the Foundation, it will flourish, and in the not far distant future accomplish much towards the attainment of the goal.

New York City,
March 22, 1946.

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THE RESTORATION OF THE RIGHT OF INDIANS TO AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP

By Dr. EMMA WOLD,

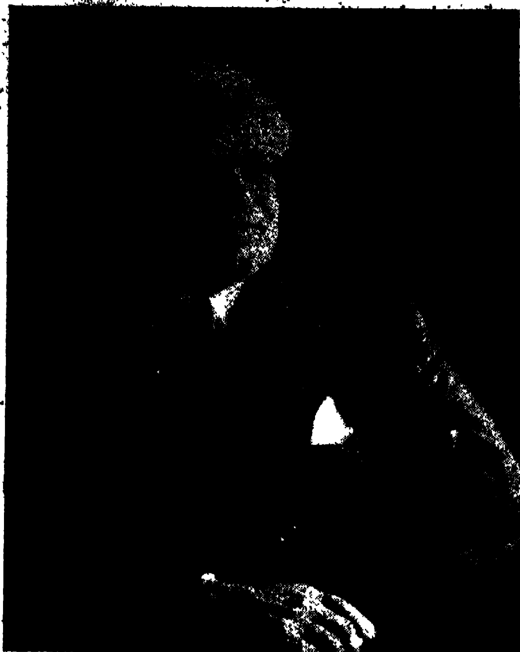
Washington Representative, America-India Feature and News Service

Twenty-three years ago the Supreme Court of the United States declared natives of India to be ineligible for acquiring American citizenship by naturalization because they were not "white persons" as understood by the makers of the naturalization law more than one hundred and thirty years back. On July 2nd of this year President Truman, by signing a bill that has just passed Congress, approved the removal of the racial bar set up by this decision. By the same Act natives of India are given the chance to come to the United States as immigrants under the small quota of 100 allowed to India for immigration purposes.

The immigration quota for India has, thus far, been available only to persons born in that country of races eligible for naturalization. Under the new law "all persons of races indigenous to India", wherever born, will be charged to the quota ; but up to seventy-five per cent of it will first be open to those born in India and still residing there, thus preventing the absorption of all the quota by numbers by those born elsewhere or long resident out of India.

At the present time a very small number of East Indians in the United States are naturalised citizens. They are those who became citizens before the highest court of the land in 1923 held them to be ineligible and who after that escaped government attempts to cancel their papers. There are about three thousand who have been unable to obtain citizenship though lawfully admitted for residence and contributing a notable part to American economic and scientific advancement.

Our naturalization law was enacted in 1790. It conferred the right of naturalization upon "free white persons." To those of us who believed we knew something about racial lines the declaration of the Supreme Court in 1923 that natives of India were not "white persons" came as a shock. Had we not as children from our geography books learned that Indians of India were Caucasians ? And were not Caucasians white ? Some Federal Judges appear to have shared the same idea, for they had granted citizenship to Indians without challenge. Then came World War I and soon thereafter a period of enlightenment on racial questions. The Government began to oppose many who sought to become citizens. It was then that the question whether a native of India was a "free white person" within the naturalization law was taken to the Supreme Court. The judgment of the Court was that, whatever scholars might think about the Caucasian origin of the people of India, the common American man in 1790 would not have taken as a white person a native of India whom he might meet upon the street. Therefore, Indians did not come within the provisions of the naturalization law (United States v. Thind. 261 U. S. 204).



Taraknath Das, Ph.D.

Since the decision in the Thind case no Indian has been naturalized except under special war legislation for those who have served with the armed forces of the United States. (Indeed, army draft officials have not hesitated to present the privilege of becoming citizens as an inducement to alien Indians to yield to draft.) Not only was naturalization denied, but the appropriate government department set out to cancel the citizenship papers of those who had been citizens for many years. This meant at that time that American women married to Indians automatically ceased to be citizens along with their Indian husbands. It meant that in those States in which aliens were



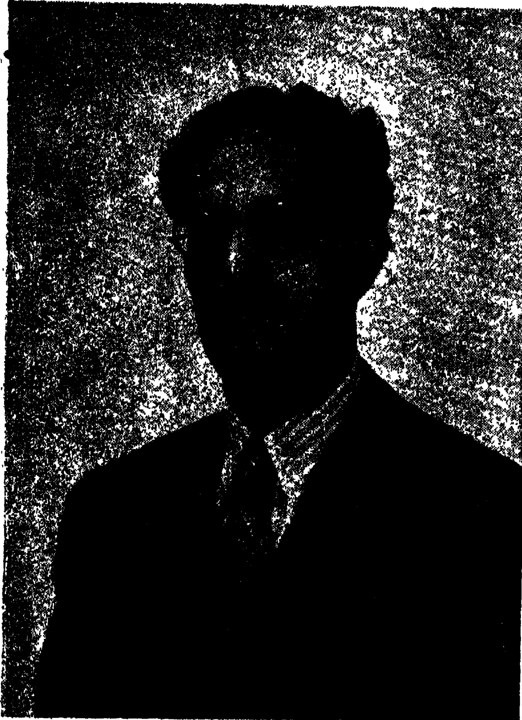
Hon. Clare Boothe Luce, U.S. Congresswoman from Connecticut

prohibited from owning real property, Indian owners must dispose of the property they had labored long years to acquire. It meant that they would be driven from their professions for which citizenship was a requisite. Sakharam Ganesh Pandit, an attorney of Los Angeles, California, facing such a loss of home and profession, while his American wife faced alien status, challenged the legal right of the Government to cancel naturalization papers he had earned and been awarded by court actions years before and won his case in a court of appeals. The late Chief Justice of the United States, in handing down the decision in favor of Mr. Pandit based it on the basic legal principle of 'res adjudicata." This judgment gave security to Indian citizens who had managed to survive the cancellation drive, but for those whose papers had been ruthlessly cancelled there was no remedy.



Mary Keatinge Das (Mrs. Taraknath Das)

Then began a long struggle to regain rights. Bills to include natives of India among those who might be naturalised were introduced in Congress and referred to Committees that deliberately ignored them. The first bill was introduced through the efforts of Mr. Sailendra Nath Ghose, the Director of the Friends of Freedom of India organization, by the late Senator Royal Copeland of New York. Members of the Congress worked and died without encouragement. High on the list of such friends of Indian rights must be named late Senator, Robert M. La Follette, who during the last two busy years of his life gave his instant help to every effort to aid Indians. Senator Norris of Nebraska and Senator Mac Cormick of Illinois were also active in this cause. So was Senator David Reed of Pennsylvania, who has, as he told a committee, learned to regard as his most admired friends the Indians, who served in his regiment during World War I.



Mr. G. J. Watumull (Hyderabad, Sind), Founder of Watumull Foundation

During this fight, Dr. and Mrs. Taraknath Das did their best to aid the cause of restoration of Indian rights to American citizenship. Through their efforts a bill was introduced so that those who had lost their citizenships due to cancellation suits should be restored but they failed in getting this simple act of justice due to opposition of certain Congressmen and also the administration. However, Mrs. Das as one of the founder-member of the National Woman's Party roused this organisation to adopt measures to amend the then existing laws of the United States, so that no American woman, due to her marriage, unless she voluntarily give up her rights would lose her American citizenship. In this fight the writer acted as an attorney for Dr. and Mrs. Das, who fought the U. S. Government in the United States Court and won their cases. It should also be noted that the late Col. Julius Peyser, a noted American lawyer at Washington volunteered his services to fight the case of Mrs. Das—an American woman—so that she might retain her citizenship. This agitation started by Mrs. Das and the National Woman's Party ended in a success.

So, throughout two decades, efforts were made to bring a restoration of rights taken away by a court decision by many Indians and their American friends.



Mrs. G. J. Watumull, Chairman, Distribution Committee, Watumull Foundation

This struggle has now ended in the marked success by the signing of the Indian Naturalization Bill by the President the other day.

Through the initiative of Sardar J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, the bill was introduced in the House of Representatives jointly by Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York and Congresswoman Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce of Conneticut, They have shown for many years active interest in the cause of India and her people. Other members of the Congress who have taken part in the last successful effort to remove what many Americans regarded as an unjustifiable slur upon the people of an ancient and rich culture are Mr. Dirksen of Illinois and Senators Ball, Capper and Langer. Mr. William Phillips, the personal representative of the late President Roosevelt to India, was heard specially by the House Committee that considered the bill and reported it favorably.

President Roosevelt himself, shortly before his death, wrote the Committee calling attention to the great services of India in the war against the Axis and urging the removal of discrimination against natives of India. The U.S. State Department and President Truman personally exerted their influence for the passage of the Bill. The support of the administration was an important factor in the passage of the bill.

In this struggle American friends of India, such as Mrs. Pearl Buck, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard, Dr. Norman Thomas, Roger Nash Baldwin and many others have done the most effective work to rouse the American public opinion. Some of the most important American newspapers, specially the *New York Times*, have supported the cause. These have led to the victory. But it should be carefully noted that American friends were wholeheartedly seconded by Indian workers, businessmen and residents, particularly Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Watumull, as well as Indian organizations—India League of America and National Committee for Indian Freedom.

By the same Act applicable to India similar provisions for naturalization is made for the Philippine Islands. This particular portion of the bill served to hasten its progress during the last days of its consideration in Congress so that the rights granted might be a birthday gift to the new Republic in the Pacific which was to be launched on July 4th. The Indian part of the bill passed the lower house of Congress before the British Government moved to grant freedom to India. Yet undoubtedly the prospect of early coming of a great, free nation in the East supplied the final argument for putting the measure through Congress. It is, as J. J. Singh, President of the India League of America, expressed it, "a fine gesture of fairness and friendship" to a new nation.



Hon. Emanuel Celler

——:O:——

THE COORGS

By L. A. KRISHNA IYER

II

Religion

The worship of the demons and ancestor-spirits constitutes the religion of the Coorgs. They have been influenced by contact with the Malayali, Canarese, Brahmanical, and Lingayat superstitions. The Malayalis have made themselves indispensable at their demon and ancestor worship. The Tulus are their *Pujaris*. The worship of Mari Amman (small-pox demon) is introduced by the Mysoreans, and the woes of people are ascribed to this demon. The domiciled Brahmans of Coorg have succeeded in the introduction of Mahadeva, Subramania, and have temples erected and idols set up for worship. The Lingayats or Sivachars are also endeavouring to introduce the worship of Linga. Since the days of Vira Rajendra, Christianity was introduced in Coorg, and there is a Roman Catholic Settlement with a fine church at Virajpet, but Christianity has not made much headway in Coorg.

Ancestor Worship

The ancestor worship of the Coorgs is based on the belief that the spirits of the dead hover inside and outside of the Coorg dwellings and cause endless trouble in the absence of adequate propitiation. Each Coorg house has a Kaimatta (a handy building close at hand) under a tree in his fields or in the yard close to his house. This is a raised mud platform where carved stones representing the images of their ancestors are placed. Sacrifices of fowls and pigs are made to them. Sometimes the Coorgs become possessed of the spirits of the dead and express all their desires when they are sumptuously fed and given drink. The spirits of ancestors are believed to land over their locality and become angry now and then. A male ghost is called Karana, and a female one, Sodalachi or Karanachi.

It is a belief among the Coorgs that ghosts cause

trouble, and female ghosts even more so. The Sodalichis are inclined to smite children with sickness and sometimes even the adult males and females of the house, in fact they are ever inclined to do harm. With a view to appease their wrath, rice, arrack, milk, and other delicacies are offered on various occasions during the year to them. Once a month a fowl or two are offered at the Kaimada to please them. In such cases a member of the community becomes possessed. He then puts off his head-dress and walks in front of the house in a state of trance. While in this condition, the members of the family appear before him to represent their grievances. He makes some incoherent utterances which are believed to be emanations from one of the ancestors who has not been propitiated with offerings. At once he is treated to meat and drink and neighbours are allowed to come in and put in questions to the possessed. These gifts are called Karana Barana.



A Coorg male group

The Coorgs perform another ceremony called ghost-mask (Karanakola) with the object of finding out the particular wishes o. the ghosts. It is performed every second or third year and occasionally also every year. For this, the services of a Malayali performer, a Panikkan or Benna, is requisitioned. At night he puts on one after the other five or more different costumes to represent the number of ancestors especially remembered at the time. Arrayed in these different costumes, he dances to the accompaniment of a drum beaten by his companion and behaves as if he were possessed by the Coorg ghosts. After each Kola or mask, he leaves the house with a fowl, a cocoanut, fried rice, and other eatables, and some arrack, and offers them in the courtyard to a particular ghost. Various questions are put to him by the members of the family and by the neighbours while he is in a state of trance. The food given him during the trance is called Karana Baranj. The masks having been finished, a pig especially fattened for the purpose is decapitated in front of the Kaymada and then taken up to be given to the performer. The rest of the carcase and bodies of the fowls decapitated are taken to the house. In the absence of a Kaymada, the pig-offering takes place at the Karanakotta. Women also behave likewise, when possessed by an ancestral spirit. While thus affected, they roll on the ground, but they do not give utterance to oracular responses. Sometimes, sorcerers, Coorgs or aliens, are invited to exorcise the ghosts. With the recitation of certain formulae in loud tones, they resort to flagellation. If it proves ineffectual, offerings are given.

Village Gods

Tradition has it that human sacrifices were offered in former times to secure the blessings of Grama Devatas, Mariamma, Durga, and Bhadrakali who are supposed to protect the villages or nads from all evil influences. These deities have their annual feasts among the Coorgs, but they pay special attention to Ajappa, Kaliat Ajappa, and Kuttamma in Kiggathnad, whose shrine is annually visited with gifts.

Every forest ground has its presiding deity to which an annual sacrifice of pork and cakes is offered. If it is not propitiated, the Kadevaru, the tending god, will withdraw his favour, and sickness and death among cattle will ensue. Besides, there are extensive forests called Devaru-kadu which are untrodden by human foot and reserved for the abodes or hunting grounds of deified heroic ancestors.

Serpent Worship

Traces of serpent worship or tree worship are found in Coorg. The Natas or spots on which cobras have finished their course of terrestrial life are th object of solemn ceremonies. To prevent any human being from setting foot on the hallowed spot, it is marked by a little stone enclosure. During the months of November-December, a lamp is lighted every evening to Natas and cocoanuts are offered as oblations.

Pilgrimage

The Coorgs go on pilgrimage to Irjatre at the foot of Lakshmanatirtha fall in Kiggatnad after the Sivaratri in February or March and to the Talai Kaveri Jatra to the source of the river Cauvery in October. Amongst the Jatra beyond their country, those visited by the Coorgs are four, Subramania on the northern frontier of Coorg in December, Baitur in Malabar in February, and Nanjangodu in Mysore which comes off in December. In exceptional cases they go to Benares.

Demon Worship

The Coorgs are demon-worshippers because of the evil influence of certain malignant spirits which could render their life more gloomy and wretched. The demons are called Kulis, who are believed to be capable of carrying away the souls of the dying members in a family. When any trouble arises in a house and strange voices are believed to be heard in or near it, a Kanya (a Malabar astrologer) is consulted as to the

cause of it, and he speaks of the influence of some Kuli who must have carried away the soul of somebody either in the house or in the neighbourhood. He suggests that a demon mask has to be performed for the liberation of the soul. It takes place once a year at Kutta or any other place once in two or three years. The master of the house ties some money in a piece of cloth which is suspended from a rafter of the roof of the house as a pledge for the performance of the ceremony. Sometimes he ties his brass plate up there and eats his food on a plantain leaf as a vow. For the demon mask, either a Malayali magician or a true Ajjala Palya is sent for, and the ceremony is performed in the courtyard of the house-owner. Demon-masks are performed in the name of one or two of the five demons, Bhamundi, Kallugutti, Panjurli, Gulika, and Goraka. The details of the ceremony are the same as those described for the exorcism of the ancestral spirits. The food of the performer in trance is called Kuli Barani. The liberation of the soul is thus effected. The demon that has thus committed the theft begs to leave the soul free. In the event of his refusal, the performer throws a handful of rice on the member of the house standing near him, and thus transfers the spirit to him. The spirit alights on his back, when he falls in a swoon, and is soon carried away by others into the house. The final act of a demon-mask is the decapitation of the pigs in front of the so-called Kuzhikota or demon-abode. It may be near to or far away from the house or village. Fowls are sacrificed upon it. One pig suffices for a house affair, but several pigs are required, when a whole village is involved. The heads are given to the performers, and the trunks supply the house or village diviner.

Festivals

1. *Huttari* : The Huttari is the feast of first fruits. The name is said to be derived from the Malayalam, "pudiari" or new rice. It occurs at fullmoon at the end of November or beginning of December. After various preliminary ceremonies, the person chosen to cut the first sheaves goes at sunset to the fields in procession with a lighted torch in a dish of rice carried before him. He has a sickle in one hand and a bamboo bottle of fresh milk in the other. He cuts the sheaf and distributes the stalk to those present, and puts some into the milk. This is carried in procession to the house, the people shouting. "Poli, poli, Deva," that is, "Increase, increase, oh God," followed by a blast of the shrill Coorg brass horn. It is truly a national and thanksgiving feast entirely uninfluenced by Brahmanism. It lasts for seven days. It begins with village rejoicings and extends to Nad or district gatherings, and ends everyday with the peculiar cane-dance of the men and boys to the tune of the most melancholy and monotonous sound of horns, drums, and songs. Other games vary the proceedings, but the most interesting part is always the champion fight in playful dance, which often ends in a general skirmish in which the canes are freely used.

2. *Kaylmurtha* : The Kaylmurtha is the festival of arms celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg sometime in August. When the hard labours of ploughing, sowing, and transplanting of rice are over, a break in the monsoon spreads its bright light and sunny warmth over the hills and dales, forests, and fields in Coorg, when a holiday is most welcome. The Takka of the Grama calls some respectable men to accompany him to the astrologer's home. They ascertain the most propitious day for the celebration of the festival.

On the morning of the joyous day, the whole armoury of the house is placed in the verandah, gun and spear, bow and arrow, sword and knife. Some of the young men sit down to sharpen and polish the familiar weapons. When this is done, they are carried to a room or central hall, where they are placed in a corner. When the auspicious moment arrives, incense is burnt before the weapons, sandal-paste is dotted on them in profusion, and *naivedya* is offered to them and the idols. As soon as the festival is over, the whole house sits down to dinner. The men then



A Coorg married couple

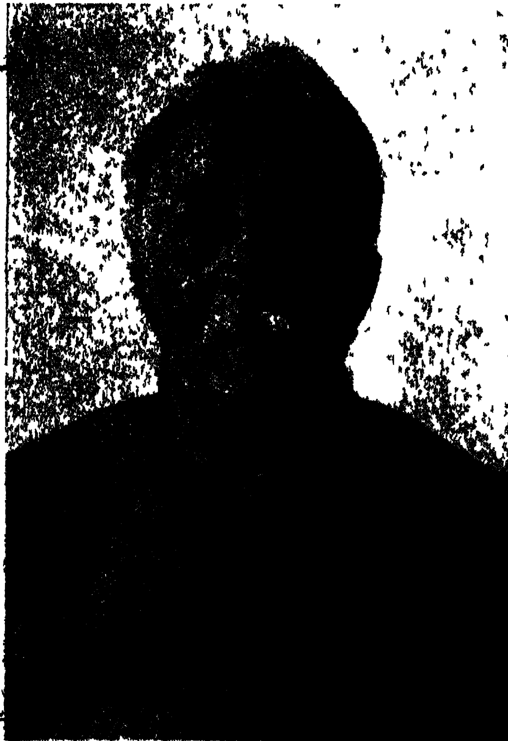
proceed with their arms to the village green, *uru-mandu*, to spend the afternoon in shooting at a mark and in athletic sports. The following day is devoted to a hunt in the forest belonging to the village. This is followed by a great hunt of the whole Nadu. It is a repetition of the village hunt on a larger scale. Whatever game is obtained, the man who killed the animal receives a hind quarter and the head. The rest goes to the company. The Kaylmurtha is the most glorious of all festivities to the young Coorgs, and the popular song of the Coorg mountaineer does full justice to this sentiment.

3. *The Bhagavati Feast* : The Bhagavati feast has been introduced by the Tulu Brahmans. It takes place two months preceding the monsoon. It is connected with demoniacal possessions and extends over nine days. Tantri Brahmans, Coorgs, and Holeyas have their share in the feast, and votaries disport their orgies in as noisy a manner as the Ajjala Palyas. The chief object of the feast is the collection of votive offerings to Tantri Brahmans who are an object of dread to the Coorgs.

4. *Devasthans*: The Coorg Devasthanas are rude village shrines of mud walls and thatched roofs within a gloomy grove. The only ones deserving notice are those at Bhagamandala, Palur, Irupu, and Omkareswara Devasthana at Mercara, the latter of which is built in the same Moorish style as the Rajas' tombs.

OCCUPATION

1. *Agriculture*: The principal occupation of the Coorgs is agriculture. Wet land cultivation predominates, but cultivation in dry and high lands is also made for the maintenance of large united families



A village Takka (headman)

with numerous dependants Agriculture is of a rude type and is similar to that prevailing in other parts of India. It is a system of rural economy formed at a remote period and transmitted for ages unchanged Wedded to primitive modes of cultivation, the Coorg views with disapprobation any attempts at innovation Industry of the people of the highlands is confined exclusively to rice. The narrow valleys between the high grounds are very productive. The agricultural implements are of a rude type. And yet the yield has furnished an unfailing supply from ancient times both for consumption and for export to Malabar. Wherever practicable, the valleys have been formed into flat terraces for cultivation.

The agricultural year begins about the middle of April. With the onset of the first showers in April or May, the ploughing commences. On an auspicious day before sunrise, the house lamp, Tali-akki-balake (dish-rice-lamp) which plays a conspicuous role on all festive occasions is lighted in the inner verandah, the members of the family assemble, and invoke their ancestors and Kaveri Amma for blessings. The young men make their obeisance to their parents and elders and drive a pair of bullocks to the paddy fields, where they turn the heads of them to the east. The landlord now offers cocoanuts and plantains, rice, and milk to the presiding deity of his Nad and lifting up his hands to the rising sun, he invokes his blessings. The oxen are yoked and three furrows are ploughed, when the work is finished for that morning. Of the upturned earth, he takes a clod to the granary, offers his prayers to Siva to grant him an increase of one hundred times. The recognition of the source of the material well-being is due to their industry that should command success From 6 to 10 in the morning, the ploughing is continued in the fields and turned two or three times Then the borders are trimmed, the channels are cleaned, and the little banks repaired to regulate water

Regulated by the monsoon rain, the rice-transplanting takes place during July and August The women covered with Gorakas, that rest on the head and protect the whole body, pull out the plants from the nursery and tie them in small bundles, which are collected in one spot Meanwhile, the submerged fields are repeatedly ploughed and levelled, till the soil becomes as soft as treacle All the members of the family standing in a line knee-deep in the muddy fields begin the transplanting, in which all are not expected to join The bundles are conveniently deposited in the field, and each man takes a handful of plants at a time into his left hand, and presses into the mud with great rapidity seven or eight seedlings together, keeping a regular interval of six inches Before the completion of the largest field, an open space of about ten feet wide is left throughout the whole length This is the Coorg race ground offering a jolly good sport which greatly exhilarates their monotonous work From the men engaged in work, fifteen are selected for the race on 100 butties of land Wearing a pair of short drawers, they are eager for the run for which their strong legs qualify them The signal is given and away they scramble, plunge, and stagger in deep mud, roars of laughter greeting the unfortunate person who sinks in. Having reached the opposite bank, they return in the same way struggling close to the winning post Four or five only win the race The first comer is rewarded with a piece of cloth, the second with a bunch of plantains the third with a jack fruit, and the fourth with a bunch of oranges, and the fifth with parched rice When all the fields are planted, a feast is given by the landlord.

As a protection against the evil eye, some half-burnt bamboos about six feet are erected in a line throughout the middle of the fields. It is now the farmer's business to regulate the water supply of each field, and to fill up the holes made by crabs in the embankments The weeding is then attended to and the failures replanted. At the end of October, when the ears of corn are fully out, small huts on high posts are erected, one for every hundred butties, for the watchman who guards the crop against wild animals and at times fires a gun to scare them away. In November and December, the paddy gets ripe, and the feast of the first fruits or Huttari is celebrated, after which the paddy may be reaped. The water is drained off the fields. The paddy is then cut down with a sickle close to the ground and then spread out to dry. After six or eight days, it is bound into sheaves, [illegible]

home, and stacked in a heap, the ears turned inside. In January or February, chiefly in moon-light nights, the sheaves are taken down to the threshing floor spread round a stone pillar in the middle and trodden out by bullocks and buffaloes, when the paddy is winnowed. The best quality is reserved for seed and the rest stored up for consumption or sale.

2. *Cardamom Cultivation* : The cultivation of cardamoms was formerly second in importance to that of rice, and the possession of a fine cardamom jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet was regarded as a great asset. The cardamom grows in evergreen jungle at an elevation of 3,000 to 5,000 feet, but it requires subdued light for its growth. This is done by the felling of trees which let in light. February or March is the season for this, and the shaking of the ground causes the young plants to shoot up in three months. The capsules appear in the third year, and ripen in September or October, when the crop is gathered. A good crop is gathered for seven years, when the felling of another big tree is needed to reinvigorate them. In the time of the Coorg Rajas, cardamoms were a Government monopoly. Now the jungles are held from the State on a lease of ten years.

3. *Coffee Cultivation* : The cultivation of coffee is another great industry in Coorg It was first introduced into Coorg by the Moplas, and the Coorgs borrowed it from them. It became a popular industry which effected great changes in their economic life. But the depression which since followed led to the abandonment of many estates and to the renewed interest in the revival of their rice cultivation.

4. *Fruit Cultivation* : Of fruit trees, plantains or oranges are common all over Coorg. Coorg oranges are famous. The best variety is the luscious loose jacket, so called because of the rind of the ripe fruit being almost detached from the pulp. Pineapples, pomegranates, and jack fruits are abundant.

5. *Honey and Wax* : Honey and wax are of great importance to the Coorgs. The latter is one of their articles for sale and export. The native bees are rather small, dark brown or black. Most swarms live in hollow trees or among the rocks. But the Coorgs make hives, put them near the old swarms and wash them inside with honey in the hope that new swarms will settle in them. Such swarms belong to the maker of the hives, while the swarms belong to the finder. The lines are made in hollowed up logs loosely fitting in set ends. The lines are usually three to five feet long and about one foot in diameter. They are laid horizontally in the forks of trees, often as much as 20 feet from the ground. This is to protect the swarm from the animals. To obtain honey and wax, the swarm is first stupefied with smoke from torches. The end of the *sijne* is then fried out and all the comb is removed at once destroying the colony. A large wooden bowl of special type is used for collecting the honey. Another method of gathering honey is to take a number of pots with small holes bored in the interior, the inside of which are either washed with honey or rubbed with bees-wax. These pots are placed in the forest at a distance from their homes. Bees gather together and form a colony in each pot. The inmates of the house go there at night, cover them with a kerchief, bring them home, and place them conveniently on a plank five feet from the floor, and allow them to remain until the comb is developed. When honey is finally gathered by pressing, it is strained through cloth, and preserved in vessels before being used. After the honey is pressed out, the residue is boiled and strained to collect wax which is poured in shallow vessels where it becomes solidified. It is then sent to the market for sale.

6. *Hunting and Fishing* : The Coorgs have been skilful hunters, and are still keeping up their hunting habits. Their chief weapons were the gun and the big knife in addition to the small handy waist knife. They no longer use the bow, arrow, and the slings. The long matchlock gun has gone out of use, and the wealthier Coorgs are now equipped with English guns and rifles of the best kind. The big broad-bladed curved Coorg knife, *odi-kathi*, is a most formidable weapon in aggressive hand to hand fight. The bulk of them hunts partly for sport, and partl for supplementing their



A Coorg in his national costume

vegetable diet. Hounds are set upon pigs, they are coursed, brought to bay, and killed with spears, which are shorter, heavier, and broader in the blade or with ordinary fighting spears. Old boars fight fiercely, and hunters are sometimes wounded or killed. Most animals are trapped. When they go in party for hunting, they have dogs which are set on tracking. When they bark, and the hunters approach, the animal is disturbed. It tries to run away or charges them. In the latter case they aim at the animal with guns and kill it.

In their spare moments the Coorgs fish in streams, rivers, and tanks. They use nets. The ordinary one is the *thaduvala* which is spread across the stream to prevent fish from escaping. At a distance of about a furlong, they spread another net so as to drive the fish within the net. When the nets are brought closer, many of them are caught by hand. They use also another net known as Beesvala by which they catch fish by shooting and throwing baits.

Dietary

The Coorgs have an abundant variety of food materials, such as pigs and goats. Their chief article of food is rice, and on festive occasions, cakes and sweetmeats are prepared. Earthenware vessels are used. Their kitchens are remarkable for the cleanliness of their cooking vessels in use which are in charge of the cook. Like their Hindu sisters, the Coorg women attend on elderly members before they take meals. Before serving the meals, a little of the cooked food is offered to the family deity at the Kanni-kombare. They take an early breakfast of rice seasoned with curds and pickles. A substantial meal is taken at noon with rice and curry. At 3 p.m., *kanji* and in the evening, a hearty meal of boiled rice with vegetable and meat curry and other condiments are taken. Toddy is of the bastard sago palm ; also a kind of beer made of fermented rice brandy and arrack are also their usual beverages. Of late, European liquors have become their common beverages at festivities.

The Coorg women deserve much praise for their industry. They rise very early, clean the kitchen and do all kinds of kitchen-work. They bear the brunt of the labour in the farm. The men plough the fields, transplant, and reap the rice. The women carry the manure, pluck weeds, and clean the paddy. The men do no menial work. They leave that to women and servants, and enjoy a dignified repose chewing betel and gossipping. Some are expert tailors. Others with guns on their shoulders wander through the jungle in search of game.

Coorg Hospitality

The Coorgs are noted for their hospitality and they enjoy visits from friends and relations. Should a male guest arrive, the men of the house meet him at the *kayale* and exchange greetings. The method of doing so is by both sexes alike and very charming. The salutant being always the younger, stoops down, and touches the feet of the other who rests his head on the person concerned and blesses him. Meanwhile, the cook has spread a mat or carpet on the verandah bench, where he rests after washing his feet. He is then served with a chew, and later on, with a meal, after which is discussed the special business of his visit. On his return, he pays his parting salutation in the above manner to the old men and women of the house and the young men accompany him for some distance and take leave of him in the same manner.

When a female guest arrives, the cook or any other woman of the household meets her with a vessel of water and after saluting takes the kerchief from the guest's head and conducts her into the inner hall where she is received by the women, who enter into a free and hearty flow of conversation without any show of formalities. On leaving the house, the guest's kerchief is returned to her and an old man of the house with one or two women accompany her for some distance. These visits of women are never made without the knowledge of their husbands, and they are always accompanied by some old man or female servant.

Dress

The principal dress of a Coorg consists of a long coat of dark coloured cloth open in front and reaching below the knees. The sleeves end below the elbow and show the arms of a white shirt which is generally of the English pattern. This is folded across and confined at the waist by a red or blue girdle wound several times round and round, and knotted at the left front. On the right front, the Coorg short knife is stuck to the girdle having an ivory or silver handle, and fastened with silver chains. The large broad-bladed waist-knife (odi-kathi) is very rarely worn. Its place is at the back, where it is carried in a brass clasp with its point directed towards the left shoulder. Like the *kukri* of the Gurkhas, it was a formidable weapon in hand to hand fighting. It is now used as a test of skill and strength on festive occasions as when a bridegroom is expected to cut through the trunk of a plantain tree at one stroke. Their head-dress is of red kerchief or the beautiful fashionable turban rather flat and large at the top and covering a portion of the back of the neck. They are found in all shades of complexion, and when dressed in a costume, they look very grand. The officers and students have now taken to the European style of dress in preference to their own.

The women are more conservative in their mode of dress. It consists of a white or light blue cotton jacket with long sleeves fitting tight and close up to the neck. The skirt is white muslin or blue cotton stuff wrapped several times round and tied at the waist by means of a string. One end is brought over the bosom and knitted on the right shoulder. To give usefulness to the skirt, the other end is arranged into folds, which, contrary to the fashion of the Hindu women, are gathered behind. The head is covered with a white muslin and coloured kerchief, one end of which encircles the forehead, and the four corners are joined together at the back, allowing the ends to fall over the shoulders.

Ornaments

The richness of ornaments worn by a woman is the criterion to judge the status of a Coorg family. Glass, silver, or gold bracelets are worn round their wrists. Their necks are adorned with chains of coral, pearls or gold from which are suspended old Portuguese coins. They have ornaments for the nose and the rims of the ears. They wear gold rings or those set with precious stones and silver ones are worn on the toes. These are similar to those of Hindu women. The bridal dress adds to all this finery a many-coloured shawl which covers the body, and, in the absence of a kerchief, golden hair-ornaments, *chourigubbi*, are worn. In this connection, it may be said that the Coorg women are skilful in embroidery work which is a speciality of needle work with which they adorn their white kerchief, and the seams and corners of the men's white cotton dress. They use red marking cotton and their patterns are very complicated and elegant, and are equally visible on both sides of the dress.

Martial Spirit of the Coorgs

The Coorgs have earned a high reputation for their martial prowess. In the words of Lt. Conner, they may be said to be armed from their childhood and the martial spirit is inculcated from the beginning of a man's life. War and agriculture seem their twin natural pursuits, and no harm arises out of this happy combination of the soldier and husbandman. They are devoid of any trace of the savage disposition which characterises the martial class. They resemble the Nayars in some respects. Both are devoted to arms. Both are characterised by a gallant spirit of generosity

and delicate sentiments of honour. The feelings which attach the highlander to the mountains and that fondness for their country for which subjects of small states are distinguished are observed among the Coorgs.

PHYSICAL AND MENTAL CHARACTERS

The Coorgs are a hardy race. They have given proof of being brave soldiers and were much dreaded for their fierce intrepidity in their encounter with their enemies. Military officers have highly commended their excellent fitness for the formation of a few regiments. They are tall, muscular, broad-chested, strong-limbed, and swift-footed. Their colour is lighter than might be expected under this latitude. Their features are regular, often distinguished by an aquiline nose, and finely chiselled lips, set off by a well-trimmed moustache. According to Holland, a Coorg is taller than the Yerava, has finer nose, a larger head with a distinct tendency to brachycephalism, and a more perfect approach to orthognathism. Apart from anthropometric results, we have the contrast of colour between the fair (light brown) Coorg and the very dark-skinned Yerava. The hair of the former is straight, while that of the Yerava is distinctly wavy, and the broad nose of the latter is accompanied by thick, slightly everted lips. The Coorgs and the Yeravas belong to two distinct ethnic types. The maximum, the minimum, and the average stature, cephalic index, and nasal indices are given below :

	Stature		*Cephalic Index*		*Nasal Index*	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Max.	184·5	166·0	90·7	93·2	100·0	74·0
Min.	149·1	131·5	66·5	70·9	46·3	50·9
Avg.	167·1	151·2	80·6	82·9	65·2	60·3

The intellectual and moral faculties of the Coorgs have been for ages dormant for want of opportunities. Consequently, they have been observed to be ignorant and superstitious in common with the people of lower culture. The march of civilization during the last fifty years has brought about considerable improvement. English schools for boys and girls have been started in important centres. It has been found that Coorg students are by no means backward in intellectual brightness and acquisitiveness. They have a high standard of morality in common with their brethren in other parts of India.

LANGUAGE

Richter believes that there is a close relationship between the Kodagu and other Dravidian languages ; but being neither cultivated beyond its colloquial use, nor possessing any original literature, it hardly deserves the distinction of being elevated into a special Dravidian language, as Bishop Caldwell does. It may be considered as a mere local dialect.

CONCLUSION

The Coorgs numbered 41,026 in the Census of 1931, 20,752 being males, and 20,274, being females. Their mode of life and pride of race impart to their whole bearing an air of manly independence and dignified self-assertion, well-sustained by their peculiar and picturesque costume. In the words of Sir Erskin Perry, they are by far the finest race he has seen in India in point of independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being.

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Amma Coorg

The Amma Coorgs belong to the indigenous priesthood of Coorg. Their common name is Amma Kodaga, which would naturally signify Coorgs devoted to the worship of Amma or the goddess of the chief river of the country, the Cauvery. The Brahmans invented a mythical origin which is not in accord with the Cauvery Purana.

As reward for his austerities, the sage Kavera was blessed with a daughter, Kaveri, who was proposed to be given in marriage to Agastya, another sage who resided on the Brahmagiris. Kaveri did not accept the proposal. She assumed the shape of a river and fled from the mountain. Agastya in hot pursuit overtook her at Kadianad and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma Kodagas and six of Coorgs. The former sided with Agastya and the latter with Kaveri. The Amma Kodagas decided that Kaveri should not be allowed to go away. The Coorgs said that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. This provoked Agastya, who pronounced a curse on the Coorgs that the Coorg population should grow less, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow, and that their cows should not give milk. But Kaveri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could, and said, "The Coorgs shall increase, but the Amma Coorgs decrease, the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind ; the sown paddy shall be transplanted, the cows shall be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying, she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastya by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the name of the place where this occurred, Balamuri (turning to the right). A *linga* was erected at the spot by the Brahmans. It is yearly visited in the month of Thulam at the time of the Kaveri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda Vira Rajendrar also built here a rest-house, which, though built a century ago, is in tolerable preservation. Nothing more is known about the real history of the Amma Coorgs, but a few facts may be given as remains of ancient priesthood.

The Amma Coorgs observe in common with the Coorgs the great festivals of the country, and act as priests. They dress like Coorgs and at the same time wear the holy thread. It seems that they inclined towards the professed patronage of the Brahmans and to have gradually dropped into Brahmanical habits of thought and life. A good many now wear the holy thread, and all profess to abstain from meat and fermented liquors. The return to Brahman initiation and dress was brought about by a Haviga Brahman whose family exercised spiritual influence over the Amma Kodagas. They are still unlettered. There is a

tradition current among them that in former times one-half of Coorg belonged to the Ammas, and the rest, to the Coorgs. The Ammas by virtue of their priesthood held their land free of rent. Their lands are even now very lightly taxed.

Internal Structure

The Amma Coorgs form a homogeneous community. There are two *gotras* among them, the Bharadwaja gotra and Viswamitra gotra.

Marriage Customs

The Amma Coorgs do not intermarry with the Coorgs and their separation may be of recent origin. Marriage settlement is made only after the agreement of horoscopes. The young man's father, his uncle, and other close relations assemble. They formally talk over the matter and come to a settlement, when cocoanuts, plantains, and betel leaves are handed over to the bride in token of settlement. The auspicious day for celebration is fixed to send invitations to the relatives on both sides. The dress and ornaments to be given to the bride are also settled. The preliminary formalities that are gone through are—

1. The boy's party going to the house of the bride.
2. Their welcome with refreshments.
3. *Nischithambulam.*

The essential formalities are *mukadarsana*, garlanding and *panigrahana*, tali-tying, presenting the bride with the wedding dress and ornaments and feasting. There is no *homam* as among the Coorgs, but there exists the cutting of plantains in common with the Coorgs. On the arrival of the bride at the bridegroom's house, she puts rice on the lamp. On the third day they bathe, and celebrate the *sobhanaprasta*, if the girl has attained puberty already.

Pregnancy and Child-birth

When a girl becomes pregnant, *pumsavana* and *simantha* are performed. When she is about to become a mother, she is confined to a separate room. Her mother or some aged woman acts as midwife. Pollution lasts for eleven days after which she bathes to become pure. But it is only after forty days that Ganga-puja is performed, when she bathes and becomes pure. Only then can she enter the kitchen. Cradling the baby takes place on the eleventh day. The naming ceremony takes place the same day.

Funeral Ceremony

The Amma Coorgs used to bury the dead which is now being abandoned. Pollution lasts for ten days.

Occupation

The Amma Coorgs are agriculturists. They do all agricultural operations, ploughing, sowing, and harvesting. Both men and women work.

Conclusion

The Amma Coorgs follow the Coorgs in point of inheritance. They worship the Hindu deities and observe Hindu holidays. They are inferior to the Coorgs in physical appearance and strength of body. They are now trying to improve their present condition. They are strict vegetarians. They marry within the same *gotra*. This may eventually hasten their extinction. They numbered 666 in the Census of 1931, 336 being males and 330 being females.

(*Concluded*)

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TVA—AMERICA'S GREATEST PROJECT FOR DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES

TVA, a public corporation, officially known as the Tennessee Valley Authority, harnessed the uncontrolled waters of a major river in southeastern U.S., transformed a flood-ravaged valley region into fertile land, and contributed toward the conservation of natural resources. TVA's achievements are measured in the economic and social betterment of the people of the valley area.



A giant crane does the heavy work at a TVA dam

The TVA program, which transcends state lines, includes development and distribution of hydroelectric power, flood control, improvement of navigation, production of chemical fertilizers, prevention of soil erosion, re-forestation and improved methods of agricultural and industrial production.

Chartered by the U.S. Congress in 1933, TVA operates in the 41,000 square miles of watershed drained by the Tennessee River in the states of Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi. The area, in which 5,000,000 people live, is about as large as England.

Previous to TVA control, the river in floodtime inundated cities and towns and hundreds of thousands of acres of farmland. Today TVA's system of 26 huge dams on the main stream and its tributaries harnesses the waters, providing a nine-foot navigation channel from Paducah, Kentucky, to Knoxville, a distance of



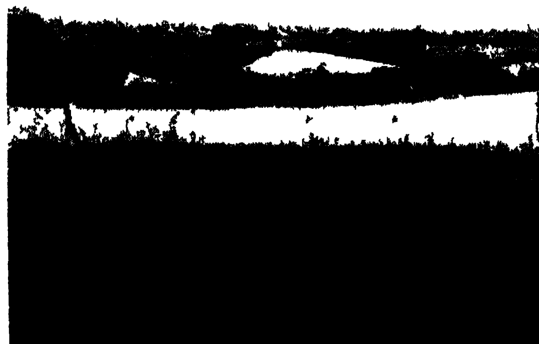
An aerial view of Kentucky Dam at Paducah, Kentucky the most massive dam of the TVA system



The interior of the generator hall at TVA's Pickwick Landing Dam on the Tennessee River



As a result of TVA's power-producing and distributing systems, towns and villages are well-lighted at low cost



Farmlands throughout the Tennessee Valley area are restored to fertility by flood control and the use of TVA nitrates

650 miles. River shipping passes the dams through water locks

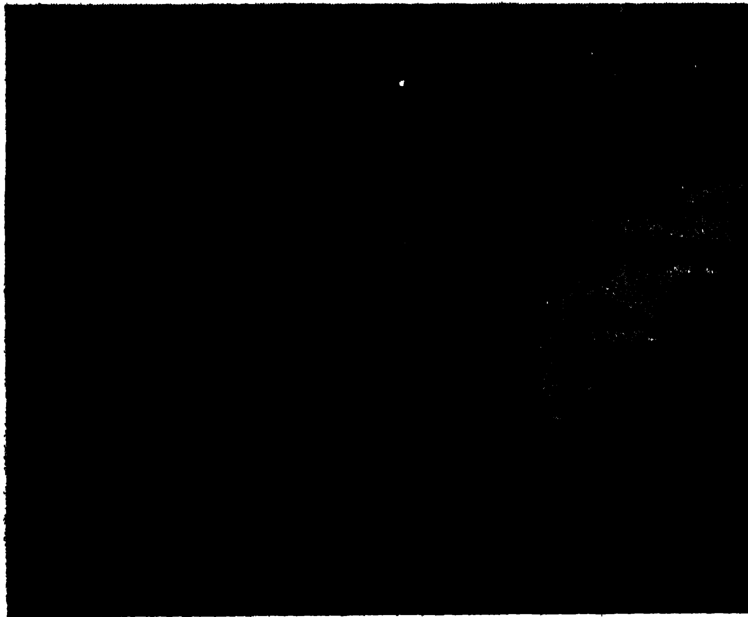
Electric power generated at the dams is sold wholesale to 140 locally owned, financed and managed distributors, and through them reaches 650,000 homes, farms, factories and other places of business In the fiscal year 1945, plants of the TVA system produced 12,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity. The net income from power is sufficient to pay two per cent interest and repay the entire power investment in sixty years.

A shoreline of more than 9000 miles is available for recreational activities, and numerous parks, boat docks, fishing camps and cabin sites have been established on the banks of the system's man-made lakes

TVA the subject of widespread interest in the United States and many parts of the overseas world, has served as a training ground for foreign as well as American agronomists, public health and community planning specialists, engineers and other technicians.

High steel towers carry the transmission lines which criss-cross the Tennessee Valley area to bring TVA power to 140 municipal and co-operative electric systems. Since 1933, rural electrification has made huge strides in the valley, the proportion of farms in the

region with electric service increasing from one in 28 to one in four. At the close of fiscal year of 1945, distributors of TVA power were serving more than 163,000 rural customers, that is, consumers living on farms or in communities smaller than 250 population The number of farms served exceeded 100,000



Whee'er Dam in northern Alabama, whose outdoor-type generators will contribute 129 600 kilowatts to the TVA hydro-electric system

As the TVA lakes came into being through dam construction, it became apparent that one of the important advantages they offered, aside from the major objectives of flood control, navigation and hydroelectric power, was the development of recreational facilities Today, scores of parks, boat docks, fishing camps and cabin sites have been established on the 9,000-mile shoreline of the Tennessee River and its tributaries

The TVA operation system follows the cycle of the season, withholding water in the wet periods of the winter and late spring from the crests of flood on the Tennessee, lower Ohio and lower Mississippi rivers, and releasing water in the dry periods of late summer and fall for navigation and power production.

Agricultural extension services in states served by TVA report a steady increase in the number of farmers utilizing TVA-produced fertiliser in soil-conserving systems of farming with a

TVA's production of 12,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity exceeded that of any other integrated power system in the United States in the fiscal year of 1945 TVA electricity has changed the way of living in the Tennessee Valley area It operates water pumps in the farmyard, community refrigerators at the cross-roads feed grinders in the woodsheds and machinery in factories which stand today where there were wornout cotton fields and rows of tenant shacks a few years ago It cures hams, dries hay, processes sweet potatoes and cools milk in dairies It supplies illumination for thousands of streets and tens of thousands of homes in urban and rural areas

Water once ran largely wasted to the sea It now pours through the penstocks of a connected series of TVA powerhouses to spin turbine and generator units totaling more than 2 500 000 kilowatts of fuel capacity

Twelve years after establishment of TVA the Tennessee is one of the most completely controlled river system in the world with 26 dams harnessing the flow from the Appalachian Mountains to the confluence with the Ohio, for the multiple purposes of navigation, flood control and power production.



A striking example of soil conservation Through the use of TVA products of phosphate and lime this farmer produced cover crops that halted soil erosion and supplied fodder for his livestock

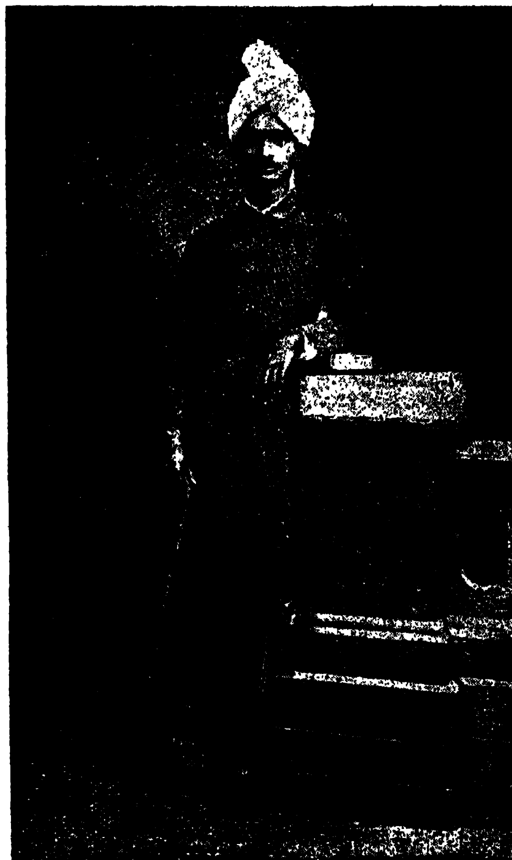
RAJENDRA PRASAD*

I came to know Rajendra Prasad first in 1904 when I joined the Presidency College, Calcutta, as a fellow student of Rajendra Prasad. He was pointed out to me as the most brilliant student of the year who had topped the list both in the Entrance and in the Intermediate Examinations with record marks. I was in awe of him but I soon found that he was the most unassuming of men and had not the slightest pride in him. I became one of his numerous friends, and I was closely associated with him till the end of his college career, which as every one knows was one of singular brilliance.

He was immensely popular with all the students, his seniors as well as his juniors, and this was demonstrated early in 1904 in a remarkable manner. There was no College Union in those days but Dr. P. K. Roy, our Principal, soon inaugurated one which later became the College Union. The first Secretary of the Union was a very senior student and belonged to a rich and aristocratic family of Calcutta but for some reason or other he was not very popular. Then somebody hit upon the idea of making Rajendra Prasad. Secretary, and he was practically compelled to agree to stand for election. Dr. P. K. Roy presided over the meeting, and then the old Secretary was proposed for re-election. Rajendra Prasad's name was then proposed, and votes were taken by show of hands. Then to the astonishment of all, the old Secretary got only 6 or 7 supporters, and all the others, numbering nearly a thousand, voted solidly for Rajendra Prasad. For a Third Year student to be successful in a contest like this was a wonderful performance, and it should be remembered that in those days it was easier for a private to approach the Commander-in-Chief of an army than for a junior student to speak to his senior, without being asked. Dr. Roy was astounded and he was known to have asked some of the professors present who this young student was who was not evidently a Bengalee, and why he was so popular. Rajendra Prasad was never much to look at. Dark and thin and somewhat gaunt in his features, his appearance was not such as to impress any one at first sight, and it is no wonder that Dr. Roy was amazed at the result of this election.

Rajendra Prasad was constantly called upon to act as arbitrator in all disputes. Whether a particular football match was played as some alleged two minutes after dark, or whether Bepin Chandra Pal was a better speaker than Surendra Nath Banerjea, or whether in a quarrel A or his opponent B was in the right, students would come to Rajendra Prasad and ask for his decision. Rajendra Prasad would quietly hear both parties and give his decisions and the extraordinary thing about him was that his decisions were invariably accepted as final. We all knew and felt that he would never take sides, and that he would decide impartially and justly.

Our friend A was very argumentative and he would always argue, and argue on all conceivable subjects and he would never yield an inch. He had a serious quarrel with another student about some matter, and as usual they both came to Rajendra Prasad for arbitration. Rajendra Prasad heard both of them patiently and then a quiet voice gave it as his opinion that A was wrong. We all thought that A would explode. But such was Rajendra Prasad's hold upon all the students, that he did not. He sat silent for a few minutes and then he said that Rajendra Prasad was right and that he indeed was wrong and that he was very sorry.



Dr. Rajendra Prasad
(As he was in 1906)

I remember another incident. Our fellow student N was something of a bully. Tall and strong, and extremely violent in his frequent bursts of temper, he was feared by most of us. Professor Percival was then in his glory, and he used to take combined classes. There was always a great rush for the front seats in his lecture room. Rajendra Prasad could outrun most of us, and he usually managed to get a front seat. Our friend N would go more leisurely to the lecture room, throw away the books of those who had gone there before him and take the seat that he fancied and few of us ventured to quarrel with him over the matter. One day he threw away Rajendra Prasad's books though Rajendra Prasad had gone

*Written by a Bengali college-friend of Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who prefers to remain incognito.

there before him and had kept his books there as a sign of reservation. Rajendra Prasad who was talking with some one in the corridor at the time came back and found his seat occupied. He very quietly pushed the books of N and sat down in his old seat. N glared at him for a few minutes and we thought that he was going to fight with Rajendra Prasad. But Rajendra Prasad told him that if he would request him to give up his seat he would gladly do so but he would not yield to compulsion or force. N was silent, and he sat still for a few seconds. Then he apologised to Rajendra Prasad, and never again did he usurp the seats of others.

He frequently talked among us as to what he would like to be in after-life. I remember one such meeting of our friends when this matter was discussed. Our friend B said that he would like to be a great lawyer and it would delight him more than anything else to pulverise a witness by his cross-examination. Another friend of ours said that he would like to be a High Court Judge. Another would like to be an I.C.S. officer. A said that he would like to be the President of the Indian National Congress. Our friend N was a brilliant student, but he was very shy and unmethodical in his habits. J told him that all that he would be able to do would be to sell tobacco in a street corner. He then asked Rajendra Prasad what he would like to be. He was silent for a minute and then he said that his ambition in life was to become a teacher!

He spoke to me about this ambition of his several times. He told me that he would like very much to be a teacher in a school or a professor in a college and that he would not take more than Rs. 16 a month which according to him would be more than sufficient for his needs.

He realised this early ambition of his as we all know when he founded the Bihar National College.

I have spoken of his good qualities as a student. Let me now speak of his foibles—for he too had his foibles like the rest of us.

One great hobby of his was to purchase old books. Evening after evening he would go to old Maniruddin's shop and the other old book shops near the College Street corner, and buy old, dirty and tattered books, the dirtier they were, the better he liked them. He would then show us his purchases and tell us what great bargains he had made! These books were on all conceivable subjects, and they had very little to do with the subjects in which we were to prepare ourselves for our examinations, but these considerations did not weigh with Rajendra Prasad, and he would buy them by dozens with his scholarship money.

He was a strict vegetarian and he eschewed fish, meat and eggs but one thing he liked, and this was *Kulpi* or ice-cream. Every afternoon old Bhajahari, the *Kulpiwalla*, would come to Rajendra Prasad's room, and then Rajendra Prasad would invite all and sundry to take *Kulpi* and this we all did, *at his expense*. Rajendra Prasad rarely took more than one *Kulpi* and he never took more than two, but would entreat and beg of us to take as many as we liked, and he did not allow any one to pass by his room without taking at least one.

At that time it used to be the fashion among the students to take, at the time of examinations, patent medicines supposed to be brain tonics and memory sharpeners and Rajendra Prasad was no exception to this rule. But he was a great believer in *Kaviraji* medicines, and so while we took Allopathic patent medicines supposed to contain phosphorus and other brain cooling elements he used to take *Chyabanpras* and honey, and he used to invite us all to take his medicine. He liked the *Chyabanpras* or at least the honey and we used to take a little of his *Chyabanpras* with plenty of his honey, and we thought that our memory was being sharpened then and there. Rajendra Prasad used also evil-smelling Kabiraji hair-oil which was supposed to cool the brain and he would ask us all to use that oil. We used to be great fops then and we drew the line at that. So while Rajendra Prasad used malodorous and stinking Kabiraji oil, we used sweet-scented *Jaba Kusum* instead.

Rajendra Prasad was never of studious habits and he never burnt the midnight oil. Indeed he used to work at his lessons much less than any of us, and he rarely worked even up to 11 p.m. He would yawn and doze after his evening meal, and he would tumble off to his bed at about 10 in the night. But he would top the list in every examination. But this was Rajendra Prasad's way. Even during the day he had not much time for his lessons. Much of his time was spent in settling disputes and in arbitrations, and he was as fond of gossip and talk as the worst of us. He would spend hours discussing with us the merits of renowned football players of our time, like Sib das Bhaduri, Bejoy Bhaduri and Prafulla Biswas or of our college football stars like Gurudas, Ardhendu and Sudhir, and he loved frolic and fun like any of us.

He would never take credit for his invariably brilliant University results, and he would say that this was all chance or fluke. I remember having him once, when in the annual examination he topped the list in every subject. But he would not even then admit that he had any special merit. He said, and I remember his very words—"You see, the examiners are fools. You know much more of the subjects than I do. But, perhaps, I know better than you how to conceal my ignorance, and so I could fool the examiners."

His love for his friends was unbounded, and he would do everything possible or impossible to be of service to them. At that time some of his friends in Bihar conceived the idea of sending him to England to complete his studies, and they raised enough money for the purpose. We all rejoiced when we heard of this, but Rajendra Prasad was not happy that he alone would go to England and he definitely declined to accept the offer unless money was found for his two intimate friends, (who happened to be both Bengalees) to go to England with him. His Bihari friends had to agree and money was found for all three of them. Arrangements were then pushed on and even passages were booked. Then a telegram came that Rajendra Prasad's father was ill. Rajendra Prasad had to hurry home and he could not then leave for England. But he wrote to his friends and indeed entreated them to go to England with the money that he had got. But without their friend and leader they did not venture to go and so the idea had to be abandoned. But then a friend of ours heard of this matter and he requested Rajendra Prasad to allow him to go, and to lend him that money. Rajendra Prasad was only too willing to be of service to his friends and he readily agreed. So that a friend of ours went to England, and

he is now adorning the Bench of a High Court somewhere in India.

I remember one other incident. A friend of ours, who was unsuccessful in the previous year, came to Rajendra Prasad before the University Examination, asked for the lecture notes of Professor Percival taken down by Rajendra Prasad. Rajendra Prasad could write extraordinarily fast, and he could take down practically verbatim all the illustrative things the great Professor said in the class, and none else in our class could do so equally well. I knew that Rajendra Prasad had not touched that particular book even once after class work, and that he had meant to read that book with the notes that he had taken just before the examination concerned. But he did not hesitate even for a second. He at once made over the notes that he had taken with so much care to his friend and he did not get them back till the examination was over and he never asked for them.

Rajendra Prasad was very fond of attending lectures, and his favourite speaker was Sister Nivedita. I do not think he ever missed a single speech of this great and saintly lady so long as he was in Calcutta. Those were Partition days and the Swadeshi agitation was then in full swing. Rajendra Prasad, like the rest of us, then took the vow of never using anything but Swadeshi things but unlike the rest of us, he never departed from this vow. One incident I remember in this connection, two or three years after he had taken the vow, I took a fancy to some *Bilati* thing and purchased it, forgetting all about my vow. Rajendra Prasad came one day to my room and saw the *Bilati* thing that I had purchased. He did not utter a word of reproach to me, he did not even ask me why I had purchased that *Bilati* thing or had forsworn the vow that I had taken. He sat silently in my room and burst into uncontrollable tears.

The memory of those tears still haunts me.

I met Rajendra Prasad once or twice when he was practising in the Calcutta High Court. He was then living alone and his family was then in his native village Zeradi. But his house was full of students. Every poor student who had no means to prosecute studies was welcome to his house, and he used to take his food with them and to bear all their expenses. I do not think that he then spent more than Rs. 16 a month for himself and this as I have said was his ambition as a student.

I met him once after he had completed his Champaran tour with Mr. Gandhi. He was not Mahatma then nor was he then so widely known. But Rajendra Prasad told me that a man like Mr. Gandhi was not born even once in a century and he told us tales of all that had happened there, and how happy he had been in the companionship of Mr. Gandhi. We could see how profoundly he had been influenced by Mahatma.

Our ways of life lay apart and I met him years after in a Bengal village. Seeing me he came running and clasped me in a long loving embrace, smiling but with tears in his eyes and asked me thousands of questions of our common friends, of old, familiar faces and we recollected many incidents of our happy student days, and we remembered and remembered. So, when I think of Rajendra Prasad, I do not think of his intellectual pre-eminence, or of his great qualities as a leader, or of his unrivalled organising abilities or even of his immense sacrifices for the cause of his countrymen, but as the best and the most loving of men, and the kindest and dearest of friends.

May he live long!

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PRAMATHANATH CHAUDHURI

An Appreciation

BY DR. KALYANI MALLIK, M.A., B.T., Ph.D.

'BIRBAL' is no more. 'Birbali bhasa' (Birbal's language) has become an important feature in the history of modern Bengali language and literature. With the passing away of Sj. Pramathanath Chaudhuri, better known as *Birbal* in Bengali literary circles, a landmark of the Bengali language has been removed. With the passing away of Rabindranath, with whom Pramathanath Chaudhuri was connected by marriage, Bengal had suffered an irreparable loss, but with the passing away of Pramathanath, Bengal has lost one of its most witty critics, as well as a great litterateur. Both Pramathanath and Rabindranath were bound by a two-fold tie of affection and literature, and it is a curious fact that Pramathanath's date of birth, the 7th of August, coincides with the date of passing away of the great poet Rabindranath.

Rabindranath's style of writing and that of Pramathanath differed vastly, yet each was an admirer of the other. While Rabindranath (here I may mention also his elder sister Swarnakumari) could not get over the style of Bankimchandra, Pramathanath was bent on creating a revolution in Bengali language by using colloquial Bengali even when writing on serious subjects. I distinctly remember Swarnakumari's advice to me, when I was yet a child, that Bankimchandra's language should be followed if one had the ambition of creating a literary name for oneself. Saratchandra, at that time I think, was just coming into the limelight, it was just before the last Great World War, and he was not appreciated by the old school. But Pramathanath possessed powerful literary genius and he popularised spoken Bengali by starting his new magazine *Sabujpatra* (the green leaf) which he edited so ably. I remember as a child the great commotion it created in our family circle, the plain but well-printed little magazine, with a deep green cover and a black palm-leaf printed on it, with no other picture or advertisement, brought a revolution into the world of letters.

We were not old enough to understand the merits and demerits of the new magazine, (it was before the Great War in the year, 1914) but were told that it was

Pramathanath's own creation, a magazine which was meant to contain Rabindranath's and Pramathanath's articles, and that it had a new style of writing.

As children we played in the garden of Pramathanath's own residence 'Kamalalaya' (No. 1, Bright St., Ballygunj, the present 'Nadia-House'), the long flight of marble steps leading to the hall attracted us, and the small demi-rooms and arches on the ground floor were our sources of inspiration for playing hide and seek, what a disturbance we must have created, the ten or twelve of us! But Pramathanath was never angry with us, neither was his wife Indira, of whom I shall write later. In one corner of the long verandah,



Pramathanath Chaudhuri (*Birbal*), Editor of *Sabujpatra*

overlooking the lawn and the garden, sat the editor of the *Sabujpatra*, with his books, pen and paper, an amber cigarette-holder and a lighted cigarette in his hand, his sharp eyes peering through his glasses at us, but unperturbed! Sometimes we would even thump on the piano in the drawing-room, and he would sit on the adjoining verandah, with never a word of remonstrance. Such was he, kind, thoughtful and forbearing towards us, who tried his patience. We, as children, never spoke to him much, but later on in my riper years, I was amply compensated by his discussions on philosophy, and on the style of writing of modern fiction writers.

In 1937, when Pramathanath went with his wife Indira, to their Ranchi bungalow *Satyadham*, at Morabadi Hills, I had the good fortune of being with them with my daughters. In the evenings Indira Debi, who liked a little stroll, would go out regularly with her husband, I may here remark that their days were spent in perfect regularity of time. But Pramathanath would soon get tired and return, and sit down on an armchair in the verandah. Indira Debi would take my daughters with her to go out again for a little gossip with neighbours, while I was tempted to stay behind with the old man and listen to his talk. Nani, a very old servant of theirs, would be somewhere nearby, and appear whenever called for. And thus seated comfortably, with his cigarette lighted, he would start his discussion. Often he would remark on the grammatical and spelling mistakes of modern authors, I do not know why, but it seemed to me he found more fault with modern authoresses than authors. So, playfully I asked him one day, the spelling of the word *adbhut* in Bengali. I had learnt this little trick from my father, who was very particular about spelling. Imagine my joy, rather childish of course, when I found an author and not an authoress, making a mistake in spelling the word. Then a dictionary was brought, and our argument was settled, the word *bhut* is spelt with long 'u', but *adbhut* has only a short 'u'.

At other times he would tell me of his travels both abroad and in India. Sometimes he would discuss philosophy. I remember he spoke very highly of the learning of Swamiji Hariharananda of Madhupore, he remarked on Swamiji's commentary on Patanjal-Darshan and said, "At present he is the most learned of all Swamijis in India." Thus Pramathanath would go on with his discussions till Indira Debi returned. Then visitors would sometimes drop in and talk, or we would sing and Pramathanath listen, for he had a keen ear for Indian *ragas* and *raginis*. At other times we would play 'Charades' and let Pramathanath guess the riddle. Thus our time passed pleasantly till the dinner-gong sounded. One day we had a picnic in the garden of his Ranchi house, nearly twenty-five to thirty of us, all cousins and relations. The meat was cooked by our enthusiast Subir (Indira Debi's nephew) with a lot of sugar in it, and we had our lunch some time late in the afternoon, but Pramathanath and Indira Debi never grumbled, they both joined in our merry-making. This is the last occasion when this ideal couple went to their Ranchi residence, and those days will be ever cherished by myself and my daughters.

Only a month ago, Indira Debi arranged a musical entertainment by little children, of Rabindranath's songs for children, to the accompaniment of dance and music. The children of our family went regularly for rehearsals to Pramathanath's last residence at No. 1, Palm Place, Ballygunj. And on the occasion of his last birthday, on the 7th of August, he distributed small but cherished prizes to all the children who took part in it. Who ever knew that this was to be the last occasion we should have him amongst us in our enjoyment? But this was ordained by God, and a few days afterwards he fell into a semi-conscious state, till he passed away on the night of the 2nd of September. By God's mercy he was saved the nerve-racking tension of the last Calcutta tragedy, due to his mentally unconscious state.

Pramathanath Chaudhuri had commenced his literary career at an early age as a poet and story-writer, but, soon he became a critic of no mean order under his pen-name Birbal, and as such he will be remembered and admired by future generations. With satire he would expose the angularities of modern society, yet he was never unfair or undignified in his criticisms. Though he was a scholar in French, Italian, Sanskrit and other languages, yet one finds in

his published works a simple style, using spoken Bengali with tit-bits of foreign words in it ; a written language, which was decidedly his own, and spoken by so many in modern society. In his *Ghosaler Trikatha*, we come across delightful story-tellers, companionable ghosts, and women of rare beauty and greatness of heart. In his story 'Ghosaler Heyali,' he portrays a professor who was a critic like the author. Ghosal, the delightful liar and story-teller says about the professor, "he became a great critic, nearly like yourself." It is said, his book *Char Iyari Katha*, depicts his own life in some places. Anyway, two cities, Calcutta and London, with which he was familiar, figure in his stories and the impersonal 'I,' the listener. is always in them. This makes his stories interesting. Even children in their teens are familiar with his *Amra and Tomra*, in which he portrays the East and the West, according to his own convictions, and the article has given the students food for thinking ; his *Mantrasakti* showing the strength which a *mantra* can give a 'lathial' (a player of sticks and swords) has also found favour with children.

Pramathanath has humour, yet his stories do not bring forth roars of laughter, his writing is uniform in its cheerfulness, one never feels bored with his stories and his sarcasms go deep into the mind. Once he wrote an article on Rabindranath's "Wit and Humour" (published in *Tagore Birthday Number*, 1941), in which he describes wit as a spiritual lightning, as both have the same suddenness and swiftness, the same brilliance and immaterial piercing quality. Pramathanath says, "Sparks of wit clear our mental atmosphere" but 'humour, on the other hand, betrays an attitude of amused tolerance of the comic aspect of life and things. It is more human than wit and appeals to our whole mind, both emotional and intellectual. The art of the humorist is a creative art." And thus did Pramathanath himself create characters, which are not always persons taken from life, but who lived only in the mind of their creator. This is the immortal creation of literary art, the humorous characters coming out of the mind of a great writer, but based on his observations of persons in real life. 'Nil-lohit,' 'Ghosal,' 'Pandit Mahasay,' 'Ujjala-nilmoni,' are such creations of Pramathanath's, he calls them the 'Nava-ratna' (nine-jewels) of Rai-mahasay's court, except 'Nil-lohit,' who is a character by himself and a friend of the late Kaiser ! Pramathanath had chosen for himself the pseudonym of *Birbal*, the name of a courtier in the court of the Emperor Akbar and under this name he wrote for several years, even before he started his *Sabujpatra*. Indeed, he was born to the role of a courtier and would have happily shone as such had he the opportunity, but alas ! he was recognised too late, and that only by the cultured few.

Born in Jessore, on the 7th of August, 1868, in the well-known Chaudhuri family of Pabna and brought up in Krishnanagar, Pramathanath found stimulation for his courtliness, for Krishnanagar still held the tradition of court-culture and wittiness. Pramathanath learnt the art of word-play and of repartee from Krishnanagar. From Krishnanagar, once the capital of Bengal, came the beautiful models and dolls made of clay, and from Krishnanagar came too the court-poet Bharatchandra's *Anandamangal*, in which the great art-patron Maharaja Krishnachandra has been immortalised. But it was an age when Sanskrit words were being vernacularised ; Mukundaram's *Chandi-kavya* is a prelude to the style of which Bharatchandra in a later age was the finished master. Art was more welcome than nature to these poets and rules of Sanskrit rhetoric were more valued than the simple dictates of the heart. Pramathanath came to Krishnanagar at the age of five and stayed there till the age of thirteen, later on too he would often go back from Calcutta to their home at Krishnanagar, his literary career started at this place, but he was not influenced by the pedantic style of the old school. Our poet had a horror of vulgarity and abhorred the cheap and the commonplace, he was a critic of life and a connoisseur of arts, and as such he followed his own way of thinking and expressing himself in a non-Sanskritic language. While he made fun of pedantry, his opponents raged and foamed, but he was tolerant, till he won the battle



Pramathanath and Indira Debi at Santiniketan

and once for all, his 'Birbali Bhasa,' the spoken tongue. was established in literature and with Rabindranath as an ally in this new venture, henceforth their ship sailed smoothly.

The ancestral home of the Chaudhuri family is in Haripur village in the Pabna District. Pramathanath's father Durgadas Chaudhuri was an officer in the Bengal Executive Service, his mother, a pious lady, died at a ripe old age at her third son Kumudnath's residence at Ballygunj. The parents could be well proud of their seven stalwart and handsome sons, all well-placed in life and of their two daughters who survived them. The eldest son was Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri, a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, married to Pratibha Debi, a niece of Rabindranath and the founder of Sangeet-Sangha, the well-known music school ; the second son is Mr. J. Chaudhuri, Bar-at-Law, the editor of *Weekly Notes*, married to one of the daughters of the great Sir Surendranath Banerjea. The third son was K. N. Chaudhuri, also a barrister

and a famous *shikari*, married to a daughter of the well-known homoepath Dr. Pratap Chandra Majumdar. The fourth son was our Pramathanath, known also as P. Chaudhuri, Bar-at-Law, married to Indira Debi, B.A., the only daughter of Satyendranath, the elder brother of Rabindranath, and the first Indian to enter the Civil Service. The fifth son was Lt.-Col. Manmatha, the first Bengali to act as Surgeon-General, he was posted in Madras, he too married another of Rabindranath's nieces. The sixth son is Capt. S. N. Chaudhuri, I.M.S., married to a grand-niece of Tagore ; and the last and the youngest is Mr. A. N. Chaudhuri, the well-known barrister, married to Promila Debi, B.A. (Cantab), a daughter of W. C. Bonnerji, the first President of our Indian National Congress.

Of the two daughters of Durgadas Chaudhuri, the younger is Mrs. U. D. Banerji, wife of the late Dr. Umadas Banerji, and the other was Sm. Prasannamoyi Debi, an authoress of some repute and the mother of the Bengali poetess Sm. Priyambada Debi, B.A., known for her short but sweet poems and (some) books for children. To such a family did Pramathanath belong, a family which held its head high in Bengali society in an age which is not very distant. The family had settled at Krishnanagar, so Pramathanath was admitted to the Chhatravritti School and later on to the Collegiate School there. In 1881, he was sent to Calcutta and was admitted in the Hare School, and from here he passed his Entrance Examination. After studying for his F.A. in the Presidency College for two years, when he met the famous Hirendra Nath Dutta, he went back to his home in Krishnanagar, and there began his study of English poets, Byron, Shakespeare, etc., in his father's library. It was here he met Rabindranath's friend Srish Chandra Majumdar and it was here again that later on in 1886, he met the greatest of Bengali poets, Rabindranath himself. Pramathanath's eldest brother Ashutosh, while going to England had met Rabindranath on board the ship and then had become friends. Rabindranath returned home from Madras, but on Ashutosh's return from England, Rabindranath went to see him at Krishnanagar, and it was in this connection that Pramathanath came to know Rabindranath, Lord Sinha, Byomkesh Chakravarti and Loken Palit were also Ashutosh's friends, whom Pramathanath came to know too. These friends discussed law, science and literature, and Rabindranath discussed music with Ashutosh. Pramathanath was often present at these discussions.

After passing his F.A. from the St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, Pramathanath graduated from the Presidency College in 1889, with honours in Philosophy, and was placed first class first. For his M.A. he took English as his subject ; in answering his examination paper, he gave his own criticism of Shakespeare, and this, together with his good English, secured for him the first place in the first class. While studying for his M.A., he read a paper on Jayadev's *Gitagovinda* in a small literary club, which later on developed into the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. It was here that he came to know literary men like Jnanendra N. Gupta, Deshbandhu Chittaranjan, Akshoy Baral, Suresh Samajpati and others. The members criticised his first Bengali article on 'Jayadev,' and it was published in the *Bharati*, a magazine, edited by Rabindranath's elder sister Swarnakumari.

In 1893, Pramathanath went to England to study for the Bar, he stayed in England for two and a half years or more, and his father passed away while he was there. When Pramathanath was in India, he had learnt French and Italian at home. He had also translated French stories into Bengali, which Suresh Samajpati published in his magazine *Sahitya*, and Rabindranath criticised in his *Sadhana*. Pramathanath had a vast collection of French books in his residence 'Kamalalaya,' which later on he donated to the Benares Hindu University. A man of leisure and of letters, he was always surrounded by books, many of which have been donated to the Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.

On his return to India, Pramathanath devoted himself more to the study of literature than to the study of law. His first short story 'Prabash Smriti' in Bengali was published in the *Bharati** of 1898. Pramathanath continued his connection with *Bharati* and other periodicals for a long time, till he started his own paper *Sabujpatra* in 1914. Pramathanath's first book of poems called *Sonnet Panchasat*, was published in 1913 ; another of his poetry books, is called *padacharan* ; his essays are, *Birbaler Halkhata*, *Nana-katha*, *Duyarki*, *Amader Siksha*, *Pranchin Hindusthan*, etc.; his story books are, *Char Iyari Katha*, *Ahuti*, *Nillohiter Katha*, *Nillohiter Adiprem*, and *Anukatha Saptak*, etc. *Visva-Bharati* has brought out an edition of his collected stories called *Galpasamgraha*, with a foreward by Rabindranath.

Pramathanath's contributions are of inestimable value, though they are not so vast as Rabindranath's The Calcutta University decorated him with honours by giving him the Jagattarini Medal in 1937. And on the 6th of September, 1941, a public reception was given to him to celebrate his seventy-third birthday by a Jayanti Utsav. The function was held at the Ashutosh Hall of the Calcutta University. At this function Pramatha Chaudhuri remarked, "This gathering proves that my holding the pen has not been in vain." It was Indira Debi who read out what Pramathanath had to say, as for some time past his health had been failing, but he was fortunate in having a wife who was devoted and loving and nursed him till the very end. She was his *grihini, sachiva, sakhi* (wife, adviser and companion), she was always patient and kind. Indira was brought up in luxury, in the midst of art and music, and she also passed the B.A. of the Calcutta University. The only daughter of her father, the loving sister of Surendranath Tagore, the favourite niece of Rabindranath and Swarnakumari, she became the pet of all her family by her affectionate nature. She is also a gifted musician, well-versed in both Eastern and Western music, the authoress of *Narir Ukti*, and the notation writer of many of Rabindranath's songs, she is an authority in the matter of the poet's old songs. She too is tall, fair and goodlooking like her husband, her sweet melodious voice, grace, beauty and achievements have endeared her to all of her family members, whether old or young, and to their hosts of friends. An early part of her childhood was spent in England with her parents and later on she often visited the Bombay Presidency, where her father was posted. Perhaps, these influences of places, where there is no

* Probably Swarnakumari's two daughters, Hiranmoyee Debi and Sarala Debi, were then the joint editors, as Swarnakumari edited the paper for twelve years from 1884, and then after a brief interval again for seventeen long years.

purdah-system, together with her family culture, has bestowed on her the rare gift of being alive to every-thing surrounding her, whether the cooking of a special dish or conducting a musical performance, whether writing an article for a magazine or finding a stencil-design to be drawn on the wall by home artists ! She is equally interested in everything. Without her, Pramathanath's life would not have been what it was, an aristocrat's life spent in an old-world splendour. She reminds me of 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever.' They were both perfect as regards their choice of wearing apparel, which always suited their beautiful complexion. Unfortunately this ideal couple have not been blessed with offspring, but she is the *Na-Ma* of all the children of her husband's family, and the children of her own family love her nonetheless.

Thus helped and encouraged by his wife, who lately worked also as his secretary, coaxing him to dictate his own life-sketch to her, and by receiving contributions from Rabindranath for the *Sabujpatra*, Pramathanath, the humorous aristocrat among writers, effected a far-reaching revolution in the literary style of Bengal. An erudite scholar and a barrister of the Calcutta High Court, he could not shake off his early attachment to Bengali literature, at whose altar he served unfalteringly till the very end, and in his passing away Bengal has lost one of her most powerful literary geniuses.

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BOYHOOD DAYS*

Vignettes of a Vikrampur Village

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

Vikrampur in the Munshiganj subdivision of the Dacca district (the land of my birth) is a peninsular tract of about 300 square miles, washed by the gigantic river Padma on the south and the west and by the comparatively smaller river Dhaleswari on the east and intersected by small streams and canals which flow out of and into the big rivers. It is the most congested rural area in the whole of India, the population being about 9 lacs. Vikrampur has an old, old history dating back to the Buddhist age (hundreds of Buddhist images of the earlier and later schools have been in recent years unearthed by archaeological scholars and preserved in the Dacca University Museum) and bears to this day its ancient fame of scholarship, culture and daring patriotism. It was here that Dipankar Sri Jnana, the Buddhist scholar who travelled to Tibet in the ancient days was born : later on it was the home of the Tantric cult of *Sakti* : it was one of the far-famed centres of Sanskritic learning, taking its place alongside Navadwip, Bhatpara and Mithila : and in the era of British occupation, it has produced scholars like the late Dr. Aghore Nath Chatterjee, father of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose, besides hosts of pioneer educationists who made their mark throughout and beyond Bengal : it was the stronghold of Chand Roy and Kedar Roy, one of the twelve *Bhuyias* (semi-independent Chieftains under Moghul suzerainty) of Bengal, it fought the Arakan Maghs and the Dutch and Portuguese marauders in the 17th and 18th centuries : and in this generation it has produced an outstanding patriot of superlative charity and self-abnegation like Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das and others of fine calibre, a saintly patriot like Nibaran Chandra Das Gupta, intrepid self-sacrificing workers like Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghose and Dr. Suresh Chandra Banerjee besides thousands of fighting zealots in the cause of Indian freedom, who have contributed their mite of patriot-service to far-away districts and provinces. The conditions of life tend to rear up a people, hardy and resourceful, expert boatmen and swimmers from boyhood who have to hold their own against incursion of flood when every house is an islet isolated from every other house, when snakes and reptiles and crocodiles infest the entire region, when people's homesteads get under swirling masses of water and a sort of amphibious existence comes into being for months and cottage floors and mud-walls are washed away and people have to improvise temporary *machans* (small sheds on stilts of bamboo and wood) for themselves and their cattle and poultry. Much of it is *chur land*, where sturdy nomadic Muslims and Namasudra Hindus of intense courage in search of land and homestead settle, fight for years against heavy odds and natural impediments and marry and multiply, and make of these regions reclaimed from water smiling gardens full of vegetation and crops, paddy and rice and other crops of the finest variety. Here Muslims and Hindus have lived side by side for endless generations in perfect amity and concord ; there have been and are robbers and river-dacoits, but the heart of the people is sound and humane in spite of aberrations. The cultured and virile middle class is the back-bone and the hardy peasantry the muscles and sinews of this wonderful part of Bengal. The beauty of its wide-flowing rivers and streams, the abundance of its ponds and tanks, most of which have inflow of fresh water and fresh fish during the rains, the wide stretches of its paddy and jute fields where paddy and jute crops have to be harvested often in four or five feet of water, the big and small marts throbbing with life and alert business with thousands of river-craft of all kinds and sizes careering full-sailed along rivers and canals manned by vigilant and cheerful peasant-producers, has only to be seen to appreciate their charm. It is one of the finest and most romantic and adventurous parts of India. The village of my nativity has been a prosperous village of over three thousand souls, studded with zig-zag watery channels banked by leafy gardens and wild jungle growths (in my grandfather's time leopards and wild boars were trapped or hunted inside the village and men had to travel to neighbouring market-places in strong batches, armed with lathis and spears) which look eerie in the moon-light and send a shiver along the spine in the dark nights and which are a labyrinthine puzzle

* Extracts from the autobiographical volume *At the Cross-Roads.* The writer is a well-known Congressman and educationist who had been also Editor of the now-defunct Calcutta daily *The Servant* and *The Rangoon Mail.*

through which no stranger boats might find their way at night. This village was bossed sixty years ago by a few Brahmin and Vaidya families, small landed gentry, of whom my family was one and had a dense population of Muslim and Hindu tillers, of a strong contingent of milk-men, of small traders and of artisans of every shade and colour.

What a transformation in recent years ! Vikrampur, all this garden-plot of Bengal, hoary, full of health and vitality, whose denizens were to be found after English education and ways had been injected into them, in all parts of India, Burma and the Near East, in all manner of cultured avocations, teaching, doctoring, engineering, law and business, has suffered woeful deterioration first by the incursion of the pest of the water-hyacinth about 20 years back—and what vestige of old glory and material comfort remained has vanished in the throes of the man-made famine of '42 and '43, which took a toll of a lac, one-ninth of the population !

I was born on the 15th of June, 1885 (2nd of Ashara, 1292 B.S.) in the village home of my ancestors, (Madhyapara) in the Vikrampur Pargana of the District of Dacca in Eastern Bengal on a day of earth-quake. The family was one of gentlemen-farmers who, in the days of my grandfather, added to the agricultural income by business in Northern Bengal in tobacco, oil, and lending money to peasant-proprieters on security. On the mother's side, I have been told, my grandfather was in affluent circumstances, having been manager of a Zemindary Estate besides being a small landlord owning several villages on his own account. Both of them were leaders of the rural *samaj* of those days, the maternal grandfather being one of the coterie of leaders of the Brahmin community. Six decades ago, life in an East Bengal village was self-contained, fairly prosperous and disciplined in manners and conduct. Prices were low, rice selling at approximately two rupees per maund, pulses at about the same rate, fish and meat, butter and ghee were plentiful, vegetables mostly home-grown, every family keeping all assortment of cows for milk and the necessary contingent of bulls and agricultural implements for farming. All disputes were settled by the village Panchayat and hardly any cases short of murder reached the police and law-courts. Every house had its spinning-wheels plied by women-folk and every village or group of villages had its families of weavers. Lancashire and Manchester cloth and Liverpool salt had not yet been able to penetrate the rural markets, of which there were not a few, and the usual clothing of a respectable village gentleman comprised nothing more costly than 5 or 6 coarse dhooties and a chaddar with a silk outfit for ceremonial worship and festive occasions and a shawl for ceremonial visitings : the ladies were content with home-made saris of ordinary texture with a Dacca sari and a silk sari for luxury. Underwear, chemises and blouses were undreamt of luxuries. The village granaries kept full, the tanks were flush with fish and as floods from the big rivers, Padma and Dhaleswari, swept over the country-side for practically five months in the year, catching of fish by various devices and of tortoises (which are very much relished in East Bengal) also was a favourite leisure-time pastime in which the big and small folk joined hands in flotillas of boats. Gold and silver were not plentiful, currency notes had not yet made their appearance and ordinary sales of commodities for everyday consumption were often by barter. Copper coins and cowries were the usual currency in the villages and a man who could produce five thousand silver rupees or a hundred tolas of gold from the home-chest was accounted quite rich. The conveyance during the season of floods was by boats, every household owning one or more boats, big and small. During dry months, men took a twenty-mile walk to relatives' and friends' homes or to the District head-quarters as a normal thing and women were carried on small palanquins drawn by a couple of sturdy bearers : it was only very rich families who maintained their own palanquins and the necessary retinue. Life was conducted on a community co-operative basis and relations between Hindus and Moslems were of the friendliest ; servants male and female were treated as junior members of the family and accosted like relations. Very often Hindus and Moslems became almost blood-brothers, participating in each other's religious and social ceremonies and offerings were made by Hindus to Moslem shrines and vice-versa. Every village had its *Dharma-gola*, a granary of common use in times of scarcity, and it was a point of honour for the more affluent to look after, cherish and maintain the less affluent. The weaver, the brass-smith, the milk-producer, the washerman, the fisher-man, the barber, the cleaner and sweeper, the potter and the day-labourer and the boat-man, domestic servant—each had his appointed place and fixed perquisites (in the shape of *chakran*, *i.e.*, free tenancy of fixed areas of cultivable land and also of presents in kind and clothing on ceremonial occasions) and the village economy was a self-acting, self-sufficing machinery which kept working on easy, greased wheels. Hospitality was a matter of routine and no guest could be sent away without food and shelter at any time of the day and night. The village *chandi-mandap* of the richer gentry was the location of the rural school, where the three R's were taught with very little expense, plantain-leaves, reed-pens, and ink manufactured out of soot-black and one or two printed primers containing lessons also in social etiquette and charity, a book of mental arithmetic (*subhankari*) teaching complex calculations by time-honoured formulae couched in doggerel verse which could be easily memorised and verbal story-telling from the Ramayana, the Mahabharata and the Puranas, supplemented by the telling of folk-tales and hair-raising fairy-stories and demon-stories on evenings by the mothers and grandmothers and aunts—forming the entire paraphernalia of a basic elementary education which stuck and helped the learner to find his way through life as a commoner. The women-folk had their early schooling in the observance of various *bratas* (worship of village deities, or saintly women of legendary fame or of various phases of Nature and of the seasons) which required habits of early rising before the faintest streaks of dawn, of culling of flowers and holy green grass and *Tulsi* leaves, of early dips in the tanks even in the intensest cold, of lighting of lamps and incense and preparations of sandal-paste—often punctuated with modellings in clay of various kinds of birds, fishes and reptiles, and of deities and of *alpana*.* These ceremonies had their group worship-

* *Alpana* is nice designs of leaves and flowers and of birds and beasts and ingenious curves and circles made on the house-flooring and walls by semi-liquid and pounded rice, and has been an outstanding folk-art in Bengal and Orissa. An interesting account of these brata-kathas and drawings of designs of *Alpana* has been published by Abanindranath Tagore and others.

pera, and they had to memorise and chant *brata-kathas* *i.e.*, legends and stories in homely verse, which were full of the aroma of the simple, natural, unsophisticated rural life and the charms and beauties of nature—and steeped in lessons of heroism, charity and social service and faith in the unseen power. This was an excellent preparation for the married life or for the life of virginity or widowhood. Sweetness of disposition, physical fitness, a strain of selfless service and modesty and chastity of soul were all imbibed in the process. The more ambitious and richer boys were sent on to the higher vernacular and middle schools (the latter teaching some English and advanced courses in Mathematics, language and History and Geography): a very limited number went up to the Higher English schools which were just being started by Government Missionary and indigenous agencies. The Government-sponsored Dacca College and the Dacca Collegiate School as also the Jagannath College and School started by princely benefactors were functioning and it was to the Dacca College that my father, Govinda Chandra Banerji, went up after his schooling at the Collegiate School, the first in the family to do so, about the year 1880 or thereabouts. A Mr. Pope was then Principal. The call for going out in search of emoluments from Government or semi-Government service was not yet very insistent in our parts and my father was preceded in such adventuring by a few picked men from the Pargana of Vikrampur, some of whom distinguished themselves as Executive and Judicial and Accounts officers and doctors in Government employ, the less fortunate joining as clerks in the Criminal, Civil and educational Governmental establishment, in the District or Divisional headquarters. The prestige of Sanskrit and Persian scholarship was still high and Brahmin Pandits learned in the Smritis, in Astrology, in Vedic and Pauranic rituals, and Maulanas versed in Islamic lore, and Vaishnavite gurus, disciples of the Chaitanya cult, were widely respected and made an honourable living, setting examples of plain living and high thinking and high morals which are rare in the present days. Sanskrit and Islamic learning had not yet been standardised by Governmental or semi-official Boards and Associations; and Sanskrit Tols and Muslim Madrasas were real centres of old-world culture and learning. Nor did the villages lack in healthy diversion and edifying and stimulating entertainment. The organs of mass education still functioned: and *Kathakas* (cultured Brahmins with trained musical voices versed in the ancient scriptures, Puranas, the Gita and the Bhagavata and *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, the Bible of the Vaishnav cult who were also apt singers and reciters) kept thousands spell-bound by their recitals given in rich houses from time to time: the *Jatrawallas*, the *Kabis*, the *Torja-singers*, the *Bauls* kept the minds of village folk sweet and clean and stirred them to piety, human solidarity and good fellowship by dramatic improvisations from Pauranic lore or by performances of set pieces in stages beneath a big *shamiana* (canopy of canvas) in the open or under the shelter of the rich man's *Chandi-mandap*. Competitions in poetic improvisation (by Kabis and Torja-singers) were as much an order of the day as boat-racing, lathi-exercises, javelin-throwings, sword-play, etc. Then there were festive ceremonies in every household throughout the twelve months of the year, the Durga Puja (worship of Sakti in all its phases), the Saraswati Puja (worship of learning and the fine arts) and the Jagaddhatri (sustainer of the universe) and Manasa (serpent-goddess with a variety of legend and romance about the deity) pujas being celebrated with comparative pomp and splendour according to the means of the richer families, which gave play to the art-instincts of the village men-folk to which every man and woman and child in the village and its environs were bound to be invited and entertained and feasted: Pundits receiving presents, servitors their prescribed fees, the officiating priests making their fortunes (in piles of clothing and rice and sweets and fruits and money presents), the beggars and mendicants receiving their doles. Even the poorest householder observed certain rituals of daily worship and the blowing of conch-shells and the plucking of fruits and flowers in a spirit of religious humility, the morning and evening prayers and Bhajan-singings, pilgrimages to distant villages which sheltered shrines of saints or were the sites of religious temples of repute—all these conspired to place and maintain men's spiritual longings on a level of sweet decency rare in these days of hustle and grab and greed, of the western cinema and the tainted stage which often make of sex an obsession and direct green minds to the by-ways of immoral conduct by open or subtle suggestion, which trail the sweetness and purity of the normal sex-life and the decent community-life to the dust, and make of life one abnormal medley of sensationalism and sex-hunger and kill the decencies of social behaviour.

It will take the nation another generation of suffering and heartache to retrace its steps and to find out that the trappings of the West hardly fit us of the East and that what may be meat to some may easily be poison to others. The machine-civilisation of the West with its surfeit of easy locomotion, cheap luxuries, surface culture, and its creation of 'robot-men' and 'robot-women,' and its mass-production and mass-distribution of goods wanted and unwanted, its sex-orgies and its tearing away of the draperies of private and domestic life, and its huddled life in factory-towns is fast producing conditions in which the barbarianism and philistinism of sugar-coated human apes and tigers will swamp all real cultural and spiritual values, and end, unless better counsels prevail, by the foul abuse of science harnessed to the ends of mass-terrorising and mass-killing of the human species in every part of the world, in an extinction of the human races and peoples: and yet it is to this machine-civilisation which kills personality and encourages anti-social codes of national and international behaviour that large numbers of our so-called 'intelligentsia' swear their conscious or unconscious allegiance and our education, our politics, our economics are tarred with the black brush of this poisonous fungus-growth masquerading as 'modernism.' It is here that Gandhiji has spotted the real disease and malaise of the modernised East and pointed the way back to our ancient moorings—the decentralised, destandardised rural life of self-sufficient economy with its spinning wheel and the weaver's loom and the simple cottage industries, lit up with the mild lamps of incense, music and sacrifice and bubbling into laughter and song, and bursting into a blaze of sweetness and purity and a halo of harmony and divinity! This is not really going back to the slow tempo of devitalised India and this new orienta-

tion will certainly have room for electrical, steam and water-power.

It was in such an atmosphere of simplicity and robust good-fellowship, of wide charity and tolerance, of a co-operative community-life that I was born and nurtured. My recollections of childhood are faint but I was a rather sick child who was often in the throes of physical agony, the despair of the family—it was the angelic ministration and vigilant care of my maternal grandmother with whom I lived for the first 4 or 5 years of my birth (much reduced in fortune by large charities and expensive ceremonial celebrations of my grandfather on the mother's side but with her soul and body attuned to service of the poor and the lowly, of the sick and the suffering, sparing nothing in the doings of good turns to the families of the erst-while retainers and dependants of the house) that kept me alive. I remember the *hate-khari* (initiation into learning) ceremony of childhood, when with a new cloth tucked on to my waist and a new scarf attached to my chest, a sandal-paste imprint on my forehead, I had the sweet sensation of this my initiation into the portals of learning by a far-famed Sanskritic scholar who made me sit serious and silent, on an *asana* (a small carpet) and after the usual prayers, held my tiny fingers of the right hand and made them write some of the alphabets of my mother-tongue with a piece of chalk on a plate of ebony-black sandstone. And then, as a big feast was out of the question, being beyond the slender resources of my sweet and pious grandmother, how I was given sweetened balls of fried rice to present to groups of men and women and children who attended the ceremony of initiation of the *Burra-Karta's* grandson as a matter of duty. and a mark of reverence for the wide-hearted head of the family who had spent away all his fortune in charities and presents to deserving Pundits and needy people, irrespective of caste or community or religion, and left his widow virtually penniless with a big *pucca* mansion and its appendages and worships to maintain out of very slender funds and landed properties! Another remembrance of my days of infancy also shoots up how I was sometimes taken to the houses of the milk-producers of the village, tenants of my grandfather, and how I was always cheerfully treated to milk, curds and fresh butter by these grateful servitors of the house! Also my first essays in learning, by writing on banana-leaves with reed-pens with sooty-ink, under the direction of the village school-master in the outer court-yard of the house—and how I could not produce the required curves and scrawls and was the despair of the school, being dubbed a slow-witted child with no promise at all! And how my grandmother, the grand old lady steeped in old-world pieties, never despaired of her grandchild, and had always a kiss and a sweet embrace ready for the dullard! These are precious memories sweeter far than those of school and college laurels which came to the soft-headed, slow-witted child quickly after! Another recollection comes up to the surface—of joining a party of elders and coevals in attending a feast given to Brahmins by a non-Brahmin family in a rather distant village, where I was carried in the arms of some relation, and from which I returned with copious presents in the shape of a two-anna bit and a bell-metal glass of very small dimensions appropriate to a child-Brahmin and how I cherished them! The next phase is when I was transferred to my father's home at 5 years of age, in 1890, a good eight miles' distance from my maternal grandfather's; and after some months with my paternal grandmother, another grand old dame of the old stamp, thoroughly selfless and intensely religious, and my mother transported to the far-off subdivisional centre of Gaibandha (then a small hamlet of straw-houses with only the Courts, the High School, the Jail and the Subdivisional Officer's quarters housed in pucca buildings, with a straggling population of probably one thousand. a market where stationery, clothing, leather-goods and other commodities of daily use, utensils and 'hurricane' lanterns, umbrellas and such like things were sold by standing shops, and there was a buying and selling of milk and fish and vegetables, country-grown fruits, *gur*, etc., every afternoon with a bigger assortment of goods for sale on *hat* days twice a week), in the district of Rangpur in North Bengal, where my father was serving as an Inspector of Primary and Middle schools under the District Board with ultimate control by the Provincial Government.

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TAXATION ON SALT

By JITENDRA K. NAG, M.Sc.

OUR countrymen watched with great interest the recent gesture of Mahatma Gandhi for the abrogation of the Indian Salt Act, so that they might be relieved of the burden of paying a tax of Re. 1-9 as. on a single maund of salt, the use of which commodity can hardly be dispensed with so long as they take food and food is available to them. Very few have scrutinised the benefit derived from the great leader's march to Dandi (Dharasua) in 1930, that culminated in the grant by an alien government of concessions under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact afforded to the village manufacturers of salt along the entire sea coast of the Peninsula to consume and sell their salt without paying any duty. And this blessing came to them practically after hundreds of years, for even in the days of Hindu suzerainty, an impost, however insignificant in amount it might be, was indirectly levied on the common salt.

What does the salt tax mean to poor Indians will be evident from the observation of Mr. Ratton made seventy years ago in his book on *Common Salt*:

"To return to the natives of British India, a rice-eating family of five, that is, a typically destitute family. in its most dependent state, consumes 60 lbs. of salt per annum. on which the tax mounts to 2s 1-1/3d or 3 per cent of his income. . . . it seems a great deal . . . .

"It is unfortunately true that there are countries, in which salt is taxed, without any provision whatever being made for its free use in agriculture or for cattle. British India is open to this reproach. No one could argue in favour of a tax which tends directly to impoverish a country . . . As regards loss it should be premised. and it is commonly recognised that what is lost in salt revenue by the

remission of salt duties for agricultural purposes is gained in the increase of revenue from other direct taxes consequent on the increased prosperity of the peasantry.

"There is nothing to say in favour of the tax, where it exists in its worst form, as for example, in British India, where manufactures are deficient, chemicals are imported, and salt is not allowed duty-free for manufacturing purposes ; except that an alteration of the salt laws in favour of manufacturers would purge the tax in a great measure of its objectionable character."—(Ch. XVI, Ratton).

The salt duty reaches every inhabitant of the country who takes salt with his or her meal. Prof. J. L. Ratton, M.Sc., M.C., incorporated the above arguments in his valuable book, which was placed on the list of text-books for the examination of candidates applying for posts in the Salt Department of the Government of Madras in the last century. His exhaustive study on the subject, as manifest in his *Common Salt*, was the outcome of his being deputed by the said Provincial Government to investigate into the possibility of employing the latest methods of salt manufacture adopted in Europe and advise them in developing the Bay Salt industry of Madras.

It was not only the Mahomedan rulers who had imposed this taxation, under the Sikh Government of Northern India also, salt was among the forty-eight articles liable to Customs, Excise, town or transit duties.

Almost every province in India has a different history as regards salt trade and industry ; the most interesting perhaps is that of Bengal.

Before going into details of the pros and cons of the salt duty in India, I think a brief history of the salt revenue with its salient features will not be out of place here.

Pliny mentions that king Buckh, probably a Persian, had a greater tribute in salt paid from India, than in gold or precious stones (A.D. 70 circa). The Romans were probably the earliest in making a great use of salt taxation. At the beginning of the Second Punic War, 215 B.C., a tax was levied on salt which gained for its authors the nickname of salinators. Later, from the twelfth century downwards, the salt tax became almost universal in its application in European countries. In Russia it dated from the time of Peter the Great. France had such tax from the beginning of the twelfth century. Napolean abolished the turnpike dues and re-imposed the tax to meet his expense for invading Italy.

In Hungary salt was taxed from the thirteenth century. In Germany also the tax existed during that century. In England, the tax was first imposed by the Romans as early as 640 B.C. In later times it was re-introduced by William III (of Orange) in 1694 to the extent of a shilling per bushel of 56 lbs. Up to the time of the Commonwealth, salt was free from any tax in England and the levy that was then imposed was taken off at the Restoration. The impost of 1694 went up to 2s 6d in 1698 to 3s 4d in 1699 and remained at such high rate till 1729 when the tax was temporarily non-existent. It was re-imposed by Sir Robert Walpole ministry in 1732. During the American War of Independence. the tax was raised from the existing rate of 3s 4d to 5s per bushel and with the exigencies of an increased revenue the tax was increased to 10s in 1798. In 1805, it was again raised and put in the maximum level of 15s per bushel. This led to a violent agitation in the island that brought it down to 2s only in 1823 and ultimately caused its abolition in 1825.*

England was the first country in Europe to repeal the salt laws and she was followed in 1844 by Norway and by Portugal in 1846. The dramatic end of England's taxation on salt may be put here precisely. On May 13, 1824, a motion was introduced for continuance of the duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, opined that if any tax on salt were continued it ought to be much more than 2s. The motion was withdrawn but matters moved swiftly from that time towards the complete withdrawal of the tax. On May 31st, 1824, the Salt Duties Repeal Bill by Goulburn, Hill and Brogden, appointing January 5th, 1825, as the date of expiry was read for the first time in the House of Commons. On June 3rd, it was read for the second time and eventually on the 9th June, 1824, the Bill was passed by the Parliament.

We in India are strongly expectant of such an event to happen and see that the taxation on salt is cancelled for ever and its repeal brings forth a relief to each and every people of this sub-continent from the lien of impost, enjoined by an alien Government, on a very necessary condiment.

Poor India needs more salt than any other country in the world except China, for her poor people, poor soil and poor cattle. Since a man in poverty requires a greater quantity of salt than a rich one, the burden of taxation falls more heavily on that general mass of people that cannot afford costly protein food but consume mostly starch *e.g.*, in his staple food rice. The late Dadabhai Naoroji wrote in his *Poverty and Un-British Rule in India* :

"What a humiliating confession to say that after this length of the British rule, the people are in such a wretched plight that they have nothing that the Government can tax, and that Government must, therefore, tax an absolute necessary of life to an inordinate extent."

In India the system of salt revenue was different in different provinces up to the year 1870 after which it became standardised by Queen Victoria's Government which succeeded the East India Company in the enjoyment of the right to impose a duty on salt. Before the passing of the Salt Act of 1882, the duties also differed in different parts of India.

In Madras, salt revenue had been rather insignificant before 1805, when the Government of the East India Company began to exercise their monopoly in the trade and manufacture of salt. In 1802, they had already reserved their right of manufacturing salt to themselves. Mr. Plowden was of opinion that the monopoly was designed to meet the expenses of the new judicial establishment in the presidency.

The history of the salt duty in Madras and Bombay may be precisely put here. It is summarised from a study and research on the subject made by the

* Hostility were redoubled in the beginning of the present century when the tax was raised to 15s a bushel. Sir T. Bernard and Samuel Parkes, a chemist, being the principal pamphleteers. A parliamentary committee was then appointed to investigate the question and it held its sittings in 1818. A great number of people of all kinds were brought to interrogation before the committee. The weight of evidence was in favour of the repeal.

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in 1929.

In 1809, the price of 1 garce (120 mds.) of salt in Madras was Rs. 105 including the cost of production, duty and all other expenses. The price was reduced to Rs. 70 and this level was maintained till 1828 when it was again raised to the former figure. In 1844, the company abolished the transit duties but increased the price to Rs. 180 per garce, *i.e.*, Re. 1-8 per maund. Eventually this had to be lowered down to Re. 1 per maund under orders of the Court of Directors. On the foreign salt that entered in small quantities the ports of Madras an import duty of Rs. 3 was fixed but the Court brought it down to annas twelve only in 1851. The rate of duty on the indigenous salt in the presidency of Madras was raised from Re. 1 to Re. 1-2 in 1859, to Re. 1-6 in 1861, to Re. 1-11 in 1866 and to Re. 1-13 in 1869, when a uniform rate for Bombay and Madras was introduced.

In Bombay regular excise was enforced from 1838 before which different systems of management were in vogue in the collectorates of Bombay, Surat, Ahmadabad, Kaira, etc. Some salt works were owned by private parties, some were owned by the Government who used to run them and sell the salt produced, or used to lease to private manufacturers from time to time on a rental basis. A duty was levied on the import and export of salt by sea and a duty was levied on transit by land. Sometimes a land revenue was derived from the salterns and crystallising pans on higher assessment than that of the agricultural land.

The idea of a salt revenue in Bombay by creating a monopoly in salt, similar to that already introduced in Bengal on a substantial basis, seems to have been first mooted in 1816, when the district officers were deputed to explore possibilities of an increased revenue. But the Court of Directors considered the proposal premature in the then unsettled state of the presidency and did not agree to it. Later, however, the Court approved of a recommendation of a customs committee, formed with Mr. Bruce as a member, and as a result of that from 1838 an excise duty of 8 annas per maund of salt was levied and licensing of salt pans (solar of course) was introduced. The rate was on the point of being increased in 1844 but a timely agitation became very effective and a dissenting note was issued by the Court of Directors in England. The rate after all was raised later to twelve annas and again to Re. 1 in 1859 by the Government of India, as a new machinery of England's Government, following the footsteps of the East India Company.

The new Government again raised the duty to Re. 1-4 in 1861 to meet the deficits in finances caused by a general depression of the country due to the mutiny of 1857. It was further increased in 1864 to Re. 1-8 and this rate remained till 1869, when Government introduced a general rate of duty on salt for Bombay and Madras by raising it to Re. 1-13. At that time in Bengal, the duty remained at Rs. 3-4 per maund though the agency system was already withdrawn. With the enactment of the Indian Salt Act in 1882 a uniform rate of Rs. 2 per maund was introduced as Salt Duty for the whole of India.

The late Mr. Kapilram Vakil rightly pointed out in his latest brochure on salt published last year that many of the States in India had no salt duty. The States of Kathiawad and Cutch of the Eastern States Agency, being the most productive of sea salt in India, have no impost on salt which their four million consumers derive from the local factories.

II

Bengal has been paying a regular salt tax since 1817 when the duty was at its topmost level. The rates as current in different periods are shown below :

Per maund (82 2/7 lbs.)

1817 to October 1844 (27 years)	Rs.	3	4	0
October 1844 to April 1847 „	Rs.	3	0	0
April 1847 to March 1849 „	Rs.	2	12	0
April 1849 to April 1859 „	Rs.	2	8	0
December 1859 to March 1861 „	Rs.	3	0	0
March 1861 to January 1878 (15 years)	Rs.	3	4	0
January 1878 to July 1878 „	Rs.	3	2	0
August 1878 to March 1882 „	Rs.	2	14	0
March 1882 to January 1888 „	Rs.	2	0	0

(From 1882, the rate of duty was standardised for the whole of India.)

19th January 1888 to 17th March 1903 (15 years)	Rs.	2	8	0
18th March 1903 to Dec. 1903	Rs.	2	0	0
1904 —	Rs.	2	4	0
1905 to 1907	Re.	1	8	0
1907 to 1916	Re.	1	[illegible]	0
1916 to 1923	Re.	1	4	0
1923 to 1924	Rs.	2	8	0
1924 to 1931	Re.	1	4	0
1931 to 1946	Re.	1	9	0

(Additional Import Duty on salt was passed in 1931 and the Extra Duty for European salt was 4as. 6p. from 1931 to 1933, 2as. 6p. from 1933 to 1936 and one anna six pies from 1936 to 1938 only. It was withdrawn in 1938).

During the Mahomedan period, a tax on the salt consumed by the people of Bengal was levied by means of imposts on the privilege of manufacture and duties on the transportation from the places of manufacture to the interior of the country. A monopoly for the manufacture and sale of salt was established by Clive in 1765 in his creation of the society of trade for salt, betelnut and tobacco to provide emoluments from the profit for the higher members of the Company's Government who used to enter into questionable transactions to amass enormous fortunes in those days. In his Minute of September 3, 1766, Clive assumed that his share would yield 12 to 13 lakhs of rupees annually. The rate fixed for deliveries was Rs. 2 per maund.

The existence of this monopoly was of short duration, as the Court of Directors wholly disapproved the arrangements. But the Court did not object to the levy of Salt Duty which had been in force prior to British occupation.

In 1772, the manufacture and wholesale trade was farmed out by Government to private individuals but the system was extremely complicated and was never very productive. Eight years later Warren Hastings introduced the Agency system. In accordance with this system, the *molunghis* (salt manufacturers) received advances from the agents on condition that they delivered their salt to the agents who stored their salt and sold to the wholesale dealers at a price, fixed by the Government from time to time. The profit between the purchase price and the selling price, taken to be a Government Duty, swelled the revenue from

£8.427 in 1780-81 to £4,57,687 in 1786-87* as estimated by Plowden in his report on the working of the agencies as a special officer (Salt) in 1860. The system was, however, strongly disapproved by the Court of Directors in 1837, after it had worked for more than half a century. Though it continued for some time with modifications, it was totally abolished in 1863 and on the recommendation of Plowden, the excise system was re-introduced causing great hardships during the Orissa famine of 1866. As an aftermath of the withdrawal of the agency system, the *molunghis* suffered, the duty was then Rs. 3-4-0 per maund. Effective reduction in duty commenced from 1882 when the Indian Salt Act was passed.

During the period of 1865 to 1890, the Liverpool salt had already obtained a regular market in Calcutta, gradually ruining the national industry in salt. The British India Association submitted a petition to the Government signed by Raja Radhakanta Deb and others complaining against arbitrary selling prices for salt with the definite purpose of enabling imported salt to be profusely dumped and stated that as salt was a necessary of life, duty should have been entirely taken off.

Before 1882, when the duty was reduced to a uniform rate of Rs. 2 a maund, the consumption of salt in India was about 2.90 lakh maunds. With the reduction of duty, consumption at once began to expand and rose to 337 lakhs in 1887. But Lord Dufferin raised the duty to Rs. 2-8 in January, 1888. The result was that the expansion of consumption which had gone on so steadily during Lord Ripon's time, at once ceased. Since that year the consumption remained stationary till the end of the nineteenth century.

The Taxation Enquiry Committee strongly criticised the duty on salt in 1925 in endorsing the view-point that if India could be made self-sufficient by the granting of a purely temporary advantage to the local manufacturer, whether by way of a rebate of duty or a different duty on import or both it would be a desirable end to achieve. The Committee stated in their report at page 133 :

"It (Salt Duty) falls on a necessary of life and to the extent that salt is essential for physical existence, it is in the nature of a poll tax. The bulk of it is paid by those who are least able to contribute anything towards the State expenditure. Salt is also required for various industrial and agricultural operations and for cattle. Unless it is issued duty-free for these purposes (at least) some burden is thrown upon the industries in which it is paid."

Refund of duty paid on Common Salt used for industrial or fish-curing purposes has been, of course, made by the Government, but the concession does not extend to the salt for cattle. Cattle are fed with salt almost everywhere, for salt not only saves them from disease but also improves their constitution and increases their utility.

The Indian Chamber of Commerce rightly stated in their report of 1929 that, the puny Bengal bullocks needed more salt. The poorer the bullock of Bengal the more he stands in requirement of salt. In the Select Committee's Report of 1836, evidence of one medical expert runs thus :

"I have not a moment's doubt in my own mind but that the want of salt is one of the causes, which makes the horned cattle, sheep and horses of Bengal, by far the smallest and the puniest and the worst conditioned which I have ever met, in any part of India whatever . . . The heavy tax on salt in Bengal is a prohibition upon all improvement."

Salt for agricultural purposes is, of course, duty-free as it is denaturalised by being mixed with tar, napthalene, etc. to be used as manure with lime or other substances. The denaturants are so chosen that they would neither harm the soil nor allow the general consumers to use the mixed salt as an elimentary salt. Bombay salt department denaturalise salt by mixing it with bone dust and crude oil. In Bengal napthalene powder and sodium-thio-sulphate are used as denaturants.*

For the fish-curing salt, the collectors of Salt Revenue of both Bombay and Madras, where there are many fish-curing yards, build sheds, fences, etc., to guard them and post checking officers who are vigilant enough to see to any abuse of the concession.

In Madras, Mr. Agarwallah says that before the suppression of the use of salt earth, the fishing classes were accustomed to cure with earth salt, the fish which they could not sell fresh. The practice should have revived now partially as the coastal villagers are allowed to make earth salt under the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. For the big-scale fish-curers, of course, the Department of Fisheries, Madras, it is gratifying to note, have been taking regular steps in supplying duty free salt to them. And I think the Director of Fisheries of Bengal should also take initiative to provide Bengal's fishermen with duty-free salt in making proper arrangements for its distribution to the different *Khuttis* periodically opened in different parts along the seacoast or on banks of big rivers like the Meghna, Padma or Tetulia.

In conclusion, I would like to point out that although Bengal will not be much benefited by the remission of salt duty, the Indian Salt Act of 1882, lately revised and incorporated in the Central Excises and Salt Act of 1944 should be repealed, as Mahatma Gandhi pressed the Viceroy to do, to the interest of the country as a whole, and for the welfare of India's poor millions. The abolition by the Government of India of the Salt Laws which have so long infringed the right of an Indian to consume an indispensable commodity, that he can get in abundance from his bountiful country's salt seas, salt rocks and salt lakes, was long due. Government must be aware that a tax on a particular commodity which has no substitute and which is a necessity of life, if prolonged, would result in a very bad distribution of the burden. It might swell the revenue, but, the poor paid a much larger proportion of his income than the rich.

The province of Bengal is still unfortunately ninety per cent dependent on salt from outer countries.

* The revenue of the Company from the Salt Duty mounted to £ 8,00,000 in 1798.

* Salt tax is a bar to scientific farming, the backbone of a nation's strength. This was the chief consideration in the repeal of the salt duties in England in 1825. Although in that country, facilities were afforded beforehand to the agriculturists for use of salt free of duty, it was conceived that the tax operated as a restriction upon the use of chemical manures. Free salt for agriculture is a recognized provision of salt taxation in all civilized countries. In France, Belgium and Prussia, as formerly in England and Russia, such salt was not taxed.

Of her entire requirement only ten per cent is met by the manufacture of indigenous salt, revived since the Gandhi-Irwin Pact. The Local Government as well as the capitalist public have so far been unable to develop this industry on a commercial scale. Their venture in late years to promote the industry may lead the future generation to be self-sufficient, but there may be some difficulties brought in by the abolition of the salt tax. Bengal's salt which is mostly made by the costly process of utilising artificial heat cannot be sold at low prices, regulated by the fluctuating market due to the dumping of the foreign salt (inclusive of salt from other provinces) from abroad or the inland sources of India. So, in apprehension of a situation caused by the abolition of the Salt Act, when Bengal salt would be unable to compete in the market, I think Government wou d do well to render adequate tariff protection to the newly revived industry of salt in Bengal. The industry, though still in a very nascent stage, should be fostered tactfully, so that, the history of 1863 may not be repeated. Besides a specific Custom Duty, a protective duty will be necessary on the salt traders, who will supply salt to Bengal for the inland sources.

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF SIEGFRIED SASSOON

By Prof. MANOJ KUMAR CHATTERJEE, M.A.

The Great War of 1914 saw Siegfried Sassoon reaching his full stature. It saw him battering the shallow facades of complacency and depicting the dirty of mess of blood and decaying bodies which actually is the modern war. Not for him was the celebration of the heroic exploits of the dying heroes; his predominant mood was not lyrical but satiric, not resigned but peevish and rebellious. The verses in the *Counter Attack* (1918) and *Song Books of the War* reveal the Georgian turning from the lyrical moment to the socially significant, abandoning his romantic attitude under the stress of disillusionment and achieving, by stumbling rhythms and forthright epigrams, a highly cynical mood of sustained pungency and pathos. Very few of these verses rise to the level of great poetry, but they are specially significant as showing the brutal realities of war without gloss or evasion of truth.

This is the early Sassoon, writing in verbose and pungent epigrams, but kept vital by the message his poetry sought to convey. A change, however, is detected in him ever since he published his *Nativity, Heart's Journey, Vigils* and lastly, *Rhymed Ruminations*. Here, in all these verses, he has relinquished the satirical pursuit of temporary nuisances and opened out his soul into songs of release. These poems show an amazing advance in expression as well as content. Here his genius has not only a universalising quality, but a quality of insight and penetration that has enabled him to pierce to the heart of phenomena by stating them, recording them. He has something to say and he has said it effectively and poetically too. The mood that is in evidence in these verses is foreign alike to purposeless bitterness and uncontrolled sentimentality.

It is eighteen years since Mr. Sassoon published the *Heart's Journey* in which we left him setting out to find the "peace that shines apart," "the simple secret thing." In *Vigils*, he may be said to have consummated his desire. Mr. Sassoon has already had a solitary, meditative turn of mind; the Great War of 1914 wrung from him a universal poetry, post-war conditions lashed him into satire, but now he has more definitely than ever turned his back on the contemporary situation, the world of action to

"Seek, in seeing
Your own blind being,
Peace remote in the morning star."[1]

He has, therefore, all too easily relapsed into the dreams of youth. "They were not true, those dreams," he says, nevertheless he returns to them—his "firstling friends." This search for a perpetual spring, a forgotten simplicity, is the theme of many of his poems, and he finds the inner peace that he is looking for in a state of unwisdom; his solution is

"To walk in childhood's land
With trusting looks,
And oldly understand
Youth's fairy-books—
Thus our unwisdom brings
Release which hears
The bird that sings
Beyond the years."[2]

This mood is typical of his last book of verse—*Rhymed Ruminations*—the magic of childhood is evoked and the mind is allowed to move backward in time to catch up the silent chords of the past:

"For me it shines far far—too far—away;
For time has changed this 'View' into a vision."[3]

Most of these poems, which were privately printed, suggest the mood of contemplative retirement which pervades the volume as a whole. As a man "with blank discarded youthfulness behind him," he exercises

"A mind, matured in wearying bones,
returning slowly
Toward years revisioned richly while
fruitions fail him—
A mind, renouncing hopes and finding
lost loves holy."[4]

Generally, however, it is the ghosts of a gentler, unmechanized time who draw him out of the harsh

1. Peace—*Vigils*.
2. *Vigils*.
3. A View of old Exitor.
4. Progressions.

present into the "past's provincial peace," the ghost of an old lord walking for the last time along the ornamental ride which he had cherished, or of Sandys translating Ovid, "in a quaint narrow age, remote from this," or of Pyne, "a small honest painter, well content to limn out English landcapes." It is a vision as well as a view that he gives us, in his picture of Kent of thirty years ago when trees "knew no threat of overhead invasion," of King Alfred on his march to Eathundun through the 'grassed' and 'terraced' hill, or of the old house from which, eight centuries gone, Queen Matilda went :

"If I could see that wild and warring Queen
Who lived here for a time, old histories claim ;
If she, revisioned by my thought, could come !
* * * * *
Attuned, I could watch Queen Matilda go
Hunched on her horse across the crunching snow."[5]

Sometimes, the poet's search for harmony of heart drives him to seek out "winged lovely moments" in the grandeur and stillness of Nature. By solitude imbued, he is responsive to such beauty without resistance. After all, he says, his "unambitious mid-maturity" deserves the contour lines and curves of the landscape !

"One with these garden silences that pass,
I know that life is in my saturate sense
Of growth and memories of what lifetime meant.
I am yet young with my unheard unspent
Awareness of slow-stored intransience.
And still, where trees like sentinels look for day
I feel what all have felt and know what
none can say."[6]

A mystery beyond man's grasp, thus, breathes from the luxuriance of Nature, that simpler world from which we have been evicted.

There is, indeed, more in these verses than vivid recollection. There is the beauty of the immediate moment too. Most of these poems were undoubtedly written under the gathering shadow of war and this gives a particular poignancy to Sassoon's record of tranquillity, "intense with harmony of heart." The vision of anarchy and havoc that the last war let loose was correctly apprehended by the poet, as he rode along a pre-Roman pack-road. The drone of engines above Stonehenge made him feel sad :

"Cities, I thought, will wait them in the night
When airmen, with high-minded motives, fight
To save futurity. In years to come
Poor panic-stricken hordes will hear that hum.
And Fear will be synonymous with Flight."[7]

A sense of the bitter frustration with the talks of the tyrants and the politicians moved him to the depths of his being and he wrote :

"Out of the nothingness of night they tell
Our need of guns, our servitude to strife.
O heaven of music, absolve us from this hell
Unto unmechanised mastery over life."[8]

It is to be absolved from this hell that he retires to the safe tranquillity of the past and explores in his memory peaceful vistas which may resolve the harsh actuality of today in the music of a deeper reality, not very remote from homely human things. To this end the ghosts of those who have wrought the English past are also invoked to

"Stand near us in unimpassioned ranks
Till we have braved and broken and overcast
The cultural crusade of Teuton tanks."[9]

Past and present thus mingle throughout these poems, enhancing or contrasting with each other. Such a ruminating mood is difficult to sustain at a creative pitch. But without ever striving after compelling images or complex rhythms. Mr. Sassoon succeeds in giving these "quietened cadences, these tragitones, these stilled interior cadences," a quality of deeply felt experience. Denied a fruitful relation with a society that for all its material achievemests was drifting into chaos, he has sought within a coherence that was so lamentably lacking without.

In true art man expresses an achieved unity and is so truly himself that he can be unconcerned with himself and wholly given over to the experience which he values. He is free to be aware and to love, to create out of a sensibility enriched equally by joy and pain instead of nursing a lacerated one. And it is because he values intensely, that in realizing truth he communicates beauty. It is this intensity of value, of self-forgetful and self-realizing love, and no external tradition, which forges a living link between the true poetry of any age, however, unexpected or exciting its idiom, and what Mr. Eliot has called the "living whole of all the poetry that has ever been written." And so far as the poet concentrates upon this he need have no fear, particularly in an age of unexampled betrayal of human values, that he is seeking escape from the harsh demands of the present in the graces of the past. For he will be in something deeper than the literary sense, in the true tradition.

In his later poems, Siegfried Sassoon is such a poet. In an age when poetry has lost its natural and its homely roots even as human life has, when the minds of poets are as much tormented by abstract questions as by concrete cruelties, and the soul itself is torn by a war of ideologies, he has retained the continuity of human tradition. In doing so he has mostly turned a blind eye to what is involved in the shattering of that tradition. He is too wise a poet to tread ground over which his imagination has not intimately worked. And consequently the tradition which he maintains, he also renews. And it is rooted in the soil. Its ground is narrow but deeply cultivated. The nearest parallel to it is the poetry of Edmund Blunden, in its homeliness and simplicity and it is only out of touch with its times so far as it is in touch with the perennial. It is not an accident, however, that his last book of verse—*Rhymed Ruminations*—is dedicated to Edmund Blunden.

5. A Remembered Queen.
6. Wealth of Awareness.
7. Thoughts in 1932.
8. A Prayer From 1936.
9. The English Spirit.

NATYASASTRA AND THE POST-BHARATA WORKS ON SAMAGANA

By SWAMI PRAJNANANANDA

Music is the greatest art in the world. It is called the foremost amongst the fine arts, for, it has the keenest and quickest appeal to the aesthetic sense of men and animals. But the question is what do we mean by music? The music is known to us by its present-day use of modes and practices. We know of it with its classical and modern styles, its graces, theories, combinations and permutations, *alapas*, *tanas* and *gamakas*, etc. But if we try to trace its history of evolution we find that they are the developments of the later origin and additions.

The real music (in the sense Vedic) was the *Samagana* which saturated the air and holy atmosphere of the Vedic antiquity with its divine tune and melody. It was the original form of music of India of which we know very little at present. It was really the womb (*yoni*) from which the fully developed present classical and other systems of music originated.

Really speaking, not only Indian, but the music of all nations of the world have their common source in the Samagana of the Vedic age. The present development of music has reached its climax, but it is also a fact that it was first crystallized in the Vedic society and then chanted by the Rishis before the blazing fire of the sacrificial altars. It was the outpourings of their blessed hearts with tunes and melodies as the offerings of worship for their great deities.

The Rishis and the Samaganas of the Samic period used to chant hymns with only three notes, and then the music (*ganam*) gradually evolved into the *svarantara*, *odava* and *sadava* and culminated at last in the seven notes or *sampurana*. The Samaganas were chanted in full seven notes also as we are informed by the *Naradi-siksha* and the *Puspasutra*, the *Pratishakhya* of the Sama Veda.[1] In the *Brahmanas*, *Sikshas* and *Pratishakhyas*, the real form and modes of the Samagana are evident and clear. But we shall not deal with these ancient works here. Our intention is to get into the *Natyasastra* and other works on music of the later age for finding out the hints and traces of the Samagana if there be any.

For the detailed knowledge of the Samagana we often knock at the door of Bharata Muni, the author of the *Natyasastra*, but true to confess, we become rather hopeless. He really furnishes us with a very poor information though he is said to be the father of systematized Indian music. Bharata deals with the music proper in the chapter 28th of his celebrated *Natyasastra*. But when we fix our searching eyes upon the valuable pages of his book we find no satisfactory hint of the Samagana except the word *ganam* which is the only source of the *gandharvam*.[2] By the word *ganam*, he means to say the Samaganam which was favourite and pleasing to the Devas.[3] But it is quite true that except this particular word *ganam*, we get no other hint of the Vedic music from him.

It is interesting to note that Bharata has mentioned again several times the words, *ganam* and *gitam*, which signify only the music current in the then present society and not the Vedic (except in one place). He says: "Music and drumming,"[4] 'music for the *natyam*,"[5] "and music,"[6] "and musics,"[7] and "the forms of music,"[8] etc. But all these words indicate the particular music which was in vogue in the time of Bharata and that was nothing but the *laukika* or the *deshi* music.

In Bharata's time we get no mention of the word *samgitam*, but it is quite true that it was getting gradually materialized under the shade of the *gandharvam*. Although Bharata never uses the term *samgitam*, yet he fails not to indicate its traces in two different ways: one by the stanza "it includes music, drumming and drama."[9] and the other by "it is composed of *svara*, *tala* and *pada*."[10] The latter is the definition of the music *gandharvam* which was discovered by the Gandharvas.[11] It is said that the Gandharvas learnt the art of music from the Devas in the Svargaloka (?) and it was brought down by them to the earth (Martaloka) to be practised by human beings.[12] Really the Devas, Manusyas, Rakshasas and the Gandharvas were the human beings and they were classified in different sects and communities as we are informed by the *Brahmanas* and ancient Sanskrit literatures. The Gandharvas were perhaps the settlers in ancient Gandhara (Kandahara) in the North-West of India. They were such great lovers of music that they spoke, thought and dreamt music in their lives. Bharata tells us that these Gandharvas favoured too much the music *gandharvam*, and it was not the Samagana.

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1. The *Naradi-siksha*, 1.8-14 and the *Puspasutra*, 9.2.1-7. *Vide* also the commentary by Ajatasatru on the *Puspasutra*.

Swami Abhedananda also says: "The Greeks had five notes of music at first, but the Hindus developed seven notes of music and had three octaves long before the Greeks had them. During the Vedic period, Sama Veda used to be sung and chanted with those notes."—Vide, *Ideal of Education*, p. 6.

2. "[illegible] ।"— *Natyasastra*, 28.10.

3. "अत्यर्थदिष्टं देवानां तथा प्रीतिकरं पुनः ।"—*Ibid*, 28.9.

4. "गीतवादित्र"— *Ibid*, 27.91.

5. "गानं नाट्यकृतम् ।" — *Ibid*, 27.98.

6. "एवं गानम् ।"— *Ibid*, 28.7.

7. "गीतयश्च ।" — *Ibid*, 28.14.

8. "गीतयोऽवयवा ।"—etc. *Ibid*, 28.16.

9. "एवं गान च नाट्यं च वाद्य च विविधाश्रयम् ।" —*Natyasastra*, 28.7

10. "स्वरतालपदाश्रयम् ।"— *Ibid*, 29.8.

11. "गन्धर्वानामिदं यस्मात्तस्मात् गान्धर्वमुच्यते ।" *Natyasastra*, 28.9.

12. There is an allusion in the *Satapatha Brahmana* (III.2.4.1-7) that Visvavasu, the Gandharva stole the Soma from Gayatri and when the Devas came to know it, they sent the unmarried young Vakdevi to rescue it. The Gandharvas were very fond of women it is said and so when Vakdevi approached them the Gandharvas were charmed with her divine beauty. The Gandharvas then came to her and said: "Let yours be the Soma and Vak ours." This Vak is the music.

After Bharata we come across with the work of Dattila who was a contemporary of Bharata. In the works of Dattila we do not find any term as the Samagana. He remains also silent with regard to this matter, excepting that a faint trace of the word *Samavedasamudbhavam* is found in Sl : 222.

Next to Dattila comes Matanga, the author of *Brihaddeshi*, as an able and wise exponent of Indian music. He also tunes on the same harp, but he too fails not to confess that his noble attempt for composing the *Brihaddeshi* is only with a view to expound the theory on the *deshi* music and not that of the Vedic.

We are glad to admit now that after a cold silence for a long period we find a ray of hope in the works of Shrangadeva, Somanath, Narada, the author of *Samgita-Makaranda*, Ahobala, Damodara and others. In the *Samgita-Ratnakara*, an elaborate and systematic work by Shrangadeva (in the Narada's *Makaranda* too) we get a reference to the Vedic music from which the *gitam* was 'chased' and then 'collected' by Pitamaha Brahma. The *Ratnakara* mentions some of its hints by saying : "Which was chased by Virinchi and others,"[13] "Pitamaha Brahma collected the music from the Sama Veda and others,"[14] and "Brahma is engaged in chanting the Saman"[15] Kallinath, the commentator makes these references more explicit when he admits the words : "*Iha tu ta eva.*"[16] Like Narada of the *Siksha* and *Sayana*, the commentator of the four Vedas and *Brahmanas*, Kallinath really makes a bridge over the gulf between the ancient and the modern. He shows that ancient notes of the Vedic music or the Saman were used in the *laukika* (*Venusvara*) with their names changed into new ones. He says : "The seven notes which were used in the Saman chant were the *krushta*, *prathama*, *dvitiya*, *tritiya*, *chaturtha*, *mandra* and *atisvarya*. At present the Samic notes have been identified or rather substituted to the *shadaja*, *rishava*, *gandhara*, *madhyama*, *panchama*, *dhaivata* and *nishada*."[17] The expression "*iha tu ta eva*" signifies that though in the Saman chants the names of the seven notes were krushta, prathama, etc., yet in the *laukika* or *Venusvara*, they have taken the new names of shadaja, rishava, etc. These were chased (*margita*) and collected (*samjagraha*) by Brahma. Kallinath says that Brahma collected the divine music to have it utilized by all classes of people on earth.[18]

It is true that the Vedic music was the Saman, and Simhabhupala, the commentator of the *Ratnakara*, clearly admits that the *laukika* or *Venusvara* as defined by the *Naradi*, was simply chased or seen (*anvesita drista*). When Shrangadeva uses the term *gitam*, he really means the *laukika* music and Kallinath also comments on it by stating in an ingenious way : "The *gitam* is Vedic being the collections from the Sama Veda."[19] And so it is "excellent," *i.e.*, acceptable by all the lovers of Indian music.

Kallinath informs us again that Virinchi Brahma chased and found music in the four Vedas. He and others took the vow of composing the Natyaveda with its history and so they went thoroughly through the four Vedas and then collected the music.[20] We are informed that the Sama Veda is the song-book that contains the stanzas inter-woven with notes and melodies. The Riks are the stanzas and when these stanzas are again applied in the sacrifices, they are called the Yajus. The aesthetic part of the music, it is said, was taken from the Atharva Veda.

But a doubtful question here arises that though Brahma taught Bharata and others and Bharata specially applied the music in his celebrated work *Natyasastra* as an art of drama, yet no clear evidence of the Vedic music is left in his book anywhere except some of the insignificant hints or traces. It is also a fact that Bharata did know the real structure and beauty of the ancient Samagana as he learnt it from his expert teacher Brahma, but yet he absolutely kept silent regarding this Samagana except a faint link that occurs once or twice in his *Natyasastra*. So it may be possible that the Vedic music was completely out of practice in his time and people had forgotten the art of it, and as the practice of the *laukika* was very current in the then society, Bharata did not pay his attention to collect the principles and laws of the Samagana or Vedic music.

After Shrangadeva, Somanath, the author of the *Ragavivodha*, echoes the same voice. He says in the text and also in his commentary that Brahma collected the krushta, prathama, etc., seven notes from the Sama Veda and made it applicable for the society.[21] He taught Bharata first the art of music and Bharata applied it before Sambhu, the Mahadeva.[22] But it is interesting to note that Ahobala in his *Parijata* leaves some hints which are clear and evident. He admits the *samgitam* as the *vaidikam*,[23] and he says that music

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13. "या मार्गितो विरिञ्च्याद्यैः ।" —*Ratnakara*, 1.22.

14. "सामवेदादिदं गीतं संजग्राह पितामहः ।"
Sangita-Makaranda, 1.18.
—*Ratnakara*, 1.25 ;

15. "सामगीतिरतो ब्रह्मा ।" —*Ratnakara*, 1.27.

16. Vide, *Ratnakara*, p. 15.

17. "सामानि हि क्रुष्ट प्र मद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रा-तिस्वार्याख्याः सप्तस्वराः, इह तु त एव यथायोगं षड्जादिव्यपदेशभाज इति ।" —*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

18. "ब्रह्मनाऽपि वेदादुद्धृत्य संग्रहणे सार्वलौकिकत्व प्रयोजनमिति
—*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

19. 'गीतस्य सामवेदसंग्रहरूपत्वेन वैदिकत्वात् ।"
—*Ratnakara*, p. 15.

20. "मार्गीत च विरिञ्च्याद्यै ब्रह्मादिभिः 'नाट्यं'ख्यमिदं वेदं सेतिहासं करोम्यहम्' इति प्रतिज्ञाय चतुर्भ्यो वेदेभ्यस्तस्य कृतत्वात् ।" —*Ratnakara*, pp. 14-15.

21. "सामवेदात् क्रुष्टप्रथमद्वितीयतृतीयचतुर्थमन्द्रा-तिस्वार्याख्यान् सप्त स्वरान् संगृह्य प्रवर्तित इत्यर्थः ।"
—The Commentary on the *Ragavivodha*, 1.6.

22. "विरिञ्च्याद्यैः अन्विष्टो भरताद्यैः शम्भोरग्रे प्रयुक्तोऽस्त्यर्थः ।" —*Ragavivodha*, 1.6.

23. "संगीतं वैदिकं वाचिकं वैभिन्नं ।" —*Parijata*, 1.3.

is like the Saman,[24] and it has been advocated by the Vedas and the Smritis.[25]

Then comes Damodara, the ingenious author of the beautiful work *Samgita-Darpana.* He mentions really no name of the Saman and the Vedic notes, but he uses the term *marga* which has been chased by Brahma and applied by Bharata for the cause of the human society.[26]

Now, without entering into detail we may conclude that though Bharata and later authors on music are aware of the fact that there was an ancient system of music which they admit as the Vedic yet they do not feel any necessity of mentioning them. Because even in their time the Vedic system of music was absolutely forgotten with its science and practice. So, it is quite natural that all the authors on music intend to show the origin of the seven notes from only the Nada or the unmanifested and undivided causal sound[27] neglecting their womb or the *yoni* which is the Samagana.[28] And so they do not turn their eyes towards the history of their evolution, but step forward to the philosophical ground gradually mystifying the whole thing and thus make the system and practice of the sacred Samagana remain buried under the grave of oblivion.

24. "भवन्ति सामतुल्यानि* । —*Parijata*, 1.5.

25. "वेदोक्तत्वात स्मृतिप्रोक्तकर्तव्यत्वान्मनीषिभिः ।"
—*Parijata*, 1.4.

26. "द्रुहिनेन यदन्विष्ट प्रयुक्तं भरतेन च ।"
—*Darpana*, 1.4.

27. But we know it correctly that Bharata and Dattila never deal with the Nada theory anywhere in their work. It begins properly with Matanga, the author of the *Brihaddeshi.*

28. The writer does not mean to say by it that the practice of the *Samagana* has ever been effaced from the earth, but he means to say that as its practice and melody are not able to charm and conquer the hearts of the modern artists and audiences, so it is neglected by them.

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PADMAVATI*

By Prof. K. R. QANUNGO, M.A., Ph.D.

We apologise for a year's delay in reviewing this valuable publication of our Bibliotheca Indica Series ; and the excuse is that Malik Muhammad Jaisi having been somewhat of a favourite with us also, this learned translation interested us more than an average book for review. Mr. A. G. Shirreff has the credit of completing the English translation of Jaisi's enchanting love-epic of mystic lore, so popular alike with the scholar and the unlettered of the greater part of Northern India. A great Bengali poet of the seventeenth century, Alawal, made a translation of Padmavati, and through Alawal's blessings the peasantry of Bengal love Hiraman and hate Raghava as the country-folk of Oudh where Jaisi is a living inspiration, next only to Tulsidasji. For half a century admirers of Jaisi's *Padmavati*, Grierson and Pandit Sudhakar Dvivedi, Pandit Ramchandra Sukulji and Lala Bhagwan Din, had been fighting over the *text* of *Padmavat,* and the fight which became dull for a time owing to the death of the first three—may enter perhaps an acute stage with the appearance of Mr. A. G. Shirreff in the field as the translator and the arbiter.

First twenty-five cantos (though very short each) of *Padmavati* were edited by Grierson and Dvivedi for the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, and their English translation of I to X has been incorporated in the present translation. The first complete and authoritative edition of the text of *Padmavat* with a long and learned Preface by the editor, late Pandit Ramchandra Sukulji was published by the *Nagari-Pracharini Sabha* of Benares. In spite of his unrivalled knowledge of Hindi and Sanskrit, his years of patient and conscientious efforts in restoring the most approximately correct reading of the original, Sukulji honestly admitted that perhaps much was yet to be done with the text and annotation of Jaisi's *Padmavat.* Perhaps, a still greater service he rendered was to expose the unscrupulousness of Sudhakar Dvivedi in explaining what he did not understand. He proved that his commentary on *Padmavati* under the title *Sudhakar-Chandrika* was really no *Moon-beam* illuminating the path of scholars but in truth what we in Bengal call *aleya* and in Europe *will-o'-the-wisp.* Ramchandraji thought that his few pointed thrusts at Dvivediji were enough warning for the future generations. We wish he had written a commentary on Sudhakar's commentary under some such title like *Sudhakar-bhanjika* for the benefit of scholars like Mr. Shirreff.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal perhaps foresaw the danger ahead and in its generous appreciation of the merits of Sukulji's edition "asked (the translator) that Benares edition of the work should be used in the translation." But we are sorry to notice that Mr. Shirreff has not kept himself to this instruction with the result that lured by the deceptive flare of *Chandrika* he has verily fallen into a quagmire. This translation will surely provoke a severe criticism if Hindi learning is not dead in Hindustan. Mr. Shirreff has strayed into the field of textual criticism, and that without any acquaintance with the fundamentals of an art now raised to the exactness of a science in classical studies. It is sheer presumption on the part of a *translator* to scatter judgments sometimes in favour of Grierson and sometimes in favour of Ramchandra and to choose a word here and reject a word there from one or the other as he pleases. His excuse is that words in Persian scripts of some MSS afford a latitude to the extent that *parbat* (mountain) may be read also as *priti* (love) ! Even he has taken the freedom to add to Jaisi's geography an imaginary island "Palanka" somewhere

* *Padmavati* of Malik Muhammad Jaisi, translated by A. G. Shirreff, Esq., I.C.S. Bibliotheca Indica series, Issue No. 1552, New Series, 1944. Calcutta. Pp. 372. Price Rs. 8-8.

beyond Lanka. (P. 130, foot-note). Mr. Shirreff's work bears evidence of his honest industry and wide reading. He spared no pains to make the translation intelligible to the average reader. But his labours unfortunately have produced opposite effect. One feels smothered under the load of his glosses and notes leaving the reader hardly any respite to admire the skill of the poet. We sometimes wonder whether we are reading the translation of an allegorical love-epic or Raverty's translation of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*! Mr. Shirreff's translation would have been much better appreciated but for his superfluous and occasionally irritating notes.

A perusal of the first ten cantos, which is a reprint of the already published translation by Grierson and Dvivedi raises grave doubts whether Grierson took care to revise this portion himself. English—as like ours—reads outlandish, and slips in which it abounds could never have been made by an Englishman conversant with more than fifty languages, besides numerous Indian dialects. This is a serious charge, and we bring it deliberately quite aware of the risk and responsibilty. Against Mr. Shirreff our grievances are that

(*i*) his translation is rather prosaic ;

(*ii*) he has lowered the value of this translation by trangressing the instructions of the Society, namely, the use of *Nagari-Pracharini Sabha* edition of *Padmavat* ;

(*iii*) he has not illuminated but obscured several passages and thereby produced wrong impression about Jaisi by adding irrelevant notes.

It would have been wise on the part of the translator to leave untranslated any passage he and his more learned predecessors have failed to interpret satisfactorily.

Let us now turn to the contents :

सुमिरौं आदि एक करतारू =Alawal : प्रथमे प्रणाम करि एक करतार

"I *bear in mind* that one and only primal maker" (opening line) *bear in mind* is perhaps not Grierson's English so bereft of *sentiment* as the phrase is. As regards the rendering of *adi* as *first* is more in accordance with Hindu and Muslim practice of invoking or remembering God first ; so Alawal is more correct than Dvivedi and Grierson who take *adi* with reference to the Creator.

2. "Then made He (for the Light) the *mighty* mountain Kailasa" (3rd line from top). Wherefrom comes *mighty* which is not in the text ?

Note (*a*) is misleading. No one in Urdu script mistakes *parbat* for *priti*. Sukulji (in his first edition of *1924* which is before us) writes *parbat* clearly. If in the next edition of 1935 (used by Mr. Shirreff) Panditji at all changed it to *priti*, the change is definitely for the worse and *not* "preferable" as the translator suggests. Mr. Shirreff says, "If Jaisi wrote *priti* he was approaching his subject *more from the Muslim than from the Hindu point of view* : if he wrote *parbat*, the reverse would be the case." Jaisi was neither a Muslim nor a Hindu but a Hindustani loving both and combining in himself the best of the two creeds. Kailash in Jaisi is perhaps the Indianization of the garden of Paradise, (not Sarag) the abode of the primal pair, Adam and Eve transformed into Hara-Parbati. That *parbat* is the correct reading is proved beyond doubt by Alawal's seventeenth century Bengali translation—

तार परे अस्फटिक सेई कैलास

That the poet does not mean any earthly creation becomes clear from the word स्फटिक. Jaisi could not create the Himalayas before the creation of four elements that come in the next line.

जाति सूर औ खाँड़े सूरा— —"By *caste* a Sur, with his sword a hero." Grierson knew too much of the Sur *clan* to mistake them for a *caste* which as every child knows is absent in Islam (p. 10).

4. "On the highways do men cast about gold (yet no one *snatches it*)" (p. 12). What is cast about on the road may be *picked up* and not *snatched*.

5. दुनौं पानि पियहिं एक घाटा —"both drink water together at the same landing-*ford*." This is schoolboy's translation with the help of a Hindi-English dictionary. Grierson would have written *ghat* or *ghaut* which became domiciled in English in Grierson's lifetime.

6. दीप गभस्थल आरन परा दीप महुस्थल मानुस-हरा

It is a very difficult passage which has not been explained by Sukulji nor by Alawal. But Dvivediji was equal to any occasion, never nonplussed by any passage which he would confidently explain to others anyhow. Perhaps it is from his *Chandrika* that Mr. Shirreff has taken his note 4 of Canto 2 (p. 21). There *Mahusthala* (*madhu*-sthala) is explained as *the land of secret parts* of a woman of Simhala. This is positively indecent and atrocious. If Grierson had read it, he himself would have been shocked, and perhaps at least substituted 'secret' with a more decent word 'hidden'. Mr. Shirreff's translation runs : "The land of Khumbha-sthala fled to the forest (before it), but the land of *Mahusthala* had destroyed mankind (and how, therefore, can I compare it with *Simhaladvipa* ?)" (p. 22). We are not competent to hazard an explanation or offer a comment. Like an average layman we take this passage as an allegorical reference to human heart which is Jaisi's *Simhala* and Padmini is *buddhi* (intelligence) हिय सिंघल बुधि पद्मिनी चिन्हा. Human heart is perhaps compared to hidden wilderness within where lies the isle of honey *i.e.*, nectar of life that does not *destroy* but entices mankind (मानुष-हरा). We are very sorry for English readers for whom perhaps this translation is meant—a wish that Grierson himself expressed as we learn from the Preface of this work.

7. "Gandharva was a *fragrant prince* (सुगन्ध नरेसु) Man has smelt many a fragrant thing but not a human being (p. 22).

8. जनु कैलास परबत बली —each like the mighty Airavata *of* Kailasa (p. 22).

Kailasa of Mahadeva was not the elephant-stable of Indra. Airavata was not caught from the jungles of the Himalayas. The poet perhaps means that the elephants were high like a mountain and as strong as Indra's elephant.

9. घन अमराउ लाग चहुँ पासा (text p. 12)
=Alawal : चारि पाशे लाहार सघन उपवन (p. 26)

Mr. Shirreff has not the fairness to quote even in a

foot-note Sukulji's correction of the Chandrika, which the translator here as elsewhere follows blindly out of deference to the names of Grierson and Dvivedi. Nevertheless an error is an error howsoever venerable the source of it might be. Here the passage is translated: "Dense *mango-groves* lie on every side." If the translator had looked about, he could easily make out that Jaisi calls a mango *anba* (c.f. काहु गही के आँब के डार p. 87).

But now that a twentieth century Pandit (Sukulji) and a seventeenth century Maulana (Alawal) agree on the meaning of *amrau* as 'garden' we ought not to cling to the Chandrika's 'mango-grove'.

10. मौलसिरी बेइली औ करना (text p. 15).

'The Maulsiri *creeper* and the citron . . ." (Trans. 29). Have the countrymen of Jaisi ever seen a *creeping maulsiri*—(which is the same as our most common *Bakul* growing as large as a mango-tree)? The translator's work reminds of the scribe's (माछिमारा केगानी) device of "fly for fly" (*makkhi be-makkhi*). The translator ought to have scrutinised that the poet in his description of flowers and fruits has *not* mentioned the common flower, *beli* before. So the passage means—"Maulsiri, belj and *Karna*." Karna in Hindi, no doubt, means 'a kind of citron"; but citron is not a flower-tree. Here the poet has used it in the sense of Karna (*Persian*, small bugle equivalent to our Bengali *sanai*), meaning, perhaps *kaner* or *kalki* flower.

11. लील समन्द चाल जल जाने (text p. 19).

"The paces of *iron-grey* . . ." (trans. p. 35). Nothing strikes a reader so much as Jaisi's wonderful knowledge of horses. Such passages have hitherto baffled commentators and translators even Alawal. Those who have been to horse-fairs in the Punjab and talked with old Pathan horse-dealers can only appreciate the poet's description of horses. Sukulji has discreetly avoided लील but Mr. Shirreff ventures on the literal, iron-grey. Jaisi means *nila* species of horse, and a *nila* is not blue but *pure white*. We read in the *Rajabyvahara-Kosa*:

(राजव्यवहार-कोष)

नीला शुभ्रः परिज्ञेयो शोनो बोर इति स्मृतः ॥

श्यामस्तु कुमैतः स्याद् अम्बरी मेघ मेघवर्णकः ॥

This is the only source of our medieval acquaintance with horses giving Sanskrit equivalents for Persian and indigenous specification of horses.

12. What a faithful picture of Padmini's beauty peeps through the translation! Padmini's lip, the blood-red *wild gourd* (p. 76); upper arms of Padmini are like golden shafts (कनकदण्ड) turned on a lathe; her fore-arms like a pair of young plaintain shoots [कदली-गाभ (p. 79), and so are her thighs also—as the poet says elsewhere,

13. Nothing is so offending as the *Hell*, an equivalent for पताल where dwell Jaisi's *Lakshmi* and the serpent-king Vasuki.

14. बसै मीन जल धरती अम्बा बसै आकास।
जौं पिरीत पै दुवौ महँ अन्त होहिं एक पास॥

(text, p. 85).

"The fish dwells in water on (the surface of) the earth, the mango dwells in the air. But if there is love between the two they will in the end meet together," (trans., p. 117). Mr. Shirreff keeps himself on the safe side saying that 'it is not one of Jaisi's happiest similes." Our first objection is that no one has seen mango dwelling in the air; secondly, the process of union of lovers is atrocious. Here Mr. Shirreff is not to be blamed so much as the old Pandit's (Ramchandraji's) sense of humour. He repeats with slight alternation the comment of Ramchandraji: "The fish and the mango meet when the fish is *cooked with a flavouring* of mango-juice" (*ibid.* note q.).

Is it justice to the poet? Ramchandra Suklaji ought to have spared us this violent explanation got up in the same way as Dvivedi did elsewhere in the Chandrika. *Amba* ought to have been retained untranslated, because Jaisi never uses the word *amba* as an equivalent of *anba* (mango). Here as the context shows three parties are concerned, Padmini, Ratansen and the parrot Hiraman corresponding to *min* (fish), *darti* (earth) and *amba* (?). The plain sense is that when two strange persons are in love with a common friend they will meet together. Fish desires rain-water at the mating season which is generally toward the close of summer; and so does the parching earth looks up to heaven for the first shower of summer. It is for masters to decide whether *amba* denotes *ambu* water from heaven, *i.e.*, rain drops. Does Jaisi allude to a common phenomenon when some species of fish as *kai*, *magur*, *shail* and *boal*, get excitement after the first shower of summer and are found moving across embankments of lakes and ponds in search of fresh rain-water? At any rate *amba* is not mango, and there is no poetry in making common friends unite in love in the cooking-pan.

15. तेहि के आगि उठौ पुनि जरा।
लंका छाड़ पलंका परा॥ (p. 96).

". . . he began to burn again: he jumped over Lanka and fell upon *Palanka*" (p. 130). Mr. Shirreff adds, "Here and in 30 (15) 3 *Palanka* means an *imaginary island* beyond Lanka; but both Sudhakar and Sukla give the *tame* explanation, he fell on his bed (*palang*)." Both the Pandits improvise no doubt a *charpai* for Hanumanji, and it is unfortunate. Mr. Shirreff makes a wild and wide jump from *palang* (bedstead), and knowing not where to alight, he creates for himself and Hanumanji "an imaginary island beyond Lanka." It is clear from the text that *palang* of the Pandits and *Palanka* of Mr. Shirreff were both somewhere close to Kailas where Hanumanji immediately went to tell of Ratansen's incendiary love that threatened to burn heaven and earth. So what Jaisi meant was neither *palang* nor Palanka but an Arabic word *falak* (celestial sphere). Examples may be quoted where Jaisi has made a fun of the *Pandits* by cleverly importing Persian and Arabic words distorted in vernacular. As regards the other passage referred by Mr. Shirreff—

चाहिहु पवन झकोरै आगी।
लंका दाहि पलंका लागी॥ (p. 171)

"All the four winds fan the flame : the burning heat of Lanka spreads to *Palanka*" (trans. p. 214). Nagamati, the deserted wife of Ratansen, thus bewails her lot in the palace of Chitor which lies in Jambhudvipa of Jaisi. The fire of severance either catches the *palang* of Suklaji or Palanka island of Mr. Shirreff's fancy. Which way are we to go ? Here too *falak* (celestial sphere) is perhaps the only refuge for lovers of poetry.

16. हिया थार कुच कंचन लारू ।

कनक कचौर उठे जनु चारू ॥ (text p. 50)

Alawal—

स्वर्ण-स्थल जिन्या हृदय परिपाटी ।

कनक कटरा दुइ र खिछे उलटि ॥ (p. 58)

"a bosom like a tray on which breasts are like golden *sweet-meat balls*, yea, they rise like beauteous golden bowls" (trans.. p. 80). Here Mr. Shirreff accepts the version of the Chandrika in the text but is afraid of either quoting Sudhakar's ingenious commentary on this passage or drawing the attention of scholars to the home-thrust dealt at it by Suklaji. This betrays the lack of open-mindedness and intellectual honesty on the part of the translator who has given currency to error because it is committed by Grierson and Dvivedi. We quote the Chandrika to break the tedium of this review : "On her traylike bosom, breasts are as if *laddus* of gold ; or say *kachauri* of flour (*ata*) in boiling cauldron was coming up (*phul rahi hai*) *i.e.*, round and expanding breasts look like *kachauri* of almond colour rising up in a cauldron" (on a haluwai's oven). लारू was read by Sudhakar लाडू wherefrom he jumped at *laddu*, a favourite sweet-meat of Brahmins. Similarly, he made *kachauri* out of *kachaura* (cups) for a feast of the fools. However, Alawal committed no such error and his countrymen are quite familiar with *kachaura* in Vidyapati.

We have taxed the patience of readers too much, and transgressed the space-limit of a review. We hope our remarks will not be taken amiss. It will be a height of ingratitude not to appreciate the learning and zeal of Mr. Shirreff who has accomplished an arduous task which old Grierson had given up in sorrow and despair after the death of Dvivedi.

—:O:—

BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

IDEAL OF EDUCATION : *By Swami Abhedananda. Published by the Ramakrishna Vedanta Math, 19B, Raja Rajkrishna Street, Calcutta. Pages 91. Price Re. 1.*

The book under review contains four lectures by Swami Abhedananda on ideals of education in general and Indian in particular. He speaks of the high and noble ideals of ancient Indian education and its achievements and the message it has for us even today; he points out some of the good things in the American system of education and specially of its practical nature and he pleads for co-operation between the East and the West. His emphasis is on the spiritual aspect of education and on moral education. There is also a chapter on "female (*sic*) education" (a term which might well have been dropped in these days). Swamiji has thus touched upon some of the vital issues of Indian education. His views, original as they must have appeared when the lectures were first delivered, would not be looked upon as such in these days ; still they deserve to be carefully considered, specially those on the importance of the spiritual aspect of education. We are grateful to the publisher for making them available to the reading public in this attractive form. The book is well got-up and the printing is good. There are, however, a number of printing mistakes which are irritating to readers.

A. N. BASU

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. 1946. Pp. 65. Re. 1.*

POLITICS OF THE CHARKHA : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. 1946. Pp. 100. Price Re. 1-4.*

THE GANDHIAN WAY : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Third Revised Edition. Pp. 184. Price Rs. 4.*

In a series of bright articles Acharya Kripalani brings out convincingly the democratic and revolutionary character of the Indian National Congress. He also discusses very ably certain vexed questions such as whether the Congress is a party or a platform, how it functions in a perfectly democratic manner, what the role of different revolutionary groups within it is like and so on. The book will serve to dispel many doubts as well as stimulate thought.

In the *Politics of the Charkha*, the author has discussed the part which decentralized economics may play in the task of national reorganization. They give us a means, not only of coming into intimate contact with rural humanity through service rendered in the field of daily need, but it is also a means of establishing in a practical way the economic and political democracy which is the aim of the non-violent revolutionary.

The present edition of *The Gandhian Way* is a completely revised one, and a very valuable section has

been added to it on the theory of the non-violent revolutionary method. Acharya Kripalani discusses the whole question in terms which the modern mind can readily accept. We hope that all the three above books will be welcome by all who are in need of understanding modern India, as well as the present very revolutionary method which she is at present pursuing for the sake of social, political and economic regeneration.

THE WARLIS : *By K. J. Save, M.A., LL.B., Special Officer for the Protection of Aboriginal and Hill Tribes, Thana. 1945. Sole distributors, Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. x + 280 + 14 plates and two sketch maps. Price Rs. 10.*

The Warlis are an agricultural people inhabiting the coastal districts lying north of Bombay. Although their culture has been considerably modified by contact with more prosperous neighbours, yet they have succeeded in retaining some old tribal elements in the shape of music, dances, magical beliefs and practices or social observances. Students of cultural anthropology will find here some useful material for historical reconstruction.

But the author has done a greater piece of service by drawing a realistic picture of the social and economic condition of the tribe in question. He has given us a rather dismal picture of the kind of life to which the Warlis have been relegated by centuries of neglect and exploitation. The only relief which they find from its oppressiveness seems to lie in their chronic intemperance, and in an occasional bout of injudicious expenditure over some social ceremony, which offers one more occasion for indulgence in drink.

Readers will be grateful to the author for suggesting practical measures for the uplift of the tribe.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

CHRISTIANITY : ITS ECONOMY AND WAY OF LIFE : *By J. C. Kumarappa. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. December, 1945. Price Re. 1-8.*

Politics and religion do not involve any conflict, the life of Jesus impels towards identification with the masses, and the Christian can never forget that to find life eternal he must lose his life—and that is the economy of permanence, to be distinguished from the economy of transience according to which only the lower self has to be catered to. This sums up Shri Kumarappa's viewpoint which he held forth before various audiences in numerous conferences and the summaries of his speeches and one address are now presented in the handy volume under review, to be used as a companion volume to his *Practice and Precepts of Jesus*, already noticed.

But the Church and the religion of Jesus have drifted, and the question occurs today both to the followers of the Church and to those outside its fold : Why does the Church support war, and war for aggrandisement? Shri Kumarappa cannot find any sanction in the religion of Jesus for this, nor for making proselytes, nor for owning property. In his words : "Jesus practised and preached a personal religion which derived its characteristics from his attitude to God, and his conception of his mission. The greatest had to be the servant of all. No human need was to be sacrificed to rule and order. We act as trustees with regard to material possessions committed to our charge. If the greed for worldly goods and acquisition could be neutralized, we could do away with war and all other attendant evils. The personality of an individual counts above all tradition and customs." (P. 80). These conclusions have been reached by an impassioned logic, and the interesting correspondence between Most Rev. Dr. F. Westcott, the late Metropolitan of India, and the writer, as given in the appendix is a natural sequel (not, of course, chronological, because it relates to the Salt Satyagraha of 1930 and raises the propriety of Christian reaction to the sufferings of the Satyagrahis) of the above trend of thought and discussion. Shri Kumarappa finds in the example of Jesus Christ a sure warrant for Civil Disobedience, and though the Metropolitan naturally does not agree, Shri Kumarappa has the last word on the subject, and the better of the argument.

The book concludes with an outline of a planned economy in which the writer presents his idea, in a concrete form, of a socio-economic organization based on the ideal of the economy of permanence, with which, it may be remembered, the book started.

The book is printed on handmade paper, and the typography is good, but we are sorry to notice numerous printing mistakes, which do not redound to the credit of the publishers.

Shri Kumarappa's observation should be widely read, discussed and what is more, should serve as a pointer to life.

TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE : *By P. R. Ramchandra Rao. New Book Company, 188-90 Hornby Road, Bombay. 1945. Pp. 108. Price Rs. 3-14.*

It is refreshing to read these sketches of prominent Congress personalities—the Congress High Command—Nehru, Azad, Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Frontier Gandhi, C. R. and Sarojini Naidu. Each is accompanied by a beautiful photographic representation. The author's way is dramatic and he has the gift of phrase-making. The reader is thankful to him also for not bringing in Gandhiji, because, as he rightly says in the prologue, to bring him to the fore in this book would have been to blur the contents entirely. These vivid pen-portraits are assured of a welcome. Though sometimes it has not been possible to keep up the interest, the general impression of the reader is certainly one of satisfaction.

P. R. SEN

SELF-CULTURE (in the Light of Occultism) : *By I. K. Taimni, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Lond.). Published by the Ananda Publishing House, 3A, Lowther Road, Allahabad. Pp. 211. Price Rs. 6.*

In this attractive volume Dr. Taimni, who is a theosophist and well-versed in theosophical doctrines, deals with the science of self-culture from the standpoint of theosophy. In the preface the author states that this important subject cannot be well explained unless life is viewed as a comprehensive whole extending far beyond this short human existence as taught by occultism. Hence he advises the reader to approach the subject in the occult way.

The fifteen chapters into which the book is divided contain lucid treatment of the theory of evolution, the functions of different bodies of man, such as the physical, astral, lower-mental, causal, Buddhic and Atmic, as well as the methods of perfecting them according to theosophy. In the opinion of the author, self-culture, undertaken in right earnest leads the seeker to the goal of life which is self-realisation. Evolution in the light of occultism is a progressive march from the lowest form of life, where the perfections of its divine source are in the rudimentary stage, to the final mergence in the divine. The occultists believe, when the human being, who is in one stage of evolution, perfects his subtle bodies and gets the necessary qualifications, the great souls, called Mahatmas, who have reached the supreme state of perfection, will come to their assistance and guide them to the goal. The belief, that the aspirants are helped and guided in their spiritual life by such invisible souls, is held by many religions, besides theosophy.

In this book under review, the author has clearly explained his subject with profuse illustrations from science of which he is a master. Character-building,

cultivation of moral virtues, the practice of concentration and meditation and the repetition of *Gayatri Mantra*, so sacred to the Hindus, are rightly prescribed as some of the excellent means of self-culture. The author, who encourages the aspirants of self-culture to be very patient and persevering in their pursuits, rightly observes, "Since the idea of self-culture extends far beyond this human life and can be attained only by intense effort, people need not feel disappointed; for, even the little achievements we can make in the various fields in this life, will remove a lot of our miseries and bring in peace."

The author has freely used terms and ideas peculiar to Hinduism and many of his suggestions are those which are given to the seekers of Truth through Hinduism. This book will be much appreciated by the students of theosophy and theosophists. The Hindu readers will be glad to learn from this book the great affinity between Theosophy and Hinduism.

SWAMI RITAJANANDA

BOOK HERE FOR BEDFORD: *By Peter Mell, Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 110. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is a good little novellette for a long railway journey. One would like to keep it and pass it to friends after he has finished it. The printing and get-up are excellent.

THE PICAROON AND THE BURGLAR TOOLS: *By Herman Laudon. The Rampart Library of Good Reading Series. Thacker & Co., Bombay. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a gripping thriller of unusual calibre with surprise and suspense as the dominant notes.

J. M. DATTA

INDIANS OF AFRICA: *By Bhaskar Appasamy. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pages 92. Price twelve annas.*

When slavery was abolished by the British in 1834, difficulty was felt by the farming industry in South Africa and indenture system of recruitment of Indian labour was introduced. This system was finally abolished in 1920, though India had stopped emigration from 1910. Nothing is heard in the outside world about the pure Africans (Bantus or Natives) although they number 6,600,000; Asiatics and people of mixed descent number 220,000 and 770,000 respectively. Europeans number 2,000,000. So, the question of Indians or Asiatics outnumbering the Europeans does not arise, nor the Indians are likely to dominate Europeans in all spheres of economic activities. All anti-Indian measures are resorted to by the South African Union to suppress the Indians in their legitimate economic activities and to humiliate them in their land of adoption. When the country was undeveloped, services of Indians were necessary and they were welcome. Now that Indians have made what South Africa is today, every device is being employed to drive them back. The South African Government have broken their pacts and promises many times, and time has come when nothing less than strong actions by the Government of India is necessary. The Pegging Act of 1943 is a great blow to oust Indians from their land and business. The Union Government is bent upon doing harm to Indians and insults are being hurled one after another, in spite of protests from the people and Government of India. 'Native' Africans are now growing in consciousness and in the near future they will certainly count as a force. Some South African Indians are joining the Natives in their fight against the Europeans, because the future of the country must be in the hands of the people of the land. It must be borne in mind that South African-born Indians are Africans first and as such they must unite with Natives in the common fight for their rights. Indians in India and the alien Indian Government can not do much as the past has shown. A National Government in India will perhaps fare better in future. The author in a short compass has depicted the South African Indian problem clearly and vividly.

A. B. DUTTA

SANSKRIT

THE TANTRA-SAMUCCAYA OF NARAYANA, Part I: *Edited by Mimamsakaratna Mimamsavisarada Vedasiromani V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., Hony. Director, University Manuscripts Library, Trivandrum. Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. 151. 1945. Price Rs. 8.*

An edition of the work was published several years back in the same series with the commentary of Sankara, the author's son. The present edition brings to light one more commentary and that from the pen of a disciple of the author. Though contemporaneous with the former, the latter appears to have been based on a slightly inflated text revealing differences in the arrangement of the verses and occasionally better readings. This is rather curious especially in the case of a comparatively late work like the one under review. Another curious fact with regard to the new commentary is its abrupt ending, in all the manuscripts collated for the present edition, in the middle of verse 80 of the second chapter leaving it incomplete though there is no such defect in the remaining chapters. The edition is enriched by a number of appendices and by two introductions, the English one by the editor and the Sanskrit and the fuller one by Pandit N. Rama Sastri, to whom the editorial work is stated to have been mainly entrusted. The appendices contain indexes of the verses of the text (so far as it is published in the present volume, e.g., chapters I-IV) and of the quotations in the commentaries, besides lists of variant readings of the text as well as the new commentary. The Sanskrit introduction draws attention to the characteristic features of the latter and to the fact that some of the verses of the text are also met with in works like the *Silparatna*. The Preface states that there are verses in the text which are left out in the new commentary. But unfortunately no definite reference has been given to them. The get-up of the volume does not seem to conform to the standard set up in the earlier numbers of the series. This is presumably due to war conditions.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BHARATER PANNYA (India's Merchandise): *By Kali Charan Ghosh. Published from 6B Ashton Road, Calcutta. Pages 368. Price Rs. 4-8.*

This is the third part of the author's book on India's merchandise and contains discussions on Iron, Tungsten, Chromite, Vanadium, Manganese, Molybdenum, Titanium, Nickel and Coal. The author promises to bring out another volume to complete the discussions on other mineral resources found in India.

It must be admitted that even among the educated people of our country there is an amount of unpardonable ignorance in regard to the knowledge of the economic resources of India and those who desire information on this subject find it difficult to get the information in one place, this is particularly so in case of the public, who are literate only in Bengali. Both for the students and also for businessmen and manufacturers such knowledge is indispensable. The information in regard to minerals is contained in various books compiled by specialists, scattered about in various reports, publications and other periodical and contemporary papers. The author has done a great service to the Bengali literature by collecting them in a single book. As Indians, we are most interested in

iron, manganese and coal, and the author has done ample justice by treating these subjects extensively in this volume. His comparative figures and hints at possibilities will go a great way in encouraging students and adventurers in the new fields of activities.

The book is profuse in up-to-date statistical information gathered from most recent government and other authoritative publications.

A. B. Dutta

HINDI

HAMARI RAJNAITIK SAMASYAYEN: *By Shanti Prasad Varma. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 281. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a scientific study, marked by profundity and perspicuity, of our principal present-day political problems. It is divided into four chief sections: the communal aspect, and the political aspect of the problem, and its solution from the standpoints of vivesecting the country and federating the various units into one whole. The *pros* and *cons* are examined dispassionately as well as dynamically. The cultural, and, therefore, cementing aspect of the problem too, is surveyed and scrutinized and the value of several institutions and activities set up for the express purpose of promoting the essential unity underlying beneath the apparent isolationist diversity among the people and their respective patterns of culture and conduct assessed. Shri Varma has presented to those familiar with Hindi, a book that was sorely needed and that would, indeed, help the reader to take a more intelligently effective interest in the affairs of the nation.

DHARMA AUR DARSHANA: *By Baladeva Upadhyay, M.A. Sharada Mandir, 29/17 Ganesh Dikshit Lane, Benares. Pp. 222. Price Rs. 2-8.*

In India, religion and philosophy have always been looked upon as fellow-pilgrims on the path to the supreme reality. The book, under review, is made up of short but highly suggestive studies in Vedic, Vaishnava, Shaiva, Ajivak, Jain, Buddhist and Chinese religions and in the ways of the mystics of Maharashtra, on the one hand, and an exposition of the principal philosophical systems of Yoga Shastra, Dwaita Vedanta and Shuddha Advaita Mat ("Pure Monism") on the other, together with a concluding chapter on the inter-relationship of religion and philosophy. The writer has a knack of rivetting the reader's attention on the wood instead of on the trees, so to speak; hence, now the Hindi-knowing, busy layman can have no excuse for being ignorant of the fundamentals of his country's faiths-*cum*-philosophies.

G. M.

APRADH AUR DAND: *By Parmeshwarilal Gupta and Dhumbebarilal Saksena. Published by Jnanmandal Ltd., Benares. Pp. 128. Price Re. 1.*

This small book, based on various new and old works dealing with the psychology of crime and the traditional historical approach, is very handy interesting and instructive. The authors' labour in probing through the various psychological aspects of crimes and the so-called criminals is amply repaid in the form of useful observations. We commend it to the layman, the open-minded as well as to the fellow citizens who happen to be otherwise minded.

DESHI RAJYA SHASAN: *By Bhagwandas Kela. Published by Bharatiya Granthmala, Brindaban. Pp. 600. Price Rs. 3-8.*

The book under review strives to throw some light on the administration of the feudal islands or dark cockpits of the Indian sub-continent presented under the label of *Native* or Indian States. The author rightly attacks this heresy of medieval despotism, dehistoricised concept of personal rights, wherein growth of elementary political institutions has been dubbed as 'sedition' and a dam of oppression erected thereby reducing the so-called 'States' to the meagre structure of a private holding inhabited by serfs with no rights whatsoever. The book is a laudable effort and written gracefully.

M. S. Sengar

MARATHI

SAMAJ-JEEVAN: *By Ramatanaya. Published by Deshmukh & Co., 191 Shaniwar Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 5.*

This volume professes to examine our present social life, particularly that of Western India in all its aspects, point out its imperfections and suggest remedies to make it richer, fuller, better, more worth-living. While doing so it has naturally discussed a number of controversial topics of common interest. The caste system, the family system, woman's place in society, the inheritance problem, man's place in society, education of the young and old, commerce and industry, influence of the past, on the present and the future, morality, means of amusement and recreation, concepts of progress—are some of the subjects that the author has tackled. As the writer of the foreword, Mahamahopadhyaya D. V. Potadar points out, there is no pretence at prescribing solutions of the problems raised. It is a one man study, deep and sincere study, made for being helpful to other kindred spirits. As such the volume deserves hearty welcome.

T. V. Parvate

GUJARATI

NANDNIKA: *By Ardeshir Framji Khabardar. Printed at the Khadayata Printing Press, Ahmedabad. 1944. Thick card-board. Pp. 232. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Mr. Khabardar's poetical works have been in the hands of the Gujarati-reading public for nearly a quarter of a century by now and it must have noticed a thread of mysticism based on human philosophy running through them. The present work is a collection of two hundred and two sonnets in which the poet's study and expression of Hindu philosophical principles has reached its peak and the yearning of the human soul to be one with the creator dominates every verse of these sonnets. The poet is a follower of Zoroaster and it is his firm opinion that in the dim ages of the past Zoroastrian philosophy and Hindu philosophy took their inspiration at the same source and that the Gathas furnish testimony to the same effect. The introduction deals with the technique of a sonnet in English and Gujarati and the text of the sonnets lays bare the heart of the poet, whose watchword is "Wherever there is God, there is Heaven." We welcome this valuable addition to our verse literature.

BENGALI JIVAN ANE SAHITYA: *By Champshi V. Udeshi. Printed at Lohana Printing Press, Baroda. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 97. Price Re. 1.*

Mr. Champshi is well-qualified to enlighten the inhabitants of Gujarat about the life and literature of Bengal having passed his whole life in Calcutta, cheek by jowl with Bengalis. He published from Calcutta a Gujarati monthly called *Nav Chetan*, and was its editor. Its venue is now removed to Baroda, due to war. Both the Editor and the magazine would return to Calcutta, as soon as circumstances permit. A very correct picture of Bengal's domestic life is painted in this small volume, and the state of Bengali literature well summarised.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Modern Poetry

The following is the concluding portion of Rabindranath's article on modern poetry as published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Juxtaposed with the Chinese poem, the modernism of English poets strikes one as unreal. It is befouled. Their mind mudges the reader with its elbow. The universe that they see themselves and show to others is cracked, full of rubbish and blowing with dust. Their mind today is unhealthy, unhappy and disordered. Under these circumstances they cannot cleanly dissociate themselves from the universal aspect of things. They laugh loudly at the straw-and-bamboo framework of the broken image and say that the real thing has been discovered at last. They think that prodding at the lumps of clay and bits of sticks and straw and saying harsh things about them is acknowledging truth with vigour.

Apropos of this, a poem of Eliot's comes to mind. The theme is : An old woman dies, who belongs to a high family. The customary blinds are drawn down, the undertakers and coffin-bearers are engaged in making their appropriate arrangements. On the other hand in the dining room the head-butler of the family is sitting at the dinner-table with the second maid on his knees.

The thing is credible and natural no doubt. But people of an old-fashioned temperament will be prompted to ask—Is that enough ? What is the urge to write such a poem, and why should I read it ? If any poet writes to tell me of a girl's charming laughter, then I shall agree that this is news worth giving ; but if immediately afterwards of his instruments that the girl's teeth are decayed, then I must say that this is also news no doubt, but not of a kind that need be proclaimed from the house-tops. If I find that somebody is specially anxious to spread this news, then I shall suspect that his temperament is also decayed. If it is argued that formerly poets used to pick and choose subjects for their poems, whereas ultra-modern poets do not,—then I cannot admit that ; they also pick and choose. Choosing a faded worm-eaten flower is as much choosing as choosing a fresh flower. The only difference is that the moderns are always afraid lest people should give them a bad name and say they are fond of choosing.

The Aghorepanthis (a Saiva sect) purposely eat disgusting food, and use foul things, lest it should appear that they are partial to nice things ; as a result, they become habitually partial to things the reverse of nice. If the Aghorepanthi cult becomes prevalent in poetry, then what will become of those who have a natural taste for clean things ? The leaves and flowers of some plants are continually attacked by insects, others again are not ;—must we boast of being realists because we give precedence to the former ?

A poet has described an aristocrat thus :

*When Richard Cody went to town**
We pedestrains used to stare at him
He was a gentleman from top to toe,
Slim like a prince,
Simple in his ways, simple in his dress,
But when he said good-morning, our pulse used to beat faster.
He walked abroad in a radiance,
He was exceedingly rich,
His manners were charming,
Whatever we saw in him made us think—
On, how I wish I were he.
But when we were working ourselves dead,
Waiting for the lamps to be lit,
When there was no meat for dinner,
When we cursed the coarse bread,—
Then on a calm spring night,
Richard Cody went home
And sent a bullet through his head.

There is no modern sarcasm or loud laughter in this poem ; on the contrary, there is some pathos in it, which consists in the fact that there may be some fatal disease lurking inside what is apparently healthy and beautiful.

He whom we consider rich has a starving personality hidden behind the curtain. The anchorites of old times have spoken in the same way. They remind those who are living that one day they will have to go to the burning-ground slung on bamgoo-poles. European monks have described in their discourses how the decomposed body beneath the soil is being eaten by worms. In dissertations on morality we have seen attempts to destroy our illusion by reminding us that the body which seems to us beautiful is a repulsive compound of bones and flesh and blood and fluids. The best way of cultivating detachment is repeatedly to instil into our minds a contempt for the reality which we perceive. But the poet is not a disciple of the detached hermit, he has come here to side with attachment. Is the modern age so very degenerate that even this poet is infected with the atmosphere of cremation, that even he begins to take pleasure in saying that that which we consider great is decayed, that which we admire as beautiful is untouchable at the core ?

Those whose minds have grown old are incapable of strong and pure natural feeling. Their mind becomes impure and unhealthy. It tries to shake off its lethargy by contrariness, it excites itself with all that is unnatural and fermented ; only by shedding its shame and decency can it make the stream of laughter flow through its wrinkles.

The mid-Victorian age felt a due respect for reality and wished to accord it a place of honour ; the modern age thinks it part of its programme to insult reality and tear aside all its veils of decency.

If you call an exceeding reverence for universal things sentimentalism, then you can also call an aggressive spirit of rebellion against them by the same name.

If the mind becomes bitter, for whatever reason, the vision can never be natural. Hence if the mid-Victorian age is to be ridiculed as being the leader of ultra-respectability, then the Edwardian age must also be ridiculed with the opposite adjectives. The thing is not natural and therefore not perennial. As for science, so for art, the detached mind is the best vehicle. Europe has gained that mind in Science, but not in literature.

* This is a literal retranslation from the Bengali version given in the essay. We regret that we are unable to trace the original English.—Ed., *Visva-Bharati Quarterly.*

The Blood Bath

The New Review observes:

Provided we refrain from distorting our historical perspective, we must denounce or, more charitably, regret the Calcutta riots in the darkest tones. The number of casualties which run into thousands of killed and wounded, the methodical looting which has crippled Calcutta's economic life, the heart bitterness which still poisons the civic life of millions made the 16th of August and the following days the blackest week in Calcutta's history. Calcutta was turned into a Red Hole.

Above the murderous hatred of the anonymous crowd, above the low greed of gangs, including a few uninformed looters and short-skirted *goondas*, above all the cruel and sordid inhuman deeds of common men, there rises the more crucial problem of ascribing and parcelling out the responsibility for those Red Days. It is no province of man to judge of men's hearts, but it is the right of citizens to enquire into the deeds of public men. With that proviso, it is hard to resist the conclusion that the irresponsible utterances of some leaders involve their personal responsibility, and also that the Bengal Government failed in judgment and efficiency. To plan a *Direct Action* day without expecting any direct action was a preposterous calculation. Time after time experience has shown that even non-violent non-direct non-co-operation leads to troubles, and that millions of uneducated followers and thousands of educated non-followers ignore the fine distinction which exist in the minds of leaders. To propagandize *Direct Action* was bound to be fraught with even more perils, since it directly popularized law-breaking. To comment that direct action does not exclude violence, to add that followers know what they have to do and need not be cautioned against violence, to drill squads in militia style, to provide lorries for conveying ruffians who rushed about the city, stopped to assault and spread confusion, all such well-averred facts betray deliberation which aggravates the responsibility to be distributed among all the organisers, the more so that the political demonstration was held at a time communal tension was making for a climax. Future information might tell us of a counter-organisation if any.

Much has been made of the fact that the day was declared a public holiday. This measure certainly cleared the streets of people, trams and buses and cut down the scale of the possible trouble. On the other hand, it was apparently mistranslated to some gangs as an official backing of whatever would happen. It can also be instanced as a proof that the Ministers themselves were apprehending trouble, and were strictly bound to take adequate precautions against disorders.

When it was plain that thousands of men armed with sticks, iron bars and knives were not joining the demonstration and felt unattracted by oratorical action, when shouts announcing a 'jehad' were heard here and there, when incidents of direct action had forestalled the afternoon speeches, how could such ugly forebodings be ignored or misinterpreted? Why were effective measures postponed after the cases of assault and looting had multiplied, and retaliation had grown in scale? Why in particular delay calling in the military till the Saturday afternoon? The general public remains amazed at the slow-witted, apathetic, inefficient style of the Government machinery in Bengal; the enigma will possibly be solved when the matter will be debated in the Legislative Assembly. The riots brought out what was in the heart of the people. Against the ugly deeds of many, there stand the fine example of not a few. Mohammedans protected Hindus, Hindus protected Mohammedans with true neighbourliness; from all classes volunteers came out to serve all classes. May these form the nucleus of future Bengal!

War and the Punjab Agriculture

Sardar Bahadur S. Kartar Singh, Assistant Director of Agriculture, Punjab, writes in *Indian Farming*:

The war broke out in September, 1939, and lasted for about six years. During this period there has been a great rise in the prices of agricultural produce.

The object of this note is to see how the Punjab cultivator reacted to these big changes in prices.

Wholesale Harvest Prices

A study of the wholesale harvest prices of various agricultural commodities in the Punjab since 1938-39 shows that there was not much rise in the prices of *kharif* food grains during the first two years of war. The price of *desi* cotton, after rising from Rs. 4-9 in 1938-39 by Rs. 2 in the first year, came down by Rs. 1-5, *i.e.*, to Rs. 5-4 per maund next year, the net rise being only eleven annas per maund over the 1938-39 price as compared with the corresponding figure of Re. 1-8 in the case of American cotton, thus increasing the difference in the prices of the two types from about 23 to 36 per cent. The price of rice and *rabi* food grains, particularly wheat, showed slight appreciation. In the third year of war, particularly after the outbreak of hostilities with Japan, the prices began to rise rather sharply. Wheat price had, therefore, to be controlled first at Rs. 4-6 in December, 1941, and then at Rs. 5 in May, 1942. As the entry of Japan in the war stopped the import of Burma rice into this country and the export of *desi* cotton to Japan, the 'grow more food' and 'less *desi* cotton' campaigns were started in the spring of 1942 to meet this emergency.

During the third and fourth years of war, the prices of all products recorded sharp increases. In January, 1943, the price of wheat had to be decontrolled, since at the low price of Rs. 5 per maund, enough supplies were not flowing into the markets. Immediately after decontrol the price shot up to Rs. 11 per maund, but later on at the harvest time it steadied near about Rs. 10. The prices of rice and wheat, which are of all-India importance, rose to about three to four times the pre-war level; those of other *kharif* and *rabi* grains and oilseeds only two to three times. Cotton prices also increased to more than twice, but rise in the price of American cotton was greater than that of *desi* cotton. During 1943-44, while the prices of *kharif* food grains, oilseeds and cotton continued to increase, those of *rabi* food grains and *gur* somewhat declined. In the year 1944-45, the prices of *kharif* food grains and cotton declined, while those of *gur* and gram improved a little. Wheat, barley and oilseeds more or less maintained their previous level.

We have now to see how this general and comparative rise in the prices of agricultural products and the 'grow more food' campaign have affected crop production.

Effect on Cropping

It has already been said that the appreciable rise in prices occurred only in the spring of 1942 and the 'grow more food' campaign was also started at that very time. One should not, therefore, expect much change in cropping until 1942-43, when the sown area increased by 2·7 million acres, as compared with that of the previous year as shown in Table I.

TABLE 1

Area sown under kharif *and* rabi *crops, area failed and area matured in million acres*

		1939-40	1940-41	1941-42	1942-43	1943-44	1944-45
Total kharif *crops*	Irrigated	6·8	6·9	7·0	6·8	7·3	7·3
	Unirrigated	6·2	7·4	6·9	8·0	7·2	7·3
	Total	13·0	14·3	13·9.	14·8	14·5	14·6
Total rabi *crops*	Irrigated	10·2	10·3	10·2	10·1	10·3	10·3
	Unirrigated	6·7	8·2	8·2	10·1	8·2	9·8
	Total	16·9	18·5	18·4	20·2	18·5	20·1
Total area sown	Irrigated	17·0	17·1	17·2	16·9	17·6	17·6
	Unirrigated	12·9	15·7	15·1	18·1	15·4	17·1
	Total	29·9	32·8	32·3	35·0	33·0	34·7
Total area of crops failed	Irrigated	0·8	0·8	0·6	0·7	0·6	0·8
	Unirrigated	4·8	4·4	4·4	2·6	3·2	3·1
	Total	5·6	5·2	5·0	3·3	3·8	3·9
Total area of crops matured	Irrigated	16·2	16·3	16·6	16·2	17·0	16·8
	Unirrigated	8·1	11·3	10·7	15·5	12·2	14·0
	Total	24·3	27·6	27·3	31·7	29·2	30·8

A close study of irrigated and unirrigated sowings shows that in 1942-43 both in *kharif* and *rabi* not only there was no increase in irrigated sowings but they were actually less by over 0·2 and 0·1 million acres respectively. Unirrigated sowings, however, increased by over a million acres in *kharif* and two million acres in *rabi*. A study of matured area, however, shows that there was an increase of 4·4 million acres, *i.e.*, 1·7 million acres more than the total increased sowings. This is due to the fact that the area of crops failed was less by this much. The conclusion is, therefore, irresistible that the climatic conditions must be very favourable in 1942-43. A similar peak for sown area had been reached under equally favourable conditions in 1933-34.

THE RAINFALL

During the year 1942-43, the rainfall in Ambala and Hissar was 57·91 in. and 22·25 in. respectively as against the normal rainfall of 31·55 in. and 15·98 in. at those places. At Lyallpur and Multan it was 15·78 in. and 9·99 in. respectively, which is a little more than two inches above the normal in each case, and in Jullundur and Rawalpindi it was somewhat below normal. In the year 1943-44, while rainfall in Lyallpur, and Jullundur was 17·98 in. and 27·77 in. respectively, *i.e.*, above the normal, that in Ambala and Hissar was 28·47 in. and 12·9 in. respectively which is below the normal and in Rawalpindi near about the normal. The year 1943-44 was, therefore generally poor in rainfall in comparison with 1942-43. The monsoon not being so favourable in 1943-44, the sown area came down by about two million acres in comparison with previous year. The *kharif* and *rabi* unirrigated areas came down by 0·8 million and 2 millions respectively, while irrigated *kharif* and *rabi* acreage rose by 0·52 and 0·22 million acres respectively. The area of crops failed also increased by about 0·5 million acres. In other words there was an increase of only 0·7 million in the total sown area in 1943-44 as compared with that of 1941-42. The following year (1944-45) was again favourable, though not quite as good as 1942-43. The sown area, therefore, increased by a little over 1½ million acres mostly due to the increase in unirrigated *rabi* area. The area of crops failed increased by about 0·1 million acres due to failure in the irrigated area but matured area increased by 1½ million acres due to increase in the unirrigated area, though it was still lower than that in 1942-43 by one million acres.

We will now see how cropping has been affected. As the number of crops is very large, it is not possible to deal with each one of them separately. The discussion will, therefore, be restricted to important crops only or groups of crops.

CEREALS AND PULSES

The total area in 1941-42 was 22,138,000 acres. During 1942-43, there was an increase of 3·35 million acres. Next year there was an increase of only 1·26 million acres as compared to 1941-42. During 1944-45 there was again an increase of 2·55 million acres. The chief increases in million acres as shown by various crops are given in Table II.

TABLE II

Increare (+) or decrease (—) in million acres of various crops

Increase over 1941-42	Gram	Bajra	Wheat	Pulses	Rice	Barley	Jowar	Maize	Other cereals	Total
1942-43	+1·37	+0·71	+0·45	+0·28	+0·21	+0·14	+0·12	+0·11	—0·04	+3·35
1943-44	+0·64	—0·02	—0·02	+0·20	+0·36	—0·04	+0·06	+0·14	—0·06	+1·26
1944-45	+1·48	—0·12	+0·42	+0·18	+0·37	+0·05	+0·11	+0·17	—0·11	+2·55

It will be observed that in the favourable year there was an all round increase though more marked under gram, *bajra*, and pulses, which are mostly *barani* and wheat which is nearly half *barani*. The increase in rice area was partly due to extra water given for land reclamation. In 1943-44 this increase was more or less maintained in maize and pulses, rose still further in rice, reduced to less than half in case of gram, but was totally lost in *bajra*, wheat, barley and *jowar*. The year 1944-45 was again a favourable year specially for unirrigated *rabi*, though not quite so good as 1942-43. The area under gram increased by 1·48 million acres and wheat by 0.42 million acres. There was also an increase in rice, *jowar* and maize, while the area under *bajra* and pulses went further down.

COTTON

The total area in 1941-42 was 2,801,000 acres. During 1942-43, it decreased by 0·481 and in 1943-44 by only 0·2 and in 1944-45 by 0·384 million acres as shown in Table III.

TABLE III

Decrease (—) in area under cotton

	(In million acres) Desi	American	Total decrease
1941-42	..	..	..
1942-43	—0·509	+0·028	—0·481
1943-44	—0·48	+0·28	—0·20
1944-45	—0·535	+0·151	—0·384

It will be seen that *desi* cotton decreased by 0·509 and American increased by 0·028 million resulting in a net decrease of 0·481 million acres in 1942-43, but in 1943-44 *desi* cotton decreased by 0·48 million acres and American increased by 0·28 million resulting in a net decrease of only 0·2 million acres. During 1944-45 *desi* cotton decreased by 0·535 million and American increased by 0·151 million acres resulting in a net decrease of 0·384 million acres. The reason for different behaviour of *desi* and American cotton lies in their comparative prices as already discussed.

FODDERS

During 1941-42 the area under fodders was 4,983,000 acres. There was practically no change in it during 1942-43 but in the next two years there was an increase of 0·11 and 0·29 million acres respectively.

OILSEEDS

During 1941-1942, the area was 1,057,000 acres. It fell by about 0·15 million in 1943-43 and further by 0·3 million next year, *i.e.*, by 0·45 million acres in two years. The reduction occurred in *toria*, sarson and *taramira*—half in *toria* and half in the other two. Although the prices of *toria* and rapeseeds rose to about two and a half times in 1942-43 and to about three times in the following year, yet the area under cultivation contracted. During 1944-45, the area again increased to the level of that in 1942-43.

OTHER CROPS

So far we have accounted for 31·1 million acres out of 32·3 million acres sown. The balance of 1·2 million acres was occupied by sugarcane, vegetables, fruits, tobacco, spices and miscellaneous food and non-food crops. There has been no appreciable change in these. Sugarcane increased by 0·1 million acres in 1943-44 and 0·15 million acres in 1944-45. Vegetables decreased by 72,000 in 1942-43, and further by 65,000 in 1943-44. In 1944-45 there was an increase of 15,000 acres over the previous year. Spices, fruits and miscellaneous food crops increased by 41,000 acres in 1942-43, further by 1,000 acres in 1943-44 but decreased by 13,000 acres in 1944-45 in comparison with previous year.

As far as sown area is concerned, the above discussion may be summarized as below:

During 1942-43 there was an increase of 3·33 million acres under cereals and pulses. Of this 2·7 million acres was due to increased sown area, 0·48 million acres came from cotton mostly *desi* and 0·15 million from oilseeds. The increase in sown area was mostly due to favourable monsoon. A part of increase in rice area was due to extra water given for reclamation of *thur* lands. During 1943-44 there was an increase of only 1·26 million acres in cereals and pulses. Of this 0·6 million acres was due to increased sown area, 0·2 million acres came from cotton (*desi*) and 0·46 million from oilseeds.

In 1944-45 there was an increase of 2·53 million acres in cereals and pulses Of this 0·384 million acres came from cotton (*desi*), 0·15 million acres from oilseeds and about 2 million acres were due to increased sown area owing to favourable monsoon.

INCREASE IN PRODUCTION

We will now deal with the increase in production. The following statement (Table IV) gives the area, total production and yield per acre of all cereals and pulses for the last four years.

TABLE IV

Area, total production and yield per acre of cereals and pulses

Year	Area in thousand acres	Production in thousand tons	Yield per acre in tons
1941-42	22,138	6,469	0·292
1942-43	25,490	7,760	0·304
1943-44	23,399	6,432	0·275
1944-45	24,689	7,412	0·300

It will be observed that as compared with 1941-42 there was an increase of 3·35 million acres with an increased production of 1·3 million tons in 1942-43 against an increase of 1·26 million acres with a decrease in production of 37,000 tons in 1943-44 while in 1944-45 there was an increase of 2·55 million acres in area resulting in increased production of 943,000 tons. The data regarding the yield per acre give very interesting information. It will be seen that during 1941-42 and 1943-44 when the sowings were less, the yield per acre was also low, *i.e.*, 0·29 and 0·27 tons per acre respectively, whereas in 1942-43 and 1944-45 when the sown area increased the yields were also higher, *i.e.*, 0·3 tons per acre.

From the foregoing discussion of changes that have occurred in the cropping of the Punjab it is clear that there has been an increase in the area under food grain crops—cereals and pulses, during the last three years. This increase amounted to 3·35 million acres in 1942-43, 1·26 in 1943-44 and 2·55 in 1944-45. The favourable monsoons were responsible for high increase during 1942-43 and 1944-45. Owing to increased sowings more area was put under food grain crops. A portion of the increase under food crops, though a comparatively small one, is due to the replacement of cotton (*desi*) and oilseeds. This is more clearly shown in Table V.

TABLE V

Replacement of cotton and oilseeds in millions of acres

Year	Increased area under food grains over 1941-42	Area due to increased sowings	Cotton area replaced	Oilseeds area replaced
1941-42	..	..	..	..
1942-43	3·35	2·69	0·48	0·15
1943-44	1·26	0·61	0·20	0·43
1944-45	2·55	2·37	0·38	0·15

It will be observed from the above figures that favourable monsoon, which results in increased sowing and better yield per acre, is by far the most important factor for increased production of food grains. In the favourable years of 1942-43 and 1944-45 the increased sowing accounted for 80 and 93 per cent of the increased area under food grains as against only 48 per cent in 1943-44, which was not so favourable. The area got by replacement of cotton and oilseeds formed only 19 and 21 per cent of increased area under food grains in 1942-43 and 1944-45 respectively as against about 50 per cent during 1943-44. As regards the area obtained by the replacement of cotton and oilseeds, it appears that price factor is mainly responsible for it. For instance the price of oilseeds proportionately increased in 1943-44 resulting in increased area under them in 1944-45. This increase in prices of oilseeds has been maintained in 1944-45 and it may be expected that in 1945-46 the area under oilseeds may be maintained or even further increased. As regards cotton it has been already mentioned that *desi* cotton has been replaced by food grains due to its comparatively low price. During the present season (1945-46) the price of *desi* cotton has gone up appreciably (Rs. 17-8 per maund as against Rs. 20 of American) and has thus decreased the difference in the price of *desi* and American cottons. If this price level is maintained it is expected that the area under *desi* cotton will increase next year. It is, therefore, suggested that if increased food production is to be maintained as a long-range policy, the Government must strain every nerve to increase (*a*) area under cultivation and food crops by developing irrigation resources, such as canals, wells, tanks, etc.; (*b*) yield per acre by improved methods of cultivation and utilizing all manurial resources such as human excreta, compost, green manuring, oil cakes, other artificial fertilisers, etc.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's Recent American Tour

Elless Watumull writes in *The Hindustan Review*:

Of tremendous significance in the development of cultural co-operation between the United States and India was the recent visit to the United States of Sir Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Vice-Chancellor of Benares Hindu University, as Visiting Professor to American Universities under the auspices of the Watumull Foundation. Although he spoke only on subjects such as, "The Essentials of Indian Culture," "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit" and "The Purpose of Literature," he was able through them, and through numerous Press interviews, to clarify many points regarding India, about which Americans are, on the whole, not well-informed.

Radhakrishnan arrived in New York on the *Queen Mary* in the early hours before dawn on March 18. There were several distinguished travellers on the ship, including Lord Linlithgow, the former Viceroy of India, and Lady Linlithgow. As is customary in the United States, representatives of the Press boarded the boat for interviews. The *New York Times* of March 19 quoted Radhakrishnan on the question of the proposal for a division of India as saying, "It would be a great misfortune if India were divided. I believe in a free and united India."

One of the outstanding events of his American tour was his lecture in Washington D. C. on March 26 under the joint auspices of the American University and the Library of Congress.

Dr. Paul Douglass, President of the American University, entertained Radhakrishnan at luncheon at the Carlton Hotel, other guests being the U.S. Commissioner on Education, Dr. Pitman Potter, managing editor of the *American Journal of International Law*, the President and the Vice-President of the American Council on Education, the head of the National Education Association, Sir Girja Sankar Bajpai, Dr. Anup Singh, Professor M. S. Sundaram, Dr. Luther Evans, of the Library of Congress and others. Dr. Evans presided at the evening lecture and presented Radhakrishnan to the audience which filled Coolidge Auditorium in the Library building to capacity. His lecture on the "Purpose of Literature," which Dr. Douglass characterized as "a literary and courageous gem" was recorded for Library of Congress files. Dr. Horace Poleman, Chief of the Indic Section of the Library, said : "It was a great honour to have Professor Radhakrishnan here, and a rare enlightening experience to hear his words."

His success was repeated again on the 28th at Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, where Radhakrishnan not only gave an inspiring lecture in the evening in McCosh Hall, presided over by Professor Robert Scoon, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy, but held a seminar for the philosophy professors in the Tower Room of 79, which was former United States President Woodrow Wilson's office when he was head of Princeton University. Both of these meetings "were greeted by much enthusiasm and his (Radhakrishnan's) talks made a profound impression on all who heard him." Immediately following his lecture at Princeton, he returned to New York where he spent five busy days before again leaving the city.

On Friday, March 29, Radhakrishnan was invited to speak fifteen minutes on a national radio hook-up over the Columbia Broadcasting system on "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit." This speech has also been recorded, like his Washington address, making it possible for many, unable to be present, to hear his voice at will. After his broadcast, which was heard all over the United States, he spoke at the Vedanta Centre in New York to an audience that not only filled the chapel, but overflowed to the street. Swami Nikhilananda, who recently translated the Bhagavad-Gita into English, presided at this meeting, introducing Radhakrishnan as one of India's greatest sons.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of the Community Church of New York and personal friend of Mahatma Gandhi, invited Radhakrishnan to fill the pulpit on Sunday morning, March 31, where he again spoke on "The Role of India in the Present Crisis of the Spirit".

It is noteworthy that Dr. Holmes, one of the greatest friends of India in the United States, chose Part XII of the Bhagavad-Gita for the First Lesson of the service and Tagore's "The Sunset of the Century' for the Second Lesson. Dr. Taraknath Das shared the pulpit, and introduced Radhakrishnan, who gave "a magnificent address" and "thrilled his audience from start to finish." Dr. Holmes reported the largest congregation of the season at the service, which he called "a notable occasion."

Dr. Russell Potter, Director of the Institute of Arts and Sciences of Columbia University, reports Radhakrishnan's lecture in McMillan Hall on April 1 as "a glowing success." and "a memorable evening for all." The lecture on "The Essentials of Indian Culture" was under the joint auspices of the Departments of History, Philosophy and The Institute of Arts and Sciences, and was presided over by Professor Irwin Edman, head of the Philosophy Department.

Radhakrishnan left New York on April 3 for New Haven, Connecticut, to lecture at Yale University on the subject, which proved the American favorite, "Essentials of Indian Culture." Dr. Franklin Edgerton, of the Department of Oriental Studies, and also a translator of the Bhagavad-Gita, said afterwards: "The one thing I regret is that we greatly under-estimated the number of people who would want to hear him. The room we selected—was filled to over-flowing,—and I understand that quite a number failed to get in at all." But the meeting was a great success. Dr. Filmer Stuart Northrop, head of Silliman College, Yale University, entertained Radhakrishnan in the evening, inviting a number of University Professors to meet the distinguished guest.

It was a rather hurried trip that Radhakrishnan made to speak on April 5, at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. W. Norman Brown, the great Indologist, curator of Indian Art at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Professor of Sanskrit at the University, was instrumental in having Radhakrishnan in Philadelphia, where he spoke on "Tendencies of Modern Thought in India," which was an "eloquent presentation of the traditional Indian religio-philosophical teachings of the Upanishads and Shankaracharya." Later at dinner he met various members of the University administration and members of the Philosophy departments of Bryn Mawr, Swarthmore and Haverford Colleges (all of Quaker origin), the University of Pennsylvania and Temple University.

The University of Michigan has a splendid reputation abroad, especially in India and China, for its deep interest in foreign students.

And it is also known in India, as the University where Dr. Edson Read Sunderland, the son of the late great Dr. J. T. Sunderland, author of *India in Bondage*, is professor of Law. Dr. and Mrs. Nur M. Malik of Detroit, graciously met Radhakrishnan in Detroit and drove him to Ann Arbor, some thirty miles distant, in time for his lecture, given in the late afternoon, on "The Meaning of Religion." Dr. De Witt H. Parker, Chairman of the Department of Philosophy felt that the "lecture was one of the most beautiful and eloquent ever delivered in Ann Arbor and that they found Radhakrishnan a rare and profound spirit."

Radhakrishnan was the guest of the University of Chicago on April 12, where he spoke on Indian culture to a receptive audience, many of whom were students of Dr. Sunder T. Joshi, on the faculty of Chicago University. Although Chicago is at the crossroads, where travel from all over the United States meets and passes, it is too large and busy to pay great heed to a cultural ambassador like Radhakrishnan, who talks of spiritual realities, man's inner nature, and the need for a knowledge of self. So he was the guest

who opened the door to a wider horizon for a fleeting moment for them, but because they were too busy, they could not step outside, and see how vast that horizon might be.

It was in Minneapolis, where Radhakrishnan found the welcome royal. Dr. George P. Conger, chairman of the Department of Philosophy of the University of Minnesota, and President of the Western Branch of the American Philosophy Association, was well aware of Radhakrishnan's importance in the field of Philosophy and Religion, and his brilliance as a platform speaker. But he knew that the Middle West was relatively unfamiliar with India and Indian thought and he had, therefore, prepared the ground for Radhakrishnan's coming by excellent advance publicity. Dr. Conger wrote afterwards: "The result, I may say, justified the effort. I cannot remember when a lecturer has left such a mark on this university." "The lecture was a wonderful presentation of the spiritual idealism of India, a call and challenge to every one of us to cultivate the inner life, without injustice to the requirements of outward things. The applause at the end was hearty and prolonged."

The day in Minneapolis had begun with a press conference, during which he answered questions on India's political problems The Indo-American Club tendered Radhakrishnan a luncheon, serving Indian food, prepared under the able direction of Mrs. Hari Hingorani, to forty-five guests. And, during the afternoon, he appeared on a radio broadcast, where, in spite of its variety program nature, he was able to give a brief but powerful talk on the international situation.

While in Los Angeles, Radhakrishnan did what most visitors to California hope to do, he visited a large motion picture studio and observed the filming of two different pictures, "Sindbad the Sailor," starring Douglas Fairbanks, Jr. and "Mexican Honeymoon," starring Shirley Temple. He not only met them, but had his photograph taken with Mr. Fairbanks, whose father Radhakrishnan met in India in 1932.

Radhakrishnan's lecture at the University of California at Los Angeles, was a notable occasion.

He was introduced by Dr. William Ernest Hocking, the great American philosopher, and, although he spoke on "The Essentials of Indian Culture" he fitted it to the day which was Good Friday. So vital was his message, and so in keeping with the spirit of the day that the audience sat spellbound when he finished, and then broke into prolonged applause. This was the last lecture of Radhakrishnan's American tour, as he had to sail for England on April 24 from New York. He had been invited to speak at many other American universities, as well as for notable organizations, such as the American Oriental Society, but time did not permit. Wherever he went, Radhakrishnan was besieged with social invitations, most of which he was unable to accept. However, he did meet with the Indian students in those universities where there were enough students to form a students' association, and spoke to them, not as a philosopher, but as their teacher and friend.

Radhakrishnan's entire trip in the United States was like that of an ambassador of good-will, bringing the rich values of India's great spiritual and cultural heritage and spreading them on the magic carpet of words before the people of America for their approval. And they took him to their hearts, because Americans are warm and generous, and can be understanding, too. Although it may not seem to make an immediate difference in the official attitude of the United States, there is greater understanding of, and active interest in India because of one of India's great moderns—Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan.



FOREIGN PERIODICALS



The Oilfields of India and Burma

Percy Evans, M.A., F.G.S., F.N.I., Chief Geologist of the Burmah Oil Co., Ltd., writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*:

Introduction

The oilfields of India are near Rawalpindi in the Punjab and at Digboi in north-eastern Assam; the main fields of Burma are near the Irrawaddy, about 300 miles from Rangoon. In a rapid non-technical survey of the oilfields it is not possible to describe the refining and distributing branches of the industry, and even many facets of the oilfield operations can receive but brief mention.

Origin of Oil

For millions of years rivers have been pouring sand and mud into the shallow seas fringing the continents, and these sediments have entombed the remains of organisms that lived in the seas; in favourable circumstances, including especially a deficiency in oxygen, decomposition of this buried organic material yielded petroleum. The present distribution of land and sea is not that of earlier ages, and vast tracts of continents and islands have at some time been beneath the sea. The various layers of sediments (known to the geologist as "strata") were originally nearly horizontal, but the movements of the earth's crust which brought about the changes in the shape and position of land and sea buckled and broke the component strata, and the once flat-lying sediments are now inclined or folded into arches and troughs. The incoherent muds and sands have become compacted into clays, shales, and sandstones, and the liquid contents—water and oil—have been forced into the most porous and permeable strata. Not only so, but as water is heavier than oil, there is a tendency for the oil to rise above the water; it may reach the surface of the earth and be dissipated, or it may be trapped by some capping of clay or shale and preserved.

It is the task of the geologist to discover where suitable sediments exist, and where they are disposed in such a way that oil can have been trapped. A very simple illustration of a trap for oil is provided by the "anticline," a structure in which the strata have somewhat the form of an overturned canoe—or, seen in cross-section, the shape of an arch. The geologist can choose the most favourable areas as sites for "test-wells," but only the drill can decide whether oil is present in workable amounts.

In Burma and Assam the oil occurs in the pores and minute crevices of permeable sands, but in the Punjab the more important accumulations are in fissures and crevices in limestone. In almost all these cases the oil has been trapped in an anticlinal structure, and accordingly the oil-bearing part of the sands has a more or less oval shape surrounded by the water-bearing part. Most anticlines are associated with breaks in the strata, known as "faults," which modify somewhat the general oval shape of the oil-bearing area.

Historical Outline

Although bitumen was known to the people living in the Indus Valley 5,000 years ago—being obtained probably from Baluchistan—there is no evidence of any subsequent petroleum industry anywhere in India until very recent times. The Yenangyaung field of Burma, however, has a long history; it has been said that it is mentioned in Chinese writing of the thirteenth century, and in the eighteenth century it was recorded that there were several hundred wells. At first oil must have been collected from natural seepages and probably shallow pits were dug to increase the flow, these being deepened to become wells. In the eighteenth century the Yenangyaung field was worked by *Twinzayos*, hereditary oil-well owners, a closed corporation of twenty-four heads of families, and their wells were hand-dug shafts lined with timber. By the middle of the nineteenth century some of these were as much as 300 feet deep, and some of the crude oil sent down the Irrawaddy was exported to England, for making wax and lubricating oil. In 1859, the year in which Drake's well in Pennsylvania found oil, an event regarded as the beginning of the modern petroleum industry, some of the illuminating oil made from Burma crude was shipped to New York.

In 1888, the first machine-drilled well was completed by the Burmah Oil Company in Yenangyaung; operations were extended to other areas in Burma and oil production increased, at first somewhat slowly, but during the early years of the century more rapidly, until in 1913 the production reached about 18,000 barrels (1 barrel = 40 imperial gallons) per day; it then remained somewhere near this level until the Japanese invasion of 1942. Until 1907 the Burmah Oil Company was the only major producer, but since then over thirty companies have been formed, although very few have survived. The hazards of producing and refining oil are well illustrated by the failure of over 80 per cent of the companies formed to operate in Burma.

Early in 1942 the Japanese invasion reached the southern part of Burma, and acting on the instructions of Government, preparations were made to destroy all that had been built up over so many years. Many hundreds of wells and thousands of tons of material had to be made useless to the enemy, but so well was this work done that even after three years of occupation the Japanese were able to recover only a small part of the former production.

In Assam, there was some unsuccessful prospecting in the eighteen-sixties and eighteen-eighties, and a little later small yields were obtained in wells drilled near the seepages of Digboi and Makum. The Assam Oil Company was formed in 1899 and the small production gradually increased to about 350 barrels per day. In 1921 the Burmah Oil Company took over the management of the field and the output was rapidly raised to 4,500 barrels per day.

The seepages of the Punjab and Baluchistan hills attracted attention in the eighteen-eighties and a few wells were drilled, but the small yield was not sufficient to warrant continuance of the operations. Interest in oil in this part of India was revived nearly a quarter of a century later, and after widespread geological surveys several test-wells were drilled. As a result of work by Mr. E. S. Pinfold the Khaur oilfield was discovered in 1915 and developed by the Attock Oil Company; since then the Dhulian and Joya Mair fields have been discovered by the same company. The production from the Punjab oilfields has varied considerably, but has averaged about 1,000 barrels per day.

The Oilfields—Burma

At the southern extremity of the oilfield region near Thayetmyo are the two very small oilfields of

Padaukpin and *Yenanma* and the gas-field of *Pyaye*. This accumulation of natural gas occurs at the summit of an anticline, and was discovered by the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company in 1926. The initial flow was so violent that it could not be controlled until specially heavy fittings were obtained. Cement manufacture was established in the neighbourhood to take advantage of the supply of convenient fuel, some 2,000,000 cubic feet being used daily.

Another group of small oilfields occurs near *Minbu* on a faulted anticline west of the Irrawaddy; they are near a prominent group of mud volcanoes—mounds of clay brought up as liquid mud accompanying seepages of oil and gas. Production began about thirty-five years ago and has never averaged more than 400 barrels per day.

The *Yenangyaung* field is situated on a broad anticline having its western side dipping slightly more steeply than its eastern side. There are numerous cross-faults which affect the distribution of the oil. At least 24 separate oilsands have been recognised at depths down to about 5,000 feet. All the oil companies have interests in this oilfield, and had their headquarters there, and by 1941 more than 4,000 wells had been drilled.

The *Singu* oilfield lies about 30 miles north of Yenangyaung on an anticline which has its eastern side nearly vertical so that the wells are all on the western flank of the fold. The southern part of the oilfield (known as Pyinma) is separated by a cross-fault from the main field, the oil being banked up against the southern side of the fault. Production mounted rapidly in the first few years after the discovery of the field by the Burmah Oil Company in 1902, and in 1938 the annual output passed that of Yenangyaung. Before the Japanese invasion there were over 1,000 wells divided between the Burmah Oil Company (Burma Concessions), the British Burmah Petroleum Company, and the Pyinma Development Company—this last company being an association of the British Burmah Perolcum Company with the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company. The Singu anticline continues northwards beneath the Irrawaddy and on the further bank is the *Lanywa* field where the India-Burma Petroleum Company has drilled about 100 wells on an area reclaimed from the river.

Further north again, on the same geological line, are the small oilfields of *Yenangyat* and *Sabe*. The anticline on which they occur has a gently-dripping western flank but a very steep and faulted eastern flank. At comparable periods after the beginning of machine drilling, Yenangyat for a time showed a better production than Yenangyaung, but the output declined rapidly from its peak in 1903. The small field at Sabe produced oil between 1908 and 1922 from poorly productive sands.

Much further north, 175 miles from the main oilfields, is the *Indaw* field, situated amongst the Chindwin jungles. It was discovered by the Indo-Burma Petroleum Company in 1912 but the yield has never been large and averaged about 150 barrels per day. The wells are on an anticline with the eastern side dipping more steeply than the western.

On the Arakan Coast there are a few small oilfields which now have a negligible production, and even at their best were worth only a few barrels per day.

THE OILFIELDS—ASSAM

The small *Badarpur* oilfield was developed by the Burmah Oil Company on an asymmetric anticline which passes through a tea garden, and the derricks had a picturesque setting amongst the tea bushes; the early promise of moderately good production was not fulfilled, and the peak of 1920 was followed by a rapid decline, the field having a life of only 18 years. The cost of the oil produced was in excess of its value.

The *Digboi* oilfield lies on a sharply folded anticline running W.S.W.—E.N.E. near the edge of the Brahmaputra alluvium; the northern flank is very steep and faulted. There are numerous oilsands which show much variation in texture and productivity, so that neighbouring wells often give very different yields. Some of the oil comes from outcropping sands, but most of it is from concealed sands reached between 2,000 and 5,000 feet. Digboi, situated on the supply line to Burma and China, was able to make an important contribution to the military requirements of oil products during the drive into Burma, so lightening the pressure on the limited transport facilities from the seaboard to North-East India.

THE OILFIELDS—PUNJAB

The southernmost of the three Punjab oilfields is situated at *Foya Mair* near the southern edge of an extensive plateau known as the Potwar. The oil is in the fissures of a limestone, at a depth of about 7,000 feet in a sharply-folded anticline.

The *Dhulian* field, which reached its peak production in 1941, is on a gentle anticline, and the main oil occurs in crevices in a deeply-buried limestone.

The adjacent *Khaur* field, the first of the group to be proved, obtained production from standstones at a number of levels down to about 5,500 feet. The results were patchy, being dependent on the variable permeability of the sandstones, and it is probable that the oil migrated upwards from the underlying limestone. The Khaur anticline is much sharper than the Dhulian structure, and this has led to the development of cracks in the sandstones which have provided passages for the movement of the oil. The field reached its peak in 1929 and now has only a small output. Some of the Khaur oil is associated with water which is about four times as salt as sea-water.

LABOUR

On the Burma oilfields there were employed about 13,000 workers, besides about 8,000 at the refineries. The relatively small number of European and the fewer Americans carrying out administrative and technical duties were assisted by Anglo-Indians, Anglo-Burmans, and Indians and Burmans from the universities who had been trained in the industry. The large number of clerical workers were mainly Burmese, and so too were the oilfield labour force—highly skilled mechanics, engine-drivers, electricians, drillers, etc., and the semi-skilled and unskilled labourers. For this large force of workers housing had to be provided, complete with water, sanitation, and street lighting; amongst the amenities were co-operative stores for the sale of food, elementary, higher grade, and technical schools, sports grounds, village halls, and an efficient medical service with modern hospitals and maternity institutions. In relation to other industries, the oilfield wages were at a high level and working hours short; workmen's compensation was on a generous scale, and there were provident funds for all employees. It is not surprising that Government committees commented on the favourable conditions of employment on the oilfields.

In Assam, the labour force at Digboi has averaged about 8,000, of whom a large number are from outside the province. The covenanted staff includes, besides Europeans, a number of graduates from the Indian universities who work as geologists, chemists, engineers, and drillers. Amenities similar to those in Burma are provided for the Assam Oil Company's employees. Conditions in the Punjab oilfields are similar but the numbers employed are smaller, and a very large proportion of the men belong to the province.

FINANCIAL

The oil industry of Burma and India has contributed not only rents and royalties but also large sums in income tax, excise duty, import duties, and municipal and other taxation. For example, in Burma the average contribution to the exchequer was nearly a million pounds annually, about a tenth of the total revenues. Moreover, the large sums paid in wages and freights have been an important item in the country's economic structure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am indebted to the major oil companies operating in India and Burma for permission to publish this account of their activities, to colleagues in the Burmah Oil Company from whose writings I have freely drawn, and to friends in the other oil companies who have kindly provided information.

Sakkara Excavations Provide Key to Egyptian Culture

Dr. E. Drioton, Director-General, Antiquities Department, Cairo, writes in the *Middle East Opinion* about a most illuminating and startling discovery in the Cairo area, throwing a flood of light on Egypt's ancient history and culture:

Cairo area which links up the Nile Delta to its long valley stretching into Upper Egypt, has been throughout antiquity a comparatively densely populated region. It became also the geographical site of Egypt e metropolis as soon as the country was blended into a single political unit.

Memphis, which today lies buried in ruins under Mit-Rabineh, a diminutive village 20 kilometers South of Cairo, was the Pharaohs' earliest capital. Many years later, when the seat of Royalty was transferred to Thebes—in the course of the twenty-second century, B.C.., the old capital still retained some of its former importance and dignity. For there, at Memphis, Egypt's hundred monarchs were crowned, including even the Ptolemys, who lived in remote Alexandria. As "Coronation Town" it remained in fact, the undisputed capital of the country.

CAIRO HAD HISTORIC APPEAL

However, long before Memphis was founded, the present approaches of Cairo city had a peculiar appeal for Egypt's primitive people. This is clearly evidenced by the numerous prehistoric stations scattered along the outskirts of Cairo's surrounding deserts. Whenever a spade is driven into the waterless patch between Cairo and Helwan at the foot of Mount Mokattam and Djebel Turah, numerous tombs, some dating far back into history, are inevitably unearthed. Obviously the whole area had once been a huge burial ground, practically of unrecorded origin, and which, judging by its scope and range, must have harbored an extremely dense population. As Memphis was situated across the Nile, on the opposite bank of the river, its inhabitants were buried at Sakkarah. Therefore, that new unexplored "city of the dead"—in area at least equal to if not larger than the whole site of the Guiza Pyramids—must have been the cemetery of some other town, hitherto unnamed and unmapped. Many theories were put forward to solve the mystery but the question remained unanswered until the following happy event occured.

In the winter of 1942, a few Beduins working on His Majesty's estate in that district, presented King Faruk with a miscellany of outdated sculptures, vases and flint objects which they had dug out in the vicinity of Ezbet El-Walda—four kilometers North of Cairo. Pleased with His Majesty's gracious smile they

told the tale and offered to bring back still more items of the same nature.

PRICELESS GIFTS

Realizing the priceless value of these gifts at a glance, King Faruk thought of the greater consequence they would have on Egypt's ancient history, if they were discovered "on the spot" by a trained archaeologist. The matter was referred to the Antiquity Department and Zaki Yussef Saad—then inspector-in-chief of Cairo and Sakkarah districts—the able scientist responsible for the successful gettings at the Step Pyramid, was given the honorable assignment of conducting excavations at Ezbet El-Walda on behalf of His Majesty King Faruk who took over on his personal account all the expenses of the expedition. To this day operations are progressing satisfactorily with remarkable results.

UNCHANGING PATTERN

Of the 2,000 odd tombs unearthed by Zaki Saad Effendi, some belonging to high-ranking officials, others mere ditches, all are stone-built affairs of the first Dynasty. The underground part—brick superstructures having in most cases been blown away—is modelled on an invariable plan. This plan provides for a flight of steps carved out of the living rock otherwise made of stones and bricks, leading to a landing into which the numerous store-rooms and the resting place of the deceased open. To ward off potential plunderers, who from time immemorial ransacked the tombs stone portcullises bar all entrances to the mournful chamber.

One can notice the stairs, admirably preserved at the top, and then close to the two portculisses (one still in its groove and the other slightly pushed off) the store-rooms and the vault. The contraption is obtained by means of large limestone slabs neatly set in a vertical order and fixed together, in the mournful chamber by a plinth made of horizontal slabs wedged in the paving. Although this construction cannot be properly termed a building, since it is mere "lining" of an underground brick edifice the undisputed fact merging out from these observations is that certain rules of statics are taking shape and we are well on the right track of stone masonry. Another illustration shows store-rooms, at the stairs landing blocked up by a porticullis, where the grains are kept in small sealed pits strangely reminiscent of the First Dynasty granaries.

In the centre of these tombs, planned as already described, the dead are buried in wooden coffins, now heaps of duct, oft-visited by thieves who carried away whatever valuables they laid their hand on, leaving the corpses behind together with a few trinkets.

INEXHAUSTIBLE STORE OF ANTIQUITIES

Nevertheless, all these tombs, either ransacked or otherwise, represent a seemingly inexhaustible archaeological well which, day in and day out, yields a flow of treasures indicative of the high artistic standard of the time.

First, a set of hard stone gracefully sweeped vases, sometimes carved into unknown designs, out of schist or alabaster; then the more plentiful art objects made of ivory which Egyptian craftsmen had employed to improve their methods and produce their earliest masterpieces; dainty ointment and cosmetics spoons, hand-like castanets and, finally, a unique piece of genuine antiquity, a walking stick handle representing a bunch of blue long-stemmed lotus, bound right beneath the flowers by a ligature.

Moreover, the emblems of Osiris and Isis, found close to the dead. demonstrate that the Osiris tenets prevailed in the people's belief long before the decline of the Ancient Empire, when it was generally supposed to have taken root in the popular mind, and that as early as the First Dynasty, the hope connected with the Osiris creed was already mixed with conceptions of the God Sun which the Ancient Egyptians acknowledged as regulating their postmortem life.

For it is now admitted that the necropilis stretching between Cairo and Helwan is none other than the cemetery of Heliopolis, shrine-capital of the God-Sun Ritual, and. for some time past. of all prehistoric Egypt.

SITE DISPUTED

Today, Heliopolis, ancient site delineated by the enclosing wall of the Great Temple and Sesostris I famous obelisk, is clearly recognisable at Matarieh. Yet, a few years ago, Junker—well-known German Archaeologist—on the evidence of certain indications, argued that Heliopolis was originally located further South, somewhere around Maadi. He alleged that having been utterly stamped out as a result of the wars which paved the way for the First Dynasty, Heliopolis was subsequently rebuilt on the opposite side of its territory, North of the Red Sand Hill (Montagne Rouge). According to Junker, the Nilometer at Rodah was the only evidence left of its former position.

His theory was brilliantly vindicated last year by the following discovery made at Helwan. On a tomb of the Twenty-first Dynasty, erected on the fringe of some farmlands at the foot of a hillock bedecked with tombs of the earliest dynasties, one can read among several carvings the name of the locality: "The necropolis of the blissful of *the Castle of the Prince,*" which is the old romantic name of Heliopolis.

Thus the riddle of the extensive burying ground between Cairo and Helwan is finally unravelled: it is the ancient necropolis of Heliopolis into which thousands of people—from time immemorial —found a resting-place and which, opposite the Memphis cemeteries, had been preserved on the forgotten site of Egypt's most ancient religious and civil metropolis.

H. G. Wells—Prophet of the Atomic Age

Middle East Opinion (19th August, 1946) mourns the death and pays sincere tribute to the memory of H. G. Wells who stepped ahead of history to become the Prophet of the Atomic Age:

The passing of H. G. Wells this week has deprived the world of a spirit which stood on the outer edge of man's development and never ceased to push the boundaries of thought out and beyond previously-explored territories.

H. G. Wells was both a prophet and a conscience.

As a prophet, he was able to foresee the fantastic inventions of man's scientific future. Through a remarkable understanding of the present, he was able to note logical developments yet to come.

Before man learned to span the oceans in the air, Wells understood the possibilities of aircraft. Before the German encased their armies in mobile armor, Wells foresaw the army tank. And before an American bomb destroyed Hiroshima. H. G. Wells had thrilled his readers with tales of the atom bomb.

The genius of H. G. Wells, however, lay not in his ability to predict scientific developments, but in his skilful analysis of the social impact of these developments.

So long as Wells lived, the world could not become utterly complacent. He served as a kind of "conscience" for the world, forever pricking it on to greater things. When Great Britain tended to rest on the laurels of her Empire, Wells pointed to signs of British decadence.

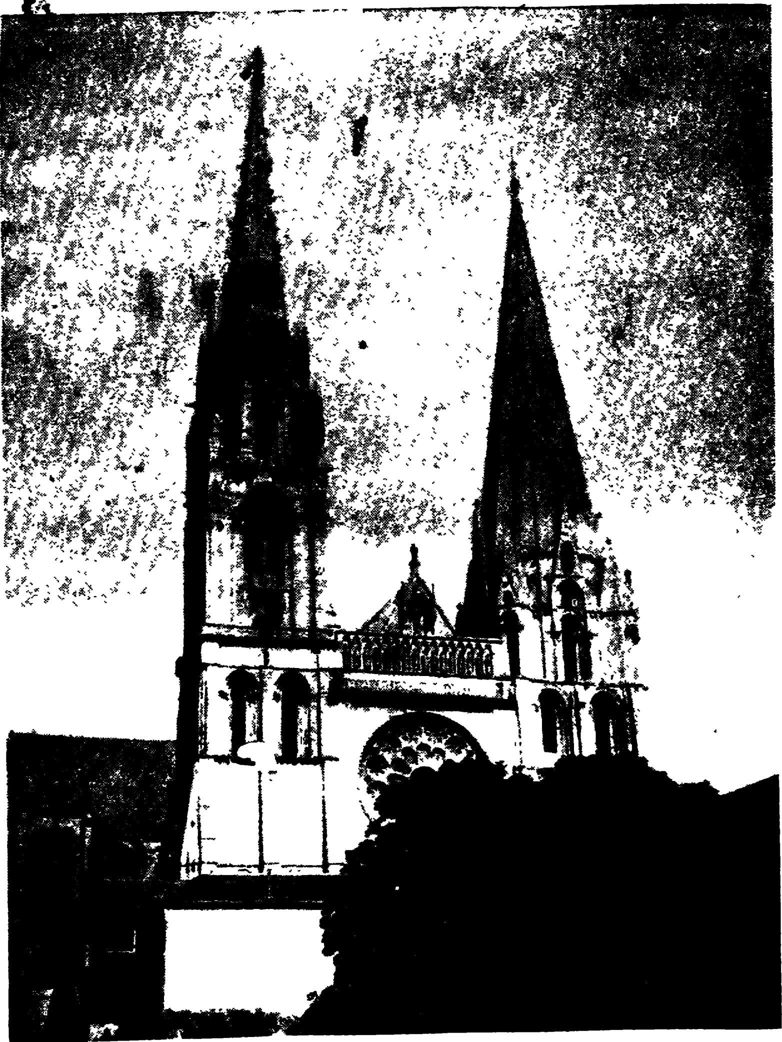
He reminded England of her wickedness to her own people and did much to aid in Britain's acceptance of Fabian Socialism. Not content to stop there, he kept moving the boundaries out by becoming one of the great critics of this movement, pointing to certain flaws in its philosophy and practice.

The entire world was made somewhat uncomfortable by Wells' consistent references to man's insignificance, climaxed by his statement that all humanity could be buried in a corner of the Grand Canyon. No people could become overly-proud in the face of such statements; Wells has made a real contribution in injecting a certain humility into the human race.

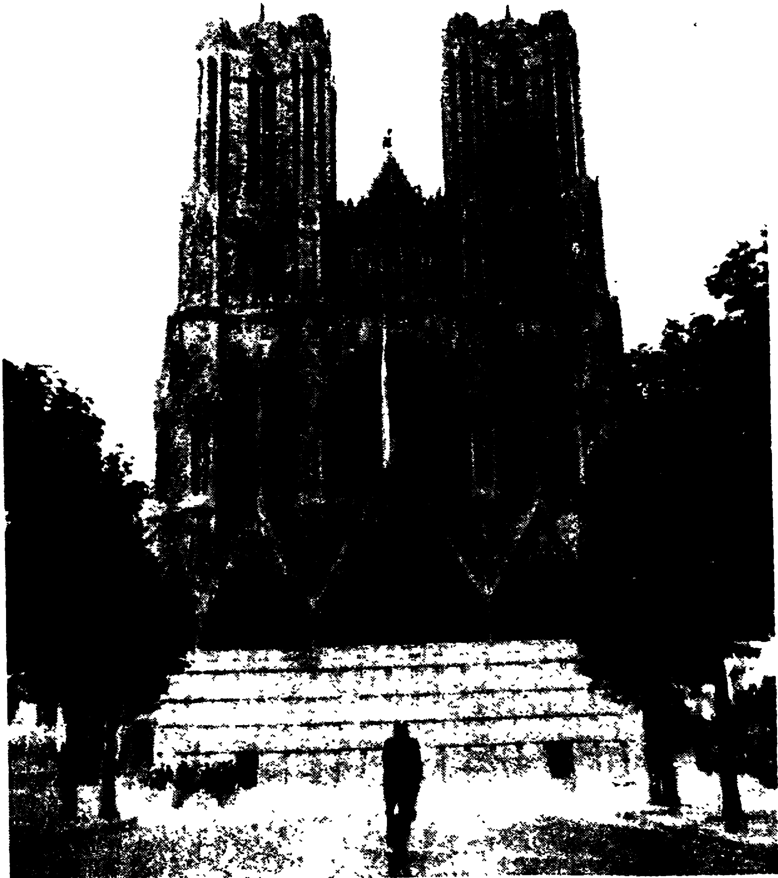
Not a little of Wells' greatness lay in his phrasing of profound ideas in terms which not only could be understood but also stirred the imagination of the masses. In the realms of history, politics, and science, he has given to the common man insights formerly locked inside the Ivory Tower of the academic world.

A tragedy of his genius is that his prophetic vision was too accurate. Stories that once thrilled readers by their sheer wierdness already are being dulled as science slowly catches up with H. G. Wells. As time goes by, his predictions will be vindicated further, and his novel will lose interest by the very fact of their accuracy!

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THE LOVE-LORN LADY
By Tilak Banerji

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



The Waterfall at Hazaribagh: Rajruppa Damodar gorge



The Rajruppa Damodar gorge, Hazaribagh

Photographs by Parimal Goswami



Prabasi Press, Calcutta

IN EXPECTATION
By Baidyanath Das

THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1946





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NOTES

League Entry into the Interim Government

The League's entry into the Interim Government without having rescinded the Bombay resolution of the League Council, rejecting both the long and short term plans of the Cabinet Mission, marks a singularly peculiar feature in the making of India's new Constitution. Lord Wavell's moves in this matter have been quite in keeping with the Tory tradition of Churchill and Halifax. Since the assumption of office by the Congress at the Centre, the Viceroy's Executive Council had its previous character distinctly altered and was being transformed into a Cabinet of a more democratic nature. The Viceroy seemed to feel uneasy at the rapidity with which he was being shorn of his autocratic powers. Then began the negotiations with Mr. Jinnah. A stern warning was sounded from the Frontier by Badshah Khan who, like many others in the country, felt that the League was being brought in to destroy the Cabinet character of the Council and to put the clock back. A crisis developed later on over the eagerness of the Viceroy to hand over most of the major portfolios to the League. The Congress was ready to receive the League as partners in the Interim Government, on the assurance of the Viceroy that they were coming in to help in the making of the future of India and not with a view to wreck it. The unreasonable demands of Mr. Jinnah as regards seats were conceded but the Congress saw no way to satisfy him in his demand for portfolios.

Then came a series of rude shocks and eye-openers in quick succession. The first was a declaration by Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan that the League did not recognise the Cabinet character of the Government. The second was Mr. Jinnah's statement to the *Christian Science Monitor* in which he confirmed M.. Liaqat Ali's stand and said that League members on the Interim Government were not there to participate with the Government for shaping the country's future constitution but only to guard Muslim interests. Finally, in a statement at Delhi, he clearly exposed the League's intentions in the following words :

> The new Central Government was not a Cabinet and it was not a coalition. It was the Executive Council of the Governor-General formed under the Government of India Act of 1919. A coalition, as I understand it, can only be formed when there is a sovereign parliament composed of two or more parties, who form themselves into political parties, formulating policies that they think are in the interests of their nation, both external and internal. And, when there arises a national emergency, these parties concentrate on those issues which endanger the national interests of the people. Of course, in such a coalition, there is joint and collective responsibility. They work together provisionally until the crisis or danger is averted. That is my view of looking at it constitutionally.

The position in short is as follows. The League has not rescinded its Bombay resolution of July 29, has not abandoned its Direct Action plan, has not expressed its readiness to accept the long and short term plans of the White Paper and has not said anything which might even be construed to mean that they have come in to work in a constructive spirit inside the Cabinet. Even after the rejection of the Pakistan plan as unjust and unworkable in the White Paper, the League sticks to it and it has finally declared that its representatives on the Interim Government are there to work for the achievement of Pakistan.

We do not know how the British Cabinet takes the emphatic statements by which the leading spokesmen of the League, including the President himself and the League organ, the *Dawn*, have been openly repudiating the idea that the League is in any way committed regarding the Cabinet Delegation's long-term plan or that they mean to work in a constructive spirit inside the Interim Government. The fact remains that the Viceroy carried an assurance to the Congress on behalf of the League on these vital points, but it is not known whether he has told Mr. Jinnah anything about the impropriety of the delay in summoning a meeting of the

League Council in order that the revision of its Bombay verdict as regards the long-term plan might be obtained. The League members in the Government are trying to set up a practice of approaching Pandit Nehru, Vice-President of the Government, through the Viceroy. All Congress members including the minority representatives, are agreed that this practice is reprehensible and that it should stop at the earliest possible moment as it goes against the convention already established by the Interim Government.

So far as is known, Pandit Nehru is very firm on the issue of maintaining the Cabinet character of the Interim Government. All the Congress members generally feel that no accommodation on behalf of the League is called for since the manner of the League's entry into the Interim Government has been by negotiation direct with the Viceroy and not through negotiations with the majority party in the Cabinet. The public utterances of the League Members of the Government have not been such as to infuse a spirit of confidence that they mean to work in unison with the rest of the Cabinet, observing collective responsibility and agreeing to the leadership of the majority party in the Cabinet. A Government at the Centre with the League inside it for the sole purpose of sabotaging the cause of freedom cannot last long even with the help and connivance of the Conservative Viceroy.

The Communal Disturbances

After Calcutta came Noakhali and after Noakhali the widespread flare-up in Bihar with comparatively minor repercussions in Meerut, Garmukteswar and Delhi. In reality, the whole affair should be traced to the continuous and sustained incitement of the Moslem masses by their League leaders. The first indication of the nature of reaction to this open campaign of vilification of the Hindus by means of false and distorted statements regarding their attitude to their Moslem brethren came in Aligarh on the 29th of March. There a large riotous mob, mainly composed of students of the Aligarh (Moslem) University whose immature brains had been influenced by the speeches of the Moslem League leaders, attacked Hindu shops and after severely assaulting some innocent Hindu cloth shopkeepers, looted and set fire to a whole range of shops. The police force, officered by Moslems and Britishers, remained passive, doing little to save the lives of the unfortunate and unsuspecting shopkeepers who were thus foully done to death under the very noses of the police force. Nothing was done to mete out punishment, excepting a punitive fine, to the depraved miscreants. Indeed, a prominent League leader openly stated that "*not a hair of the Aligarh students shall be touched.*" The police inaction was justified by two British gentlemen, who were senior members of the Indian Civil and Police services, by means of a whitewashing report, that was an extraordinary effort, even, if the usual run of reports by similar gentry be taken into consideration. It is not possible to quote and comment on that precious report substantially in these columns but in blunt language it might be said that the gist of the argument put forward in that unique document was that it was preferable to let a half-dozen or so of innocents (Hindus) be murdered by a riotous mob (of Moslems) *rather than to risk the inflicting of heavy casualties on the aggressors.*

The blue-print for "Direct Action" thus became clear. Unprovoked assaults on a mass-scale on the Hindus, to be delivered by large mobs, incited by inflammatory speeches, circulars and articles, the police and the executive to remain passive. Whitewashing, and false propaganda by the British executive and the League mouth-pieces, to obscure and obliterate the course of justice to follow later on. The Calcutta riots started on the same pattern, and so far as the Moslem and British executive—Police and I.C.S.—are concerned there has been little deviation from that course up till now. As we have shown in these columns in the preceding issues, the League plans suffered a set-back due to the Hindus hitting back in desperation. The whole matter being sub-judice, and further officialdom having come to the rescue of the League propagandists by totally gagging the press, we are unable to comment fully on what is happening here now. We shall content ourselves by stating that the "Dacca Plan" seems to be in operation now, the League-controlled police and the executive trying to step in where the mobs failed in breaking down the morale of the resisters.

Noakhali

The plans followed out in Noakhali differ from the methods adopted before by the League staff, and their advisers, elsewhere. Some time after the main Calcutta riots—called the "Great Calcutta Killing" by the British-owned daily *The Statesman*—severe restrictions were put on the Press by the League Ministry under the plea that the reports and comments appearing in the press were inflaming communal passions. "Inspection" of letters and messages transmitted through the Post Offices was also stepped up in action. Despite all restrictions alarming reports started coming in from the outlying districts of East Bengal regarding the growing communal tension due to the action of agent-provocateurs of the League touring those areas and inciting violence. Needless to say, officialdom did nothing whatsoever to allay these fears nor did they take any precautions against outbreaks. This, of course, was nothing to be surprised at, since the administration of Bengal is now in the hands of firmly entrenched League-minded officials, hand-picked for their strong communal leanings with no regard for efficiency, backed by a group of the senior British I.C.S. officers of the reactionary type.

In Noakhali this period of intense alarm was followed, late in September, by the formation of "Peace-parties" led mainly by the leading men of the majority community. In passing it should be mentioned that the Hindus of Noakhali form only 17 per cent of the population, and even this figure does not represent their strength if the outlying areas be considered. For in places they are in a 10 per cent minority and less, surrounded on all sides by the majority community. These "Peace-parties" went all over the area, assuring the minorities that they were quite safe, and that the majority will look after the minority. The aforesaid "Peace-parties" were welcomed by the minorities, helpless as they were in the face of the indifference and obduracy displayed by the executive and the police. A few days later the self-same "Peace-party" leaders, some of them school-masters, came on their rounds again, but this time with a different tale. The younger members of their community, they said, were getting out of control due to incitement by "outsiders" and

the only way to quieten them would be by paying substantial donations to th 'League" funds. They could not be responsible, they said, for any mishaps or unfortunate occurrences if this demand was not complied with. Though aghast at this sudden change in the attitude of the "Peace-makers," the helpless minority community had to submit to pay blackmail. Letters and telegrams were sent in sheaves to the officials of the Police and the Executive, and some even went to make personal representations. The letters and telegrams were mostly stopped at the offices of despatch, where the men in charge were also League members, excepting a few that went through Chaumohani where the Postmaster was a Hindu.

As for those who went in person to make representations, they were told to their faces that they were panic-mongers and the officials could not waste their time listening to them. The fleecing of the minority went on systematically and thoroughly, as everyone had been assessed previously by the master-planners, and only those few that could creep through the tight cordon drawn around them by the "Peace-party volunteers" could escape.

Then on the 10th of October came the mass attack on the minorities. *The attack was made on the same day at the same time and in the same fashion* on all the main villages. Very large mobs armed with deadly weapons, including fire-arms in many cases, surrounded the localities where the Hindus lived. Their leaders were the self-same "Peace-party" chiefs and head blackmailers, and in each case they were accompanied by Maulvis with registers. Further they had large quantities of new 'Pakistan' caps and new 'loongi' loin-cloths worn by the Moslems, with them. All Hindus were called upon to embrace Islam at once on the pain of death. Whoever refused was severely beaten up and some were butchered publicly in a particularly brutal fashion, in order to terrorise the rest. Looting was universal for conversion to Islam did not, by any means, save the newly-converted from being despoiled of all their belongings. Ornaments were torn from the ears and noses of the women-folk. The "converts" were then lined up by the mob leaders, the Maulvis entering their previous names and new names in the registers brought for that purpose, and then the final "ceremonies" of conversion were gone into, such as the reciting of the Islamic attestation of faith, forced killing of cows—their own—by the newly converted and the cooking and eating of beef. There was no organised resistance as the people were hopelessly hemmed in after being given a false sense of security against anything excepting exaction of blackmail. Still in some places individual families fought to death, after prolonged resistance, in the defence of their honour and faith.

Stunned and overwhelmed, the unfortunate victims of this well-organized and carefully planned mass outrage were then left to grieve over their misery but not for long. They had been beaten up in many cases, terrorised by the brutal murder of their leading men, thoroughly despoiled of *all their belongings* including food-grains, cooking utensils and clothing and were left completely at the mercy of their neighbours of the majority community, but even at that there were fresh horrors in store for them. Very soon the same mobs returned led by the self-same "Peace-party" leaders and Maulvis. This time the demand was that the "converts" should hand over all their women-folk to the soldiers of Pakistan. Conversion had dissolved all marriage bonds, the Maulvis said, and as for maidens, it was but proper that they should be wedded to the valorous warriors of Pakistan. There could be no organised resistance as groups had been segregated and totally deprived of all means of resistance. But even at that there were very many attempts at the saving of the honour of women. Then followed an orgy of bestiality, of murder, slow torture, mass rape in the open and of arson, that is difficult to describe in these days of inflamed communal passions. It will suffice to say that this orgy was widespread, and it surpassed any description of Japanese atrocities in the early days of their occupation of China. Far greater cases of murder, by horrible methods in most cases, occurred on this occasion than before, as resistance was far more general. No description in detail is possible under the present circumstances but a quotation from a recent statement made by Mr. Fazlul Huq, ex-Chief Minister of Bengal and newly re-enlisted and redoubtable champion of the Moslem League, would show how the behaviour of the Noakhali brigades of the League is viewed by him. In a statement in the Moslem League press*, apropos of the communal riots of Bihar, he says:

> Even my most stringent critic will, I hope, most certainly agree with me *that the fiends in human shape of Noakhali and Bihar* are such creatures under Allah, that no language on earth can give a correct nomenclature to them. They are neither Hindus nor Moslems. They are the most degraded specimens of humanity.

Noakhali is only an hour and a half by air from Calcutta. Yet no aid reached the stricken people until after a long time had elapsed. The Press was gagged and the Posts and Telegraph services in Noakhali were in the hands of Leaguers. The Officer-in-charge of the Police was a Moslem as was the temporary Magistrate, who held office during the fateful days between October 10th and October 14th. Ample time was given to the miscreants to hide traces of their crimes and to thoroughly cow the victims into such an abject state of submission that they were mortally afraid to give any evidence or testimony.

Despite all efforts to the contrary and all attempts at minimising, the news spread far and wide, carrying a wave of horror and anger with it all over India. Acharya Kripalani, the Congress President, hurried to the scene with his wife. The Governor of Bengal, after prolonged goading, descended from the Olympian heights of Darjeeling and after an extremely cursory aerial glance, from a plane, at part of the scenes of this tragic calamity, returned to Calcutta. In Calcutta, his mentors and advisers had a report ready for him to sign, which was duly signed and forwarded, without even any attempt at a real investigation being made. The League Ministry, backed by their press and their attaches in the news-agencies, worked overtime to suppress, obscure and obliterate the news. They were helped in this matter, as in the Calcutta Killing, by the British "old-guard" of the I.C.S. and the Police. Then Mahatma Gandhi came down to Bengal, at the end of October, determined to do all he could to help the stricken and suffering victims. *Lord Wavell had gone to Bombay on the 17th of October, after the news of Noakhali had reached him. Evidently he thought the minor riots of Bombay were more important since*

* The daily *Azad*, Calcutta, November 14th.

Moslems were in danger there. But later on he came to Calcutta, when Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel, Mr. Nishtar and Mr. Liaquat Ali had already arrived. The Press, outside Bengal, having already given wide publicity, the hands of the administration were forced and police and troops had to be sent to Noakhali. Precautions had been taken however to ensure the gentlest of kid-glove handling of the depraved criminals and as a result no improvement is visible, even now, so far as the victims are concerned. With Mahatma Gandhi's presence, however, there might be some improvement later.

Noakhali has given the clearest picture of Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan to the non-Moslems. In this earthly heaven of the Moslem Leaguer's dreams, the status of the non-Moslems would be that of absolute helots and worse. There will be no safety for their lives or property, and the honour of their womenfolk will be at the mercy of the lords of Pakistan. We say this deliberately because up till now we have neither seen nor heard any open condemnation of the widespread fiendish activities of the Leaguite hordes of Noakhali, from any member of the Moslem League High Command. Further, as days pass, it is becoming increasingly clear that careful planning had been done for months ahead by brains far superior to those of the depraved beasts that carried them out, even though they were led by school-masters, Maulvis, Union presidents and such like. The stoppage of all communications, by cutting deep ditches across the few roads, blocking the access to the boat-landing places, and by erecting substantial bars across the minor channels over an area of a thousand square miles, was done systematically within a few days. The holding up of all letters and telegrams asking for help or carrying urgent messages at almost all Posts and Telegraph Offices within the area during the period of "action" and until the military had forced open the communications, is also significant in the extreme. Then the simultaneous attack on all major localities, and the same procedure, the Maulvis, the registers, the masses of Pakistan caps and loongies—in these days of acute clothing shortage too—and the subsequent simultaneous demand for all women not past "marriageable" age, cannot be believed to have happened by chance-coincidence by any stretch of imagination, more so if the area involved and the difficult nature of the terrain be taken into consideration. The primary steps, of lulling the suspicions of the unwary minorities by means of the "Peace-party" ruse was a cunning move to gain time. The levying of blackmail from the helpless victims, who had been hemmed in by then, for the defraying of "expenses" for the "campaign," also goes to show how carefully each move had been considered. The indifference of the authorities at the primary stage, their extreme reluctance to take vigorous action later on even up to date, when the whole world is cognizant of what had happend, their hurried minimization of the holocaust without waiting for even an apology for an investigation, these are all clear pointers to all but the most gullible specimens of the genus Homo.

Bihar

The reaction to the Noakhali atrocities came in the form of a major conflagration in Bihar, which might have developed into an appalling catastrophe, far exceeding in reality the wildest rumours circulated in the League camps, if the Bihar Ministry and the Congress Working Committee had taken the actions and attitude of the Bengal Ministry and the League High Command for a pattern. Luckily for India, the leaders of the Congress did not allow any ulterior motives or base considerations to influence their judgment. Extremely firm and vigorous action was promptly taken by the Bihar Ministry and Pandit Nehru and Shri Jaiprakash Narain lent their powerful aid to the all-out efforts for restoring order. There has been some stringent criticism of certain speeches of Pandit Nehru and of the excessive severe nature of Police and Military action, in certain Nationalist quarters. Such criticisms are always to be expected when the partisan spirit is roused and communal passions are inflamed. But up till now we have not found any substantial justification or tangible argument in support of such criticisms. The world has seen that the Congress has not hesitated for a moment to put into action every ounce of all the powers at its disposal, in bringing under control a conflagration of far greater dimensions and fury than those of Bengal, and has attained success in a very great measure within a short space of time. This fact stands to the credit of the Congress leaders and is the only bright spot in the exceedingly depressing and gloomy picture, presented by these disastrous communal outbreaks, that are proving to be the most difficult obstacles in the path of India's progress towards complete independence. Critics should clearly realize that widespread communal strife, leading into civil war, is the main objective of Imperialism now, and that it is trying its uttermost to bring it about as soon as possible through the action of its reactionary tools. Internecine strife being the ultimate desideratum, it is immaterial to the Imperialist whether it is a case of the Moslem killing the Hindu or the other way about, although for the present consideration is only being shown by him tor the Muslim.

There has been sustained and severe provocation of the Hindus in Bihar, we all know. Thousands of innocent Biharis earning their livelihood in Calcutta, were murdered or severely assaulted during the August *Direct Action* riots. Tens of thousands of them had to flee after they had been deprived of the major part of their belongings. The atrocity stories, related by the survivors and the refugees, spread resentment throughout Bihar. And through all this ran the under-current of reaction to the sustained stream of mendacious statements and provocative actions issuing from the Muslim League, coupled with the open and flagrant partisanship of British bureaucracy for the reactionary Moslem. The final spark was the Noakhali campaign for the extermination of the Hindu as a Hindu. But all this cannot justify carnage and killing, specially for the Hindus, who do not believe in the Mosaic Law of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." Butchery of the innocent—for in such conflagrations the innocent perishes with guilty—has been condoned by the Western standards of "civilized" warfare, but even there it is looked upon with horror and repugnance by all right-thinking persons, specially in the case of internecine strife of the nature of a civil war. Further, even if we leave aside all humanitarian considerations, it is unthinkable that the Congress should allow the entire country to descend to the low plane in which the League is working, without trying its uttermost to prevent such a calamity.

Jinnah-Viceroy Correspondence

The following letters exchanged between the Muslim League President, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, and the Viceroy, during the recent negotiations, have been released to the Press by Mr. Jinnah :

Letter from Mr. M. A. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 3, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—At the end of our last interview on October 2, 1946, it was agreed that I should finally put before you the various proposals that emerged out of our discussions, for your consideration and reply. Accordingly, I am enclosing herewith the various proposals that have been formulated by me.

M. A. JINNAH

1. The total number of the members of the Executive Council to be 14.

2. Six nominees of the Congress will include one Scheduled Castes representative, but it must not be taken that the Muslim League has agreed to or approves of the selection of the scheduled castes representative, the ultimate responsibility in that behalf being with the Governor-General and the Viceroy.

3. That the Congress should not include in the remaining five members of their quota a Muslim of their choice.

4. *Safeguard* : That there should be a convention that on major communal issues, if the majority of Hindu or Muslim members of the Executive Council are opposed, then no decision should be taken.

5. Alternative or rotational Vice-Presidents should be appointed in fairness to both the major communities as it was adopted in the U.N.O. Conference.

6. The Muslim League was not consulted in the selection of the three minority representatives, *i.e.*, Sikh, Indian Christian and Parsi, and it should not be taken that the Muslim League approved of the selection that has been made. But in future, in the event of there being a vacancy owing to death, resignation or otherwise, representatives of these minorities should be chosen in consultation with the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

7. *Portfolios* : The most important portfolios should be equally distributed between the two major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress.

8. That the above arrangement should not be changed or modified unless both the major parties—the Muslim League and the Congress—agree.

9. The question of the settlement of the long-term plan should stand over until a better and more conducive atmosphere is created and an agreement has been reached on the points stated above and after the Government has been reformed and finally set up.

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 4, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Thank you for your letter dated yesterday. My replies to your nine points are as follows :

1. This is agreed.

2. I note what you say and accept that the responsibility is mine.

3. I am unable to agree to this. Each party must be equally free to nominate its own representatives.

4. In a Coalition Government, it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I are agreed that it would be settled to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustment or does not work at all.

5. The arrangement of alternative or rotational Vice-President would present practical difficulty, and I do not consider it feasible. I will, however, arrange to nominate a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the event of the Governor-General and the Vice-President being absent.

I will also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet, which is a most important post. I am chairman of this committee and in the past have presided almost invariably, but I shall probably do so only on special occasions in future.

6. I accept that both major parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in any of these three seats.

7. In the present conditions all the portfolios in the Cabinet are of great importance and it is a matter of opinion which are the most important. The minority representatives cannot be excluded from a share of the major portfolio and it would also be suitable to continue Mr. Jagjivan Ram in the Labour Portfolio. But subject to this, there can be equal distribution of the most important portfolios between the Congress and the Muslim League. Details would be a matter for negotiation.

8. I agree.

9. Since the basis for participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution.

WAVELL

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 12, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—I confirm what I told you this evening, that the Muslim League are at liberty to nominate any one they wish for their own quota of seats in the Cabinet, though any person proposed must of course be accepted by me and by His Majesty before being appointed.

My intention is to discuss portfolios when all the names have been received, both from the Muslim League and the Congress.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to the Viceroy, dated October 13, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League have considered the whole matter fully and I am now authorised to state that they do not approve of the basis and

scheme of setting up the Interim Government which has been decided by you, presumably with the authority of His Majesty's Government.

Therefore, the committee do not and cannot agree with your decision already taken nor with the arrangements you have already made.

We consider and maintain that the imposition of this decision is contrary to the declaration of August 8, 1946, but since according to your decision we have the right to nominate five members of the Executive Council on behalf of the Muslim League, my committee have, for various reasons, come to the conclusion that in the interest of Mussalmans and other communities it will be fatal to leave the entire field of administration of the Central Government in the hands of the Congress. Besides, you may be forced to have in your Interim Government Muslims who will not command the respect and confidence of Muslim India which would lead to very serious consequences ; and, lastly, on other very weighty grounds and reasons, which are obvious and need not be mentioned, we have decided to nominate five on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of your broadcast, dated August 24, 1946, and your two letters to me, dated October 4, 1946 and October 12, 1946, respectively, embodying clarifications and assurances.

M. A. JINNAH

Letter from the Viceroy to Mr. M. A. Jinnah, dated October 13, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—Thank you for your letter of today's date. I am glad to know that the Muslim League has decided to join the Interim Government. Will you please let me have the names of the five representatives, as they have to be submitted to His Majesty for approval, and I should like to reform the Government as soon as possible.

2. You promised yesterday that you would let me have the names today.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 14, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—I thank you for your letter of October 13.

I am now sending you names of five nominees on behalf of the Muslim League as arranged in our interview of yesterday.

(1) Mr. Liquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary, All-India Muslim League, M.L.A. (Central).

(2) Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, M.L.A. (Bombay), leader, Muslim League Party in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and president of the Bombay Provincial Muslim League.

(3) Mr. Abdur Rab Nishtar, advocate (N.-W. F.P.), member, working committee, all-India Muslim League, committee of action and council.

(4) Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A. (Punjab), member, Council, all-India Muslim League council, provincial Muslim League and member of the Punjab Muslim League working committee.

(5) Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, advocate, (Bengal), at present Minister of the Bengal Government.

M. A. JINNAH

Letter from H. E. the Viceroy to Mr. Jinnah, dated October 25, 1946 :

Dear Mr. Jinnah,—The portfolios that I can offer the Muslim League in the Interim Government are the following :

Finance, Commerce, Posts and Air, Health, and Legislative.

2. I should be grateful if you would let me know how you would propose that these portfolios should be distributed among the Muslim League representatives in the Cabinet.

3. I should like to get an announcement out tonight, and to swear in the new members whom I shall warmly welcome tomorrow.

WAVELL

Letter from Mr. Jinnah to H. E. the Viceroy, dated October 25, 1946 :

Dear Lord Wavell,—I am in receipt of your letter of October 25, 1946, at 5-30 p.m. communicating your decision regarding portfolios.

I am sorry I cannot say that it is an equitable distribution, but we have discussed all the pros and cons and as you have taken your final decision, I need not go into the matter further.

I am sending you below the names of the nominees of the Muslim League showing how these portfolios should be distributed amongst them.

Finance—Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan.
Commerce—Mr. I. I. Chundrigar.
Posts and Air—Mr. A. R. Nishtar.
Health—Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, and
Legislative—Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal.

M. A. JINNAH

Calcutta Disturbances Enquiry Commission

The Calcutta Disturbances Enquiry Commission, formed with Sir Patrick Spens as Chairman and Mr. Justice Somayya and Mr. Justice Fazl Ali as members, has begun its sittings in Calcutta. The Commission has been appointed by the Bengal Government and it will have the disagreeable task of inquiring into the grave allegations of active and inactive partisanship by the Bengal Government in favour of the hooligan elements who had been rallied at the mass meeting presided over by the Premier and which was preceded and followed by the orgy of murder, loot and arson in the city after the League's call to the Direct Action programme. The chairman may have to inquire into the conduct of the same individual who met him at New Delhi as Premier to settle the procedure to be followed during the inquiry and who stood condemned before the bar of public opinion as leader of the League's Direct Action plan.

It is only natural that this peculiar position will arouse some amount of public criticism. Not only the newspapers but the old and conservative legal weekly of high repute, the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* also felt disturbed. Sir Patrick Spens took note of them and on the opening day of the Commission, referred to some of the suggestions made in the press. Here is the relevant portion of his statement :

The suggestions, Sir Patrick said, were that firstly, inasmuch as it would be particularly the duty of the Commission to enquire into the actions during the recent disturbances of members and officials of the Government, no reliance could be put on the work and findings of the Commission, the personnel of

which was selected by the Government of Bengal. Secondly, that he personally acted unwisely or improperly in having an interview with the Chief Minister of Bengal at Delhi on September 9. Thirdly, that the appointment of a member of the I.C.S. belonging to the Bengal cadre as secretary to the Commission was calculated to favour unfairly the Government and put everyone else at a corresponding disadvantage. And fourthly, that the notices inviting statements of evidence issued by the Secretary on September 11 were also issued for some sinister advantage of the Government and that persons who complied with them would be likely to suffer in various ways.

Sir Patrick said that it was true that they were technically appointed by the Government of Bengal. It might be that they could have been appointed by the Central Government, but such action might well have been thought by some as undue interference with the powers of a province. That the Commission must be appointed by the Government of Bengal was a matter decided before he was approached. It was, however, the fact that if they were to be appointed by the Government of Bengal and that they should have to enquire into the conduct of members and officers of Government that made him stipulate for very special powers if he was to act as chairman, particularly the power to nominate his colleagues and wide powers to enable him or the Commission to regulate the procedure, methods of taking and obtaining evidence, power to summon such witnesses as they desired to examine and power to prevent any interference with their directions. 'Everything asked for has been given without demur and we have been put in complete control and we are in complete control,' he added.

Referring to his interview with Bengal's Chief Minister at Delhi, the Chairman said that on September 1, he was first approached by His Excellency the Governor-General to undertake the chairmanship of this Commission. After discussing the matter with His Excellency on September 3, Sir Patrick proceeded to Calcutta and between the 5th and the 8th at a series of discussions with His Excellency the Governor of Bengal and his advisers, all matters with regard to the personnel, powers and the methods by which they were to be given, were provisionally agreed to. But the Chief Minister was not then in Calcutta and when he (Sir Patrick) left Calcutta on the 8th, the Chief Minister owing to his absence could not consider his requirements. On reaching Delhi he asked the Chief Minister to see him and explained to him what provisional agreement had been given to him at Calcutta in his absence and asked for his agreement to them and his promise to implement them without delay, which the latter readily gave. 'That was', Sir Patrick said, 'the sole substance and object of the interview.'

As regards the appointment of a Secretary, he had originally contemplated some one from outside the province, but when he considered the difficulties that would face the commission, if a stranger was appointed Secretary, in making all the preliminary arrangements for staff, office, places of residence for the commissioners and place of hearing, he readily accepted the offer of Mr. Saddler, as soon as he heard that Mr. Saddler had not been in Calcutta at the material times. At the same time, he required that his own private secretary should be appointed assistant secretary to the commission and that one of the staff of the Federal Court should be appointed court officer. These were included in the requirements made by him during his first visit to Calcutta.

Sir Patrick then referred to the notices issued by the Secretary asking for statements of evidence from individuals who could depose of their own knowledge to material incidents 'and the protests, insinuations and threats which followed the publication of these notices.' The notices, he said, were of course issued by the Secretary under his directions and he took full responsibility for them. They were not suggested by any one connected with the Government. The object was to try to obtain for the commission and the commission alone, from individual responsible citizens whilst memories were still fresh, statements of any positive evidence which they could give of incidents from their own personal knowledge. He wanted these statements to go direct to the commission and he hoped that from amongst them they should have been able to secure a substantial number of independent and reliable witnesses.

The strongest objection was made in public against the appointment of Mr. Saddler, I.C.S., as Secretary to the Commission. This gentleman had demonstrated his tenderness for the police and had allowed the course of justice to be held up for pleasing the authorities in what is known as the Murapara Rioting case. He was the trying Magistrate of this case as Sub-Divisional Officer of Narayangunje in the district of Dacca. One after another adjournment was granted by him on the request of the police and an impression was created through his conduct that justice was not being done. The Calcutta High Court was moved and the Chief Justice Sir Herrold Derbyshire passed a severe stricture against his conduct. Mr. Saddler was ordered by the High Court to proceed forthwith with the case however inconvenient it might be for the police. It is, therefore, natural that the public will feel uncomfortable at the appointment of this particular civilian as Secretary while the major part of the allegations was against the police.

Politics in Sind

Since the beginning of September last politics in Sind has continued to remain in the melting pot. In July, the Legislative Assembly in Sind had been curtailed for the special purpose of electing members to the Constituent Assembly. It was demanded at that time by the leaders of the Opposition that it should be given a chance to have a trial of strength against the Ministry through a no-confidence motion. But the Governor disagreed. In spite of all demands by the Opposition leaders for an opportunity to discuss the no-confidence motion, the Governor prorogued the Assembly after Constituent Assembly elections were over.

The Legislative Assembly was next summoned to meet on September 5. The Opposition decided to take this opportunity for moving its no-confidence motion and notice for it was duly given.

In a House of 60, the League Party had 26 votes and could count on 3 European votes. The party, therefore, still needed one vote to maintain itself in office. The Speaker, Syed Miran Mohamed Shah was a Muslim Leaguer, but so long as he remained in his post of Speakership, his vote was lost to the League Party.

On the 5th September, about two hours before the

Assembly met, Syed Miran Mohamed resigned his Speakership. The Assembly met in full strength with the Deputy Speaker, Miss Jethi Sipahi Malani of the Congress Party in the Chair.

After the Speaker's resignation neither of the two parties—the League and the Coalition—was anxious to have its candidate put up for Speakership. When the Deputy Speaker Miss Sipahi Malani announced a panel of chairmen consisting of Col. Mohan, Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Mr. Nurshah, they all withdrew.

September 11 was fixed for discussion of the no-confidence motion. Due to the sudden resignation of the Speaker, the Deputy Speaker had not sufficient time to study the business before the House. The House was, therefore, adjourned till September 7.

On the night of the 5th September after the adjournment of the House, the Coalition Party decided, among other things, to address a communication to the Sind Governor stating that the present session of the Assembly had been convened by the Ministry which should get the official business done and that if it failed in this, the Governor should call on the Ministry to resign and allow the Opposition to form a Ministry and ensure full working of the constitutional machinery.

The League Party's strength in the Assembly was only 27, as against the original strength of 29. Even if the three Europeans supported it, its strength would be 30 which was also the strength of the Opposition. Equality with the Opposition, Mr. Syed insisted in a letter to the Governor, was no qualification on the basis of which a party should continue to function as Government. Having prevailed upon the Speaker to resign, the Ministry would be unable to ensure functioning of the Legislature if the Deputy Speaker also resigend. "The Legislature," Mr. Syed said, "is a vital part of the constitutional mechanism." Unless the Assembly functioned, the Ministry could get neither its supplementary grants, nor any legislative measures passed, however, urgent and important. A ministry, whose existence has led to total paralysis of the Legislature, was hardly a ministry having any sanction in constitutional law. "You are aware, as every one else is," Mr. Syed added, "that in order to enable this ministry to retain office, every kind of convenience and indulgence has been already shown to it by Your Excellency from time to time. There should be some limit to it, and I think the limit has been reached."

September 10 was fixed for the election of the Speaker. All on a sudden, the Governor postponed the election of the Speaker till September 14 and gave no reason for it. This order was criticized by the leaders of the Opposition as being highly partisan.

On September 9, four Ministers of the Hidayatulla Ministry tendered their resignation. This resignation was regarded as purely a domestic affair of the League Party. This step was taken, it was stated, to keep the League Party intact and afford no chance to discontented elements to revolt and go over to the Opposition.

Miss Sipahi Malani in accordance with the wishes of the Coalition Party resigned the Deputy Speakership on the morning of September 10. The parties were now equally divided. When the Assembly met on that day there was no one in the chair. The Secretary to the Legislative Department read out in the Assembly a communication from the Governor, proroguing the session.

The no-confidence motion which was to be moved on September 11 was thus avoided.

Under these circumstances, the Sind Assembly had to be dissolved. The Ministers who had tendered their resignations were reappointed and the Ministry continued in office. The request of the Opposition to include a few members from amongst them in the pre-election Caretaker Ministry was also turned down. Had this course been taken, reports of official partisanship in favour of the League might have been prevented.

One of the most important features in the political affairs of Sind is the part played by the Europeans, including Sir Francis Mudie, the Governor. At one stage, Mr. Nichaldas Vazirani, Deputy Leader, Congress Party, observed :

> In Sind, the Muslim League party in power is a minority party. It has so far been sustained in power by means of artificial respiration administered to it from time to time by the Government.

This Oxygen has been administered to the League by its three most faithful European followers.

Outlook in Hyderabad

The special correspondent of the *Independent* gives an account of the momentous political conflicts that are taking place in the Nizam's Dominion. He reports that the Nizam has perceived the coming change and tried to react to it by appointing Sir Mirza Ismail as the President of his Executive Council, in place of the rabid Muslim Leaguer, the Nawab of Chattari. The visit of the Cabinet Mission and the eagerness with which it fraternised with the Congress was an eye-opener to many and the Hyderabad Ruler suddenly decided to march with the times. Jinnah's stocks became low in the Hyderabad market. Sir Mirza Ismail's appointment was taken as a personal insult by Mr. Jinnah. The Ittehad-i-Mussalmin created a big row over it. They took it as a challenge to their undisputed sway. Sir Mirza felt that the Hindus were an oppressed people in the State and as a realist he knew which way the wind was blowing. He thought it stupid to alienate the vast force of the population represented by the State Congress. He realised that when the British paramountcy itself was preparing to quit the Indian stage and leave everything to the Central Government dominated by the Congress, where will the Indian Princes be if they continue to be hostile to the national aspirations ?

Sir Mirza is a non-Leaguer, a non-Pakistani Muslim. He knows the strength behind the Congress. The correspondent of the *Independent* gives the following graphic account of what is happening there after the assumption of office by Sir Mirza Ismail and Sir Sultan Ahmad's visit :

> **Sir Mirza came in with the whole-hearted goodwill of the Nizam. So much so that when Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah recently saw the Nizam and tried to advise him to remove Sir Mirza, the Nizam is reported to have broken the interview in a huff, to the great discomfiture of the League Fuehrer and the local Ittehadis.**
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> **An event of this nature had not been recorded in the history of Hyderabad.**
>
> **But with the reopening of negotiations between Mr. Jinnah and the Viceroy, Hyderabad rulers thought that the League is coming up again and that the**

Congress was not all. So why not cold-shoulder the State Congress a bit and also Sir Mirza, the greatest votary of change? So the wires were pulled and the free hand of Sir Mirza had to become stiff again, of course much against his will.

During this internal tug of war when negotiations and interviews with the States Congress representatives were in progress, Sir Mirza appeared to be an unhappy man. It was a period of great psychological conflict and the situation was fluid. At this critical time, Hyderabad State had a distinguished visitor in the person of Sir Sultan Ahmad, Adviser to H. H. the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes.

What was the exact nature of his mission is not known. But it transpires that he did quite a lot of plain-speaking to the powers-that-be. Sir Sultan is also a realist, a practical politician and a friend of Sir Mirza. But greater than this seems to be his genuine anxiety to save the Hyderabad State from chaos, strife and final liquidation, and to let the old Nizam pass his old age in peace. He came to Hyderabad as a sincere friend, but the friend had to give bitter, though wholesome advice.

It is understood that H. E. H. the Nizam was plainly advised not to lay much store by Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah who had "missed the bus" "Where has he led the Muslim Community?" It was asked. To chaos and humiliation! He has now joined the Interim Government on conditions and terms much lower than what the Congress had offered him. His leadership has utterly failed. He rendered yeoman's service to the Mussalmans by uniting them under a single flag. But he did not know when to cry halt and by his haughty, intolerant, and uncompromising, and unconstructive attitude, has lowered the Muslims in the eyes of national and international politics. He has failed to adjust with the new times and has brought so much suffering and humiliation to his own community. He is a spent force and an out-of-date politician and it would be disastrous to hitch the Hyderabad wagon to his wheel. Unless sensible adjustments are made, the State will come to grief. Neither Jinnah nor the Ittehad-i-Mussalmin will be able to save the disaster. One will ignore the Writing on the Wall at one's peril only.

One does not know what the effect of this brutal frankness was. That it has given the creeps to many of the *status-quo*-wallahs who are making a futile attempt to stem the tide is true. One must bow to the Inevitable. Perhaps one can yet redeem grace and goodwill, which Jinnah could not. Politics reduced to green-grocer's level does good to nobody.

This is the background of the present political scene in Hyderabad. There are enough good elements in the Hyderabad administration which can lead her, under the guidance of Sir Mirza Ismail, to a peaceful solution of all her present difficulties.

Frontier Intrigues of the Political Department

The crude conspiracy between the Muslim League and the Political Department to try and show that the Pathans and the Frontier tribes are hostile to Indian nationalism, is fully exposed in the following despatch by the special representative of the *Hindu*:

"Here is the reality behind the so-called 'demonstration' by some Maliks during Pandit Nehru's visit to Miranshah and Razmak. The first halt of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's tour of tribal areas was at Miranshah and the second at Razmak. Both places are in North Waziristan. At both places the Political Agent had summoned a group of local leaders to meet Pandit Nehru and Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan. In both the places the results were according to the same pattern. After Badshah Khan had addressed a few words to the assembled Maliks, the latter made some sort of demonstration and went away in a pretended huff. What is the significance of these demonstrations? Were they genuine and spontaneous? They were most certainly not. Here are facts which prove this:

"In the first place, all the Maliks or tribal leaders who were invited by the Political Agent are, without a single exception, in the pay of the Political Department. The Political Agent admitted this (in my presence) before Pandit Nehru and Dr. Khan Sahib.

"At Razmak, the Frontier Premier asked the Political Agent in his characteristic blunt way if he had hand-picked the tribal leaders. The latter replied, "We could only invite those Maliks who are under our influence and these people have come because they depend on us for stipends."

"He might have added that they depend upon the Political Department for other material benefits like bonuses, contracts, royalties and jagirs. Some of the men who had assembled are title-holders; for example, one individual who tried to make himself most conspicuous at Razmak holds the title of Khan Sahib.

"Moreover, the so-called demonstrations were too neatly patterned to be spontaneous. It is significant that the same Malik who was rude to Badshah Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib was continually referring to the Political Agent as 'our Agent Saheb Bahadur.'

"Another significant fact must be mentioned: not a single Malik among those assembled complained against the recent bombings. Some of them talked of avenging the Hindu atrocities in Calcutta, but there was not a mention of the bombing of their own homes. The reason is obvious. The Political Department would not tolerate any complaint against the policy of bombing—not even if it is to be used as a stick with which to beat the 'Hindu Interim Government.'

"It has been alleged that an official of the Political Department had been coaching the tribal Maliks under their pay for several days before Pandit Nehru's arrival. It is stated that most of the best-known leaders of the tribes have been prevented from meeting Pandit Nehru: for example, Ayat Khan, the biggest leader of the Mahsud tribe, has not been able to see Pandit Nehru nor has been the son of the famous Pawinda Khan. Similarly the great leader, Musa Khan, is waiting only two miles away from Razmak camp to see Pandit Nehru, but the Political Department will not let him do so.

"A word about these tribal Maliks. They are not leaders of the tribes in the same sense as Gandhiji, Pandit Nehru or even Mr. Jinnah is. They owe their position entirely to the Political Department; they fulfil the same role as Khan Bahadurs of our Provinces.

"In his book *Gold and Guns on the Pathan Frontier*, Abdul Qayum, who is now a Muslim Leaguer, says, 'Then there are Maliks or leaders of the tribes. These men receive cash allowances and sometimes titles—to give them a sense of self-importance. The idea has been to exercise control through these Maliks and other elders. Very large sums have been paid ever since the British came into contact with the tribes. These enormous sums have come, of course, from the Indian treasury, which means the Indian taxpayer.'

"The real leaders of the tribes keep away from the Political Department. For example, Haji Mirza Ali Khan, better known as the Faqir of Ipi, is the acknowledged leader of the Waziris. He is hiding in caves with a price on his head. I learn on good authority that the Faqir is anxious to meet Pandit Nehru. There are scores of other genuine tribal leaders who have sent messengers to Pandit Nehru asking for appointments.

"The fact is the Political Department today is a gigantic vested interest. Crores of rupees are spent annually by the Political Department in the form of subsidies, bribes, secret grants and other payments. No accounts are kept. The present tribal administration has become an anachronism in the modern age. And entirely stage-managed 'demonstrations' have no value whatsoever as regards the real feeling of tribal people towards Pandit Nehru's tour. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had anticipated some such mischief and uttered a warning against it in his Press Conference at Peshawar.

"But the real significance of the demonstrations is that they have brought home to the Minister for External Affairs, as nothing else would have done, the inner workings. Dr. Khan Sahib bluntly accused the Political Department of having intrigued against Pandit Nehru's tour. Pandit Nehru warned the Political Agent that he would order a full inquiry.

"The new Government is determined to make a new, revolutionary approach to the problem of the Frontier. The first step towards this new approach may be the abolition of the Political Department. The new policy will mean the dawn of a new civilisation for millions of tribal Pathans. But the scores of officials of the Political Department have a huge vested interest in the old system. To expect the Political Department to carry out the new policy is like expecting the cat to guard the housewife's milk."

Civil Service in a Free India

The problem of the Civil Service is one of the most important problems that face the new Central Government. This service has been rightly criticised vehemently as being anti-national, autocratic, unimaginative and reactionary. The Interim Central Government has given its full attention to this problem. In an article written by Mr. R. K. Patel, Minister for Food, Central Provinces, who had resigned from this service because of its inherent defects, gives some concrete suggestions which deserve close study. The Civil Service and the Imperial police were as efficient and competent as a country under foreign domination could produce. They have eminently succeeded in maintaining the stranglehold of Imperialist Britain on India. From our standpoint, however, the services had a good number of very costly defects. Mr. Patel points out:

> Their chief and foremost defect was their denationalization arising from a series of causes and starting with the compromise which one has necessarily to make with his conscience in preferring service under enslaving administration to the more honest and straightforward, though dangerous course, of fighting it, to secure the freedom of one's country. Then arose a burning desire to make the best of oneself in the new atmosphere.
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> Another serious defect was the fostering of a spirit of autocracy and irresponsibility amongst all classes of officers. The Civil Service generally was never conscious of its duties and obligations as servants of the people; they never functioned as such, but carried out the orders of an irresponsible and autocratic executive, and this spirit permeated down to the lowest village officer. This exercise of unchecked authority and power led to two baneful results. It generated a poor opinion, if not contempt, for the character, initiative and capacity for self-government of the people committed to their charge. It also made the Services unimaginative and reactionary, having been concerned, throughout their lives, with routine work and the maintenance of *status quo* rather than with schemes of public welfare and advancement.

Mr. Patel says, "The drawbacks form a mere appendage, which can be cast away." We do not agree. Any deep research into the history of Indian freedom will reveal that it was this service, the steel frame of British Imperialism in India, which was primarily responsible for putting the most formidable obstacles in the path of Indian national advancement. British Tory reactionaries profited from the administrative experiences of these men and these experiences were utilised in drafting and preparing open and secret schemes for the purpose of keeping India in bondage. Even now, it is this service which is fighting tooth and nail for preventing the smooth transference power from British to Indian hands. The attitude of the die-hard I.C.S. and I.P. is no longer secret, they have almost openly sided with the forces of reaction and thrown their entire weight for the sole task of developing fissiparous tendencies amongst the Indian people and encouraging communal fight. If India is to survive, these services must go lock, stock and barrel, at whatever cost it may mean to us. Treatment of a cancerous growth may be costly, but it must be thorough and quick. Tenderness may prove fatal for the patient.

Separation of the Judiciary and Executive

As early as 1886, at the second session of the Indian National Congress, a resolution was adopted demanding the separation of judicial and executive functions of the Government. The problem is, therefore, exactly sixty years old and still it is nowhere nearer solution. The experience in the administration of criminal justice has been against the mixing of the executive and the judiciary. It is a well-known maxim of jurisprudence that the same man cannot be the prosecutor and the judge; it is equally recognised that it is not sufficient that justice is done but that justice must appear to be done. The general apathy of the public to the police and the subordinate magistracy is because they do not feel that justice is being done in criminal courts as they are not sure since the magistrate combines in himself both the functions of a revenue and executive officer in one.

Mr. A. T. Krishnamachari, in an article contributed to the *Roy's Weekly*, gives a short study of the subject. In a few words he has traced the history as follows:

> Several members of the Indian civil service, notable among whom like Sir Henry Cotton later became great friends of India and Indian freedom, have left *obiter dicta* bitterly criticising the system. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt had a great deal to say against the system of the subordinate magistrates in trial courts being under the control of the district magistrate who is the executive head of the district. The

word 'Magistrate' is not defined by the Criminal Procedure Code. A definition is however found in the General Clauses Act. In fact as well as in practice the words 'Magistrate' and 'Court' are generally if not always convertible terms. Section 10 of the Cr. P. C. expressly says that anybody who succeeds to the chief administration of the district shall perform the duties and exercise all powers of the District Magistrate. Similarly the Police Act invests certain Police Officers with Magisterial powers, with the result one is left wondering whether after all the judicial nature of the office of magistrate is not whittled down by its association with executive power.

After thirty years of ceaseless agitation during the passage of three sovereigns and two Acts of Parliament touching the Government of India, a scheme for the separation of judicial from executive functions was drawn up in 1921 by what is now commonly known as the Stuart committee appointed by the Central Legislative Assembly. That report is now a quarter of a century old and in some respects needs amendments to suit the conditions at present. But it is a good enough basis for starting work.

When the Congress assumed office, attempts were made in some of the provinces to effect this separation and remove the long-standing defect in our administration of justice. Dr. K. N. Katju, Minister for Law in the U.P. Government, took up the problem in right earnest. He had three purposes in view : (1) to obviate the necessity for fresh legislation, (2) to interfere least with existing administration, and (3) to avoid extra expenditure. He, therefore, introduced a judicial Additional Magistrate and made the Sessions Judge and not the District Magistrate, the competent authority to report on their work. The result was that all judicial works of the district were entrusted to a separate officer. But this was no complete remedy of the defect, it was only one step taken to the way of removing it. In order to make the change complete and effective, amendments have to be made in the criminal Procedure Code, Police Act and many other similar provisions of Law. This problem cannot successfully be tackled unless on an all-India basis and may therefore require some more time.

Nehru Government's Labour Policy

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, inaugurating the Labour Ministers' Conference at New Delhi, emphasised the need for devising methods in order to help industrial workers of India to stand on their own feet. Referring to recent strikes, Pandit Nehru said that strikes might become unnecessary in some future time when the differences between the employer and the employed disappeared, but at the moment what was most needed was to devise methods which would ameliorate the living and working conditions of workers.

After the Chairman's opening speech, the Conference took up the discussion of a new Bill intended to regulate industrial relations. The Bill, which has now been placed before the Central Legislature, aims at setting up works committees in industrial establishments to smoothen the day-to-day difficulties. It also aims to create machinery of conciliation, inquiry and adjudication which Government proposes to initiate in the case of all utility services. The Bill has, thus, the great merit of being drafted in consultation with the Provincial Labour Ministers. The Bengal League Ministry, which had declared non-co-operation with the Government at the Centre, did not send any representative. This non-co-operation of the Bengal Ministry, however, is only confined to matters which might be helpful to the Centre, and not in respect of receiving or praying for subsidies either in cash or in kind.

The Labour Ministers' Conference extended the scope of their discussions beyond the realm of industrial workers and proposed to institute an inquiry into the earnings of agricultural labourers. Mr. Jagjivan Ram mentioned that among the suggestions placed before the Conference was one that all major legislation should be Central and that the provinces should pay special attention to the organisation of adequate administrative and inspection services to secure a proper enforcement of labour legislation, a sphere of activity which, he said, had not received sufficient attention in the past. Considering the mobility of labour, both industrial as well as territorial, it is highly desirable that wages, extra-payments, hours of works and working conditions should be uniform all over the country. This would ensure stability to the floating labour population. Mr. Jagjivan Ram was perfectly right in recommendating a five-year programme to secure uniformity in matters relating to labour laws. This uniformity can be maintained and differences straightened out by periodical meetings of the Provincial Labour Ministers. Explaining the position, Mr. Jagjivan Ram said :

> It may be asked whether we should at this stage, plan a five-year programme in view of the uncertainty of the future constitutional set-up. Whatever may be final distribution of authority in regard to labour matters, it is common ground that there should be the maximum measure of uniformity in matters relating to labour as administration and standards. Details of legislative and administrative measures necessarily take time to work out. The different governments, the employers and workers have all to be consulted. Material has to be prepared for legislation and the details of the administrative organisation have to be worked out. Collective agreements between employers and workers on matters like wages have to be promoted and before any effective action can be taken in this direction, detailed studies have to be undertaken. These things cannot be done unless we set before ourselves a definite programme of action. Even if we are not able to achieve all that we set ourselves to secure, the preparatory work that we shall have done will be of great assistance to those who may be charged with responsibility for labour administration under the new constitution and enable them to proceed ahead.
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> What we should now do is to evolve suitable machinery for formulating policy and periodically reviewing the extent to which it is being implemented from time to time. Policy must be to some extent flexible so that it can be modified to meet new situations and circumstances that may arise. These things can be done only at the ministerial level. It is because of this necessity that we have suggested for your consideration the institution of a Ministers' Conference meeting regularly once a year or oftener, as you may decide.

The Bill has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly and after preliminary discussion, has been referred to a Select Committee.

Congress Policy on Aboriginals

The problem of aboriginal uplift and the Congress policy towards them have been discussed by Mr. R. V. Rao in a short article contributed to the *Hindu* The Congress Ministries have begun to apply their mind to the problem of the 25 million aboriginals. Mr. Srikrishna Sinha, Premier of Bihar, observed the other day, "So long as we are in the government, we shall religiously safeguard every legitimate interest of the Adibasis. We shall see that they enjoy all rights and privileges as children of the soil. The Congress Government know that they have their grievances as backward people, and we are studying their problems to give them all help."

The aboriginal tribes are scattered all over the country. For example, in Central Provinces, we have over two million Gonds, in Bihar we have the Santals, in Orissa, the Savaras, in Bombay, the Bhils, Warlis, and in Madras, the 'Koyas,' 'Chenchus,' etc. Indeed, Mr. A. V. Thakkar of the Harijan Seva Sangh and the missionaries have done a lot in the matter of their uplift. We must know that, when the British conquered the country, and missionaries followed them, the aboriginals were confronted with a serious problem. Further, when the forests were controlled by the Government the rights of the aboriginal tribes naturally were curtailed. Similarly, even in the matter of their education, it is a pity that the various schools started by the local boards did not make any impression upon them. More often than not the teachers did not take any interest in their welfare and assumed a superior attitude.

Mr. Rao writes :

> Anthropology which till recently used to be an academic occupation is now becoming an applied science, particularly in countries which have to deal with tribal areas. We must remember that the training that we give to these tribes enables them to participate fully in our national life. It is a pity that our public do not remember that they are "flesh of our flesh" and should have equal rights with ourselves. Let it be remembered that the rehabilitation of the aborigines is a duty we owe them. After all we need not say that they are inferior to us. In fact some of the best officers hail from these aboriginal tribes. Whatever may be the future of the type of education that we may have, let it be remembered that it must be based upon their tribal economy and needs. There is another point. More than ever before tolerant understanding and sympathetic treatment will help the aborigines to march on along the path of progress.
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> The vast and complicated problem of the 25 millions of aboriginals in India cannot be solved by the creation of 'Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas.' In fact according to the Act of 1935 though it is the Governor that is responsibe for their welfare, still the ministers have got to see that they came to the same level as the others. The present writer would really say that there is no meaning in creating such areas. It is better if special officers be appointed to consider the problem of their uplift. It is no use thinking that no special officers are necessary because even in the ordinary course of administration, special attention is paid to the need of the aboriginals.
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> Every attempt is now being made to see that they preserve their religious habits and social customs and remain in the Hindu fold. The British Government have so long tried their best to make them appear as non-Hindu separate tribes followed by proselytising Christian missionaries. The Census Report of 1941 tried to complete this process of segregation. The provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 sought to take tribal areas, stamped as Excluded or Partially Excluded Areas, out of the hands of the popular Ministries. Pending the return of political power over these areas, which can only be done in the Constitution of Free India, social uplift activities among them should continue in full vigour. The Bihar Government has already made a block grant of Rs. 5 lakhs in the provincial budget. Other Governments should follow this lead.

Summing up his article, Mr. Rao writes :

> If the Ministries provide them with all the necessaries of life, medical help and facilities for receiving education, which is in tune with their habits and customs, and if we realise that they are the original inhabitants of the country and therefore their claims should receive the first consideration at our hands, the day will not be far off when we can easily bring the 25 millions of our aboriginals to the same level as other people. Philanthropists like Verrier Elwin, Thakkar Bapa, Grigson and others have done much in this matter. As Father Elwin observed, "Forbidden to hunt and cultivate in the forest, exploited in the villages, they have become servile." Let us hope that every attempt will be made to improve the lot of our aboriginal tribes. In the meanwhile, let us give time to the Congress Ministry to show what it can do in the matter before we crticise it from house-tops. It would be better if the Congress Ministries in the various provinces chalk out a definite policy for the uplift of the aboriginal tribes with the co-operation of social workers and anthropologists.

Power Supply in Madras

Schemes for the expansion of electric power supply in the province, programmed to meet all the demands anticipated in the near future, have been outlined in a Press Note issued by the Madras Government. The Note says :

> Ever since 1927, the Madras Government have been contemplating a scheme of inter-connected power houses, hydro as well as thermal, located at suitable centres feeding a network of distribution lines covering both towns and villages. All the electricity projects constructed so far were designed to fit into an electric grid which was to be gradually developed till its power resources would be adequate to serve the whole of the province.
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> In order to conserve materials for the war effort, severe restrictions were placed on all schemes for power development, and supply of electricity to new consumers was confined to essential military and civil needs. The restrictions on power supply during the war were followed by unfavourable monsoons in 1945, and when the Mettur lake recorded phenomenally low levels, further restrictions were imposed in the Mettur System.
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> The restrictions on power supply imposed during the war are now being gradually relaxed. The south-

west monsoon has been quite favourable this year and the supply position has also improved in all the Hydro-Electric systems.

Now that the war is over, the schemes for power expansion which were kept in abeyance have been taken up, new schemes formulated and a five-year plan has been programmed. The Government propose to spend about Rs. 15 crores on the schemes, and when these are completed; the present generating plant capacity in the province will be doubled, resulting in considerable expansion of the areas receiving electric supply. New areas especially in the Circars and the Ceded Districts will also get power supply in the near future.

About the Machkund project and the Tungabhadra hydro-electric scheme, the Note says :

Power will be developed from the Doduma Falls in the Machkund river which forms the boundary between Madras and Orissa. The first stage of the scheme provides for an installed capacity of 51,750 K.W.; the scheme is capable of an ultimate development of 1,00,000 K.W. The construction work has commenced, and the first stage of the scheme is expected to be completed by 1950. The scheme is to be worked in partnership with the Orissa Government, and for this purpose an agreement was entered into early this year, and under this agreement 70 per cent of the power developed will be available to Madras which will ensure adequate supply for all the needs of the Vizagapatam, Godavari, Kistna and Guntur Districts for several years to come.

As an advance stage of this scheme and with a view to supplying the immediate needs of the area, additional plant is being installed at each of the existing thermal stations at Vizagapatam and Bezwada. A 110 K. V. line from Bezwada to Rajahmundry with a 33 K.V. extension to Samalkot is being built to develop the East and West Godavari areas.

A thermal station with an installed capacity of 6,500 K.W. has been planned for the Nellore area and orders have been placed for the generating sets. The scheme will meet the needs of the mica, ceramic, glass, chemicals, rayon and other industries that are being planned in this area.

The Ceded Districts have long been in need of electric power. The Tungabhadra Hydro-Electric Scheme which will develop power of about 20 800 K.V.A. for eight months in a year and 6,900 K.V.A. for the remaining four months is intended to meet their requirements but it is expected to be completed only by 1952-53. Meanwhile, in order to cater to immediate needs it has been decided to purchase power from the Mysore Jog Hydro-Electric Scheme from the middle of 1948 and to distribute it over an area covered by the Tungabhadra Dam site, Hospet, Hagari-Bommanhalle, Bellary and Guntakal. Work on survey of the interconnecting transmission line has commenced.

In addition, the establishment of a thermal station at Cuddapah is under consideration.

Regarding the city and suburban electric supply, the Note explains that the power undertaking managed by the Madras Electric Supply Corporation is to be acquired by the Government in August 1947 and a scheme for extending and modernising the plant has been sanctioned. Meanwhile, to meet the immediate domestic and essential power demands, steps have been taken to supplement the output of the power station at Villivakkam and by the establishment of mobile power units. The Madras Thermal Station will also be linked up with the Mettur Hydro Station early in 1948. Work on this is already in hand, and the scheme will enable exchange of power to mutual advantage, conserving coal during periods of abundance of water at Mettur and supplementing Mettur output in times of water shortage there.

About the Moyar scheme and Madura Thermal Station, the Press Note says :

The tail water from Pykara Power Station will be diverted and dropped down the Moyar slopes utilising a gross head of 1300 ft. Two 12,000 K.W. sets will be installed initially. Preliminary works have commenced and orders for most of the plant have been placed. The Power Station which is expected to go into operation in 1949, will supplement the supply to the Pykara and Mettur areas where large industrial and agricultural development are being planned.

Pykara power is now being extended to Wynad, Calicut and Cannanore. Extension of supply to South Kanara has been planned and provided for in the Moyar Scheme.

Recent unfavourable monsoon conditions have indicated the need for additional storage of water in hydro-electric areas, and this is economically feasible at Pykara. Moreover, as Pykara is in a strategically favourable position to meet the increasing demand in the hydro grid area in the South and also for providing a block of power for any unexpected development, the final expansion of the plant at Pykara and Moyar has been planned and sanctioned. This scheme provides for a second reservoir in the Pykara river of 2,000 million cubic feet and the addition of two 13 500 K.W. sets at Pykara Station and a third 12,000 K.W. set at Moyar Station. Work on the scheme has begun and will be proceeded with simultaneously with the Moyar Scheme. By 1950 when these extensions are completed, there will be ample power available in the southern portion of the grid till 1955.

For utilising the water that is available during periods of good rainfall gates are being installed across the spillway of the Thambraparni Dam to increase the storage to 5,500 million cubic feet and one more 7,000 K.W. unit with the connected pipe line is being added to the power station. Work is in progress and will be completed by the middle of 1948.

On account of the rapid load development in the Papanasam System, the construction of a Thermal Station contemplated at a later stage as part of the Papanasam Hydro-Thermal scheme, has to be taken up much earlier than anticipated. It is proposed to install at once a 4,000 K.W. set at Madura and to add a 8 000 K.W. set as soon as possible. This will meet the growing demand of the Madura, Ramnad and Tinnevelly Districts and also the power deficiencies due to water shortage in the hydro-electric areas.

The above schemes are programmed for meeting all the demands that are anticipated in the immediate future. Plans for the industrialisation of the province are yet to take concrete shape and it is too early to say what further demand for power will arise from them. A general awakening to the ad-

vantage of industrialisation and rural development is clearly manifest. When people get better acquainted with electricity and realise the enormous contribution it makes to their well-being and social progress, a progressively increasing demand for power is certain to arise and fresh sources of power have to be exploited. Promising water power sites are available in the S. Kanara and the Nilgiris Districts, on the Periyar, on the Cauvery at Mekadatu and on the Godavari and its tributaries. Schemes for their development and connection to the grid will be taken up in good time to meet all the growing power needs of the Province.

India's Need for Increased Food Production

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Food Member in the Interim Government, stated at the Central Assembly, "We have been able to secure 3,000,000 tons as against 1,700,000 tons imported, that is, we have procured within the country more than double what we have procured from abroad.' Outlining the three methods—imports, monopoly procurement and controlled distribution, and the stepping up of production—with which Government was dealing with the food situation, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said that according to statisticians, out of a total harvest of 60,000,000 tons, some 24,000,000 tons may be taken as a surplus to the requirements of the cultivator. Out of this 24,000,000 tons, 4,000,000 tons had already been secured for distribution.

Madras led in procurement and Bombay came next. Madras procured nearly 94 per cent of the surplus of individual cultivators. Dr. Prasad says, "It is because of this policy of rigid procurement and distribution that the province has so far been able to scrape through." Bombay came next with 60 per cent procurement of surplus. The United Provinces, which in recent years depended upon the Central Government to meet its deficit, as a result of the vigorous policy of procurement has become free from anxiety.

As regards the future, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said :

With small imports that we have received, the question can be asked how we are able to survive these months. Our people are used to suffering, and they know how to face such difficulties, because they have done it in the past, and India is in a more or less chronic position of underfeeding. That has been one of the causes contributory to our success.

Further causes were rationing and maintenance of stocks. We have always been anxious to maintain stocks for about six weeks in every province. It has been a most difficult job to maintain this stock. We have somehow or other managed so far, but November opens with a stock of four weeks or even less. I can say this that after the most difficult months we have now almost passed through, we have a crop in sight; the monsoon has been fair, though there have been floods in some parts of Assam and Bihar, which have damaged the crop considerably. We have had short rain in parts of the Punjab and Sind. But on the whole, I must say nature has been kind to us this year, and we are hoping to get a more or less normal crop this season.

With this crop in sight, I venture to hope that our people will not starve. And what is more, I have found that the provinces and the people have shown spirit in facing difficulty, which is really admirable.

In response to my appeal to save as much as possible, I have received thousands of letters from people offering to save a part of their ration and undertaking to start *fasting clubs* to save food. All this in terms of maunds and tons may not come to very much, but it shows the spirit in which the people have taken it, and the spirit in which they face this calamity. I have also appealed to the provinces which have any surpluses to spare over and above what they have declared already to make such surpluses available. I am grateful that Orissa, the C.P. and the Punjab have given larger quantities than they have promised to give in the beginning. This extra surplus comes to 45,000 tons, not an inconsiderable quantity.

It is these factors which have enabled us to pass through most difficult times. We are not yet out of the wood. November and December are difficult months, although we have a crop standing. We still need imports of wheat from foreign countries, because during the past months we have had to borrow wheat from some provinces to meet the urgent necessities of other provinces, and they were able to give us these even at the risk of their own supplies running short. We are pledged to repay the loan before December, and I hope we will be able to get this import of wheat which will enable us to repay the loan.

As regards increase in production, the Food Member said :

We have seen we cannot depend upon imports from foreign countries for meeting our requirements. India is an agricultural country and it is really a matter of shame for us if we have to go to other countries for the one thing which is supposed to be our main concern and speciality. It would, therefore, be in the fitness of things that the Government should take all possible steps to increase production in this country.

It was the Agricultural Department's duty to find out means of increasing production, and the programme adopted was, first, to produce enough to meet the present emergency facing the people. The target of the short-term programme was to produce 4,000,000 tons within the next five years. Four million tons, he said, would be sufficient to meet the requirements of the increased population till 1952.

But this 4,000,000 tons would not be able to improve the standard of living or of consumption. The addition of 4,000,000 tons to the present production of 60,000,000 tons meant, after all the addition of one-fifteenth of the present production, or the production of 16 maunds from the area which at present produced 15 maunds or an increase of half a maund per acre.

That, he suggested, was not such a terrifying target. "I know averages are sometimes very deceptive and I am sure it will require much determination and application to secure this additional 4,000,000 tons." He enumerated the aids which the Government had decided to give the agriculturists for this purpose. It was proposed, first, to help small irrigation works, like surface wells, tube wells, digging tanks and channels, putting up small equipment for drawing water from rivers. He was thinking of sending round the Agricultural Development Commissioner to various provinces to fix targets. The second

thing was to supply manure at a relatively low cost to enable cultivators to increase production. Thirdly, improved seeds would be distributed so as to secure larger yields. The Government also proposed to help in bringing under cultivation land which, on account of deep-rooted grass, was not fit for cultivation by helping parties to cultivate it with tractors and other mechanical implements.

The Government proposed to bear a part of the cost of the scheme for producing the extra 4,000,000 tons. The idea was that 50 per cent of the cost should be borne by the party who would benefit by it and of the other 50 per cent, half should be contributed by the Provincial Government and the remaining half by the Central Government. This would apply to all provinces except three small ones, namely, the North-West Frontier Province, Orissa and Assam, in whose cases the share of the Central Government would be two-thirds instead of a half.

Stressing once again the need to increase production, the Food Member said that for this purpose the co-operation of the provinces, the cultivator, the labourer and others was imperative. The Congress administration at the Centre, within few weeks of its assumption of office, has done almost a miracle in steering India out of the dangers of a devastating famine. Ability of administration is mainly responsible for averting a disaster which was already upon us. The Food Member concluded his speech with the following words which deserve special attention :

> Though we have passed through the present crisis and although we may not expect full sunshine we have just begun to see streaks of light and I am hoping that we will be able to pass through this crisis and begin to get the full benefit of sunshine very soon. But we cannot ignore the fact that the only way to meet the perennial problem of food in this country it to increase production. I would appeal to members of this House, cultivators, producers, scientists and technicians, and Provincial Governments to help in the work of increasing food and save the country from having to face this kind of calamity.

Coalfields Committee Report

The Indian Coalfields Committee has submitted its Report to the Government of India. The Report is unanimous although the interests involved are many and not a few of the questions considered by the Committee are admittedly controversial. Some of its recommendations are of a far-reaching nature. The Committee, it may be recalled, was appointed in December 1945 with Mr. K. C. Mahindra as Chairman, and Mr. K. C. Neogy, Lala Raj Kumar, Chief Minister, Patna State, Mr. C. A. Innes of Messrs. Andrew Yule & Co., Ltd., and Mr. M. Ikramullah, Joint Secretary to the Government of India as members. Mr. P. R. Nayak, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India acted as Secretary of the Committee.

The most important recommendation of the Committee is that a new Central Department of Fuel and Power to exercise control over the coal industry and allied matters is to be created. Subject to the supervision of this new Department, there should also be a National Coal Commission incorporated and organised on business lines for discharging executive duties. It is recommended that this Department should take over the ownership and administration of the railway collieries, the duties of various statutory bodies, such as the Soft Coke Cess Committee and the Stowing and the Grading Boards, as also certain new functions. In view of the great responsibility that will thus devolve on the Commission, it is further recommended that the Commission be advised by a Standing Committee of the Legislature, a Consultation Board, and Advisory Committees on development, prices and distribution. The due discharge of these functions means a fairly high financial responsibility. In order to ensure an assured income to the Commission, the Committee suggests a levy of a cess on coal.

The Committee has considered the question of ownership and management of the several units of the industry. There is a fair consensus of opinion in favour of State ownership but divergent views prevail as to State management. The Committee has not made a straight recommendation urging nationalisation but has urged "State acquisition of mineral rights in the permanently settled areas of Bengal and Bihar with a view to the eventual possibility of nationalising the coal industry." This means that (1) for the time being the Government is asked to acquire mineral rights only in respect of the permanently settled areas in Bengal and Bihar and not of other parts of India, and further (2) that nationalisation is the ultimate goal to be aimed at. In regard to mineral rights, the suggestion is that the State should vest in itself, by legislation, all rights to coal at depths below 2500 feet in all areas in which coal has not so far been discovered. In respect of such areas there will be no compensation, and in areas in which coal exists and is not being worked, the compensation will be nominal. As for areas in which coal is being worked, such is not to exceed ten times the royalty income in 1945. On this basis the Committee estimates the total compensation for the acquisition of mineral rights in the permanently settled areas of Bengal and Bihar not to exceed Rs. 6½ crores.

The Report is comprehensive. It deals with all aspects of the industry including production and consumption, distribution and transport, conservation and stowing, exports and bunker requirements, grading, labour, coal bye-products, and financial and technical assistance as also research. The Committee rightly proceeds with an estimate of the total coal needs of the country in the context of the industrial plans made or about to be made. This adjustment is imperative for preventing any further wastage of coal. Unplanned raisings have already heavily disturbed the total coal reserves of the country. The Committee has come to the conclusion that by 1956, when the demand is expected to reach 39 million tons a year, India must step up her coal production to 42 million tons per annum. As the Committee says, this very considerable expansion requires to be directed into sound channels, and, in order to do so, we are asked to bear in mind two objectives. First, "we must aim as far as possible," the Committee says, "to produce coal in the areas most conveniently situated to consuming areas ; as a corollary, we must guard against over-production in other areas, because of the consequences this would inevitably have on future production and on the transport system of the country." Secondly, "it is necessary also that coal production should conform in the matter of the quantities produced of the different classes, to actual consumer requirements." According to the

Committee, the estimated demand for coal in India today is 30 million tons.

In regard to labour, the Committee urges improvement of living and working conditions and provision of better wages and adequate amenities to remove such evils as absenteeism and low output per man. Training of mining labour, establishment of labour exchanges, and the abolition of the raising contractor system are among the other recommendations. As for assisting the industry financially, whenever necessary, banking facilities for small operators and extension of the service of the proposed Industrial Finance Corporation for long-term financing are recommended. The Committee has also recommended consideration of the question of granting collieries an allowance for the depreciation of the rights in a wasting asset. In view of the existing shortage of both coal and rail transport, the Committee favours the continuance of control over distribution and prices.

The known shortage of coal, specially of the better quality, has led the Committee to lay particular stress on conservation. In the opinion of the Committee, the reserves of good coking coal may not exceed 700-750 million tons which will be exhausted in about 65 years at the present rate of extraction. This discouraging prospect has prompted the Committee to approach the problem of conservation in a thorough manner. There are three aspects to be considered in this connection, says the Committee: (1) reservation in use, *i.e.*, the use of certain coals by specified classes of consumers only, (2) rationalisation in production, *i.e.*, the extraction of certain coals so as to secure a balancing of output with consumer requirements, and (3) the adoption of mining methods aimed at maximum production. All these aspects receive adequate attention in the following recommendations which the Committee has made for coal conservation.

In respect of metallurgical coal, it is urged that (1) the output of good coking coal should be frozen forthwith while controlling the opening of new works in seams bearing such coal, (2) the output of good coking coal should be curtailed in the collieries belonging to iron and steel companies, (3) control measures on output and despatches should be so devised as to meet the requirements of essential industries first and (4) the use of good coking coal should be restricted to iron and steel work and coke ovens, of course, after making sure that other coals are available for use by other industries. In regard to the consumption of high volatile coals, which are important for the large-scale development of chemical industries, we are told by the Committee that India's resources of these coals are plentiful, warranting no restriction on their use at present, but, even so, it sounds a note of warning by saying that "it would be wrong to assume that no such attempt will be necessary in the future."

In order to help conservation generally a number of other steps is also recommended. These include compulsory assisted stowing, electrification of the railways, and experiments on the use of high ash coals, while limiting the extraction of such coals. The Committee also suggests the regulation of coal consumption by textile mills, electricity companies, current works, brick kilns and soft coke manufacturers on the basis of wartime experience. Coal shortage is sought to be met in yet another way, namely, regulation of exports and of supplies to bunkers. These are two of the important ways through which our coal reserve is being wasted and the Committee has taken a most determined attitude on this question. While urging immediate stoppage of export and supply to bunkers of good coking coal, it declares that the emphasis placed on the coal export trade in the past is no longer valid and recommends the withdrawal at once of all monetary concessions so far attaching to exports. The maximum quantity required for bunker purpose may not exceed a million tons per year.

Two more sets of recommendations of importance in the Report are those pertaining to by-products of coal and coal research. Emphasising the need for extending operations for the recovery of by-products, the Committee recommends the installation of benzol recovery plants, urging at the same time the removal of the excise duty on benzol, the desirability of permitting only such coke-oven batteries as have a full complement of by-product recovery plant, and improved methods for the manufacture of soft coke, to encourage which soft coke is recommended for exemption from stowing duty. In the matter of research, the Committee rightly wants that attention should be paid to a chemical and physical survey of Indian coals, to be completed within the next five years. As regards the cost of fuel research, the Committee suggests that both the Government and the industry should meet it, the latter in the form of a cess.

Promoting India's Industrialisation

The Report submitted by Messrs. Ford, Bacon and Davis of the United States to the Government of India contains a number of valuable suggestions which, if implemented, will, to a considerable extent, carry the country on the road to planned industrialisation. These three American experts were invited by the Government to investigate the practical steps to be taken in furthering the country's industrial development. After inspecting 57 representative industrial establishments, they have, in their Report, drawn six important conclusions. These have been published by the *Commerce*:

> First, there is a shortage of well-trained technicians and supervisors, particularly of men who have actually operated machines in shops and factories, and thus acquired firsthand knowledge of technical operating problems and industrial relations problems.
>
> Secondly, there is almost complete lack of commercial secondary industries manufacturing essential articles such as reamers, taps, dies, precision cut gears.
>
> Thirdly, product standardisation and the means for attaining and maintaining it are lacking in India, and this, unless corrected, will result in confusion and higher costs of production.
>
> Fourthly, industrialisation in India will be greatly accelerated if the tried and proved designs, and specifications, worked out in other countries, can be secured for manufacture in India by direct purchase or licence.
>
> Fifthly, statistics and records of imports and production in India are not available in proper form to permit analysis of Indian markets for industrial materials.
>
> Sixthly, the purchasing power of the rank and file is very low, and the introduction of conveniences and household utilities possible under wider industrialisation will necessarily proceed slowly

Messrs. Ford, Bacon and Davis then proceed to make ten recommendations for the stimulation and orderly development of Indian industries. They are the following :

(1) The five Industrial Panels dealing with heavy machinery, electrical machinery, light machinery and equipment, prime movers, and machine tools, may be regrouped into two Panels, headed, and staffed by full-time paid personnel, responsible to the Government. One Panel should deal with heavy machinery, prime movers and machine tools and another with the other three subjects.

(2) A non-profit institution should be established, similar to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in the U.S., to supply funds for assisting sound industrial plant expansions as new construction or for providing working capital.

(3) An agency on the lines of the American Standards Association should be set up.

(4) A third agency, preferably governmental, be run with a view to channelling, in so far as it is possible, all negotiations for the use of foreign patents, licences, working drawings and specifications for Indian manufacture.

(5) The Government should take active steps for the extension of all facilities throughout the country for training, in a thorough manner, adequate numbers of technicians and supervisors for industry.

(6) A study of the costs and practicability of manufacturing complete locomotives in the Kanchrapara Railway Workshops is advisable.

(7) In the Amritsar Ordnance Factory, special investigations should be carried out for conversion of the plant to the manufacture of specific larger machine tools and other essential heavy machinery, under leased private industrialists or by some State agency.

(8) The question of feasibility of devoting one or more of the Government ordnance factories to the temporary production of such secondary industry products as private enterprise is not able to supply should be gone into.

(9) The Government should have a report made on the practicability of the temporary production of commercial non-ferrous extruded products at the Katni Ordnance Factory, until private industry is in a position to supply them.

(10) The services of experienced engineers should be entertained by the Government to be used as consultants and to prepare feasibility reports for the proposed industrial schemes.

Bombay Reconstruction Plan

The revised and enlarged plan of Reconstruction accepted by the Bombay Government deserves special attention. The plan, which is comprehensive and concrete, does touch all aspects of life of the people of the province, including drinking water, food, fuel, cloth, agriculture, housing, education, health and sanitation, development of cottage and other industries, irrigation, electricity, co-operation and other social and economic reform schemes. The cost of the entire plan is estimated at Rs. 86,60,91,000, and the expenditure is to be spread over a period of five years. A summary of the final plan has been given by the *Commerce* as follows :

> A perusal of the list of schemes and the sums allotted in respect of each of them reveals many interesting points, especially when it is compared with the original plan. A striking feature of the comparison is that the present plan is estimated to cost over Rs. 86½ crores, whereas the original planners intended to spend only Rs. 60 crores, in the first instance. Another prominent difference is a marked change in the order of priority and, in certain cases, in the extent as well of the cost allotted to the scheme. Thus, first in the list of priority of the present plan comes education accounting for an expenditure of Rs. 16·83 lakhs, as against about Rs. 3 crores sanctioned originally. Agriculture occupies second place with Rs. 16·03 lakhs, as compared with an allotment of about Rs. 15¼ crores formerly. The road plan, which enjoyed the highest priority with an estimated cost of Rs. 20 crores under the former plan, has been now relegated to the third position and secures a grant of only Rs. 10·66 crores. "Health and medicine" has come to occupy a deserved fourth place with Rs. 10·64 crores ; previously, its share was as low as only about Rs. 3½ crores. The lot of irrigation too has improved with an estimated cost of Rs. 9¼ crores, as against Rs. 3½ crores sanctioned by the previous Government. Similar attention has been paid to the Electric Grid system, which is scheduled to receive Rs. 8·4 crores as compared with Rs. 5 crores formerly.
>
> It is noteworthy that there are, besides the foregoing, certain new items which have secured special recognition under the revised Reconstruction Plan. In order to improve labour welfare schemes alone, for example, a sum of Rs. 8 crores has been granted for schemes on housing, educational and cultural facilities, recreation centres, and other social amenities to brighten the life of labourers. Nationalisation of public transport in the Province is another new item claiming Rs. 3·5 crores.
>
> Among other minor schemes are cottage industries and fisheries with Rs. 1·20 crores, amelioration of backward classes with Rs. 1 crore, and the training of staff and administrative machinery involving Rs. 1½ crores.
>
> The Reconstruction Scheme costing Rs. 86·61 crores, we are told, will be financed by both borrowing and taxation in addition to subvention from the Centre and revenue surpluses. It may be noted here that a subvention of Rs. 17½ crores is expected from the Centre, while a sum of Rs. 12½ crores will be available from the Provinces Separate Reconstruction Fund. Revenue surpluses during the five years are expected to realise about Rs. 10 crores and a similar sum is expected from fresh taxation, the total thus being Rs. 50 crores. The balance of Rs. 36 crores is to be raised by loans.

The plan is no doubt ambitious and costly. Its aim as all aims of such plans ought to be is to raise the standard of living of the common people. The Bombay Ministry is competent to translate the plan into action within the time specified. The execution will be watched with interest.

Plantation Labour in India

Plantation labour in India did not receive the attention it deserves at the conference of the Labour Ministers held at New Delhi. A seasonable document on this important subject has already been prepared

by the Labour Investigation Committee and *the Report on an Enquiry into Conditions of Labour in Plantations in India* is the result. The *Tribune*, in criticising the proceedings of the Conference which virtually left this important subject out of consideration, has drawn pointed attention to the Rege Committee's Report. This Report covers three principal industries, tea, coffee and rubber, in the three principal provinces, Assam, Bengal and Madras. The total area under the chief plantation crops is 11,91,788 acres and 10,91,461 persons are employed on them. North India has only tea plantations and these provide employment for more than 770,000 workers. Plantations thus play a considerable part in Indian rural economy in the north as well as in the south which accounts for most of the coffee and rubber.

The pioneer planters were British people who started the tea plantations of Assam in the twenties of the last century. Of tea plantations now, Britishers own about 25 per cent though they are masters of 70 to 75 per cent of the area under coffee and rubber. Although the ownership of tea plantations is comparatively small for Britishers, they completely dominate the industry even today not only economically but also politically through the allotment of a disproportionately large number of seats in the Assam and Bengal Legislatures. The Tea Association under their control virtually holds a complete grip over the entire tea industry of the country. The Indian plantations, if they are to live, must play second fiddle to them.

Recruitment of labour for the plantations has all along been beset with peculiar problems. Till recently the processes and conditions of recruitment were definitely scandalous and oppressive, and rightly evoked countrywide disgust. Things have changed for the better after strong and long-drawn agitations, but still there is much room for improvement.

Recruitment of Assam is governed by the Tea Districts Emigration Labour Act of 1932 and there is no legislation on recruitment in other areas. Even for Assam the control relates only to the forwarding of the assisted recruits and not to the methods and personnel of recruiting and applies only to six provinces, where notifications under the Act have been issued. Seventy-seven per cent of the tea industry in North-East India recruits its men through the Tea Districts Labour Associatoin which has been set up by the tea industry for this purpose. This Association arranges for the forwarding of recruits from the recruiting areas to Assam. Actual recruitment is largely done by the tea garden Sardars who work on a commission basis. The total cost of recruitment before the war was about Rs. 100 per recruit—which almost equals his annual earnings. In South India, the recruitment is mostly from areas situated close to the plantations. Here the recruitment is mostly done through Kanganies drawn from the ranks of the estate labourers themselves, or through professional labour suppliers. The Kanganies get a commission on the wages of the workers in their gangs. The plantation recruitment system savours of serfdom. As the Rege report says, "A labourer belongs more to the Sardar or Kangany than to the estate." The Kangany system works very largely through pre-employment advances. This system was condemned by the Royal Commission on Labour, as it puts the worker at a disadvantage right from the start. But the system persists. In Assam, the labourer is now legally free to leave his garden and seek employment in any other garden, though if he wants repatriation at the garden expense, as a rule he has to complete three years' work. As a matter of fact, the workers' freedom of movement exists only in theory, for the planters have an agreement which prohibits a manager from enticing or recruiting labourers from any other garden, and a labourer is not generally employed without a reference to his former employer. Also there is the Chowkidar, one of whose duties is to watch the movements of labourers. As pointed out by the Royal Commission the effect of these agreements and arrangements, in the absence of any organization on the workers' side is to diminish their liberty to dispose of their labour to the best advantage and to add to the restrictions upon their movements.

The investigations of Mr. Rege show that the already low real wages of the low paid plantations workers have gone down still further during the war. Mr. Rege writes in his Report :

> The cost of living has gone up by at least 200 per cent in the plantation areas in North-East India since 1939, while the total earnings of plantation workers, including the value of foodstuff and cloth concession, have been only nearly doubled in them. In South Indian plantations, the cost of living has gone up by 100 per cent while the earnings went up by 50 per cent. in the case of men and about 70 per cent in the case of women who were getting very low wages before the war.

But profits for the planters increased by leaps and bounds during this period. Dividends have often gone up three or four times, in some cases shooting up from 5 per cent to 75 per cent. As an illustration of the low cash wages in tea gardens, the wages given by the Holta Tea Company in Kangra may be cited. In 1939, men received for hoeing three annas a day ; in 1944, they were getting five annas. For plucking, women were getting two annas and six pies ; in 1944, this had risen to four annas. In Kangra, medical facilities, creches, facilities for children's education are practically unknown.

Mr. Rege's Report draws attention to a very serious evil with regard to the payment of wages.

The payment of Wages Act does not apply to plantation labour, with the result that under the system prevailing in South India many of the plantations have an annual settlement—the objective being to make the worker immobile like a serf. The provincial governments have the power, after giving three months' notice, to extend the provision of the Payment of Wages Act to any industry. The Madras Government has recently taken such action on the recommendation of the Labour Investigation Committee. Perhaps the Labour Ministers Conference would have done well to shape measures for general extension of the Act in the interest of plantation workers.

The root trouble is that plantation labour is unorganised. "In the whole of Assam," says Mr. Rege, "there was until recently only one union of garden labourers in the Cachar district. There are no unions in other plantation areas." Though there have been strikes in Assam at times they are necessarily sporadic mismanaged affairs. On the South India plantations no information on the subject of strikes was available to Mr. Rege ! No wonder plantation labour is ill-paid, with the fewest of amenities, and no wonder the long-standing grievances persist in spite of the [illegible] by

committees and Royal Commissions. When the industry has lean days, as happened with tea and coffee in the thirties, labour suffers; but when rubber commands high prices, as it has done in recent years, labour being unorganised is not able to get anything out of the prosperity. "Until the labour is able to stand on its legs," says Mr. Rege, "it is necessary for the Central Government to protect their interests as they have done in the case of Indian labour in plantations in Ceylon and Malaya. It is necessary for this purpose to enact a Central Plantation Labour Code which will provide for the establishment of Wage Boards and Boards of Health and Welfare and lay down minimum standards for housing, medical facilities, education, etc."

It is desirable therefore that the Central Government should pay due attention to this problem. Unholy exploitation of three of the country's chief cash crops ought to be stopped at the earliest possible moment.

Madras Government's Textile Policy

Mr. Prakasam's textile policy has aroused wide interest in the country. The bold step the Madras Premier has taken in preventing any further expansion of the textile mills at the moment opens a new chapter in India's industrial development. Mr. Prakasam has been generally and roundly criticised by the Indian capitalists and due to intensive propaganda by the major section of the Press he is being assailed. Mr. Raghava Menon, Additional Food Minister in the Madras Cabinet, in the course of his Malabar tour told the people at Palghat, "Government have decided that they should have no more mills and should concentrate on Khadi. The matter has been decided once for all; any amount of agitation will not make Government retrace these steps." After a thorough inspection of the producer-*cum*-consumers' co-operative societies in a number of villages, Mr. Menon said:

> Government had ascertained that the mills already existing in the Madras Presidency produced yarn sufficient to provide twenty yards of cloth to an adult and ten yards to a child every year. But black-marketing was so rampant and black-marketing continued at all stages that they could not get yarn from the mills till the cloth reached the consumer. A good lot of yarn was also exported. There was, therefore, no point in saying that there were not sufficient numbers of mills. That was why the Government had decided not to have any more mills, and to concentrate on Khadi. Government had no objection to keep the existing mills going and it was only in the interests of Khadi that more mills could not be allowed.

Mr. K. Bashyam, Minister for Law in the Madras Cabinet, told the same thing to another audience at Madura. He said that the opposition to the Madras Government's new textile policy is engineered by capitalists and mill-owners in their selfish interests and not with a view to promoting the well-being of the masses. He declared that if the Government's policy was carefully examined, it could be found that it would not affect the existing weaving and spinning mills in this Province. It only prevented the setting up of new ones. There was no prospect for at least two years of an increase in the production of mill cloth and yarn as it would not be possible to procure within that time the necessary machinery from abroad. If the Government's Khadi scheme was put into effect, it would to a great extent relieve the cloth famine in the immediate future.

Answering the criticism that their new policy would affect the handloom industry in the Province, the Minister quoted the Provincial Textile Commissioner for the statement that *the yarn produced by the spinning mills in this Province was sufficient to keep the weavers engaged all the year round.* The handloom weaver at present was getting only one-third of his requirements. This was due to the yarn produced throughout the country being pooled by the Central Government and distributed in all provinces equitably as in the case of food.

Mr. Bashyam added that Khadi was one of the planks of the Congress programme for the past quarter of a century designed to revive the rural life of India. There was no rural reconstruction without Khadi. He felt sure that if the Khadi scheme was worked with enthusiasm, the whole Province with the existing mills would become more than self-sufficient in the matter of cloth.

Indian economic and social life has its foundation in villages. In the Re-construction of the villages as strong and healthy economic and social units lies our salvation. Industrial expansion in this country ought therefore to be based on a model of decentralisation, thus providing maximum employment to the largest possible number. Only a decentralised cottage industry can provide an effective remedy both to overproduction and underproduction. Small productive units remain free from capitalist greed.

Dangers of Railway Travel in Eastern Bengal

Railway travel in some parts of Eastern Bengal has become a menace for a pretty long time. Parts of Eastern Bengal, which are strongholds of the Muslim League, have been most notorious in the matter of tampering with railway traffic. Stoppage of trains for loot and murder has been frequent. Since the flaring-up of the communal disturbances, night travel had to be suspended for some time and the trains now move only with armed guards.

A question at the Central Assembly put by Mr. K. C. Neogy has elicited valuable information about these happenings. Mr. Neogy asked the Railway Member to make a short statement indicating how the activities of the Railways were affected on and from August 16 last as a result of communal disturbances in some areas of Bengal. In reply, Mr. Asaf Ali made the following statement:

> On the B. A. Railway, in the Calcutta area, passenger as well as goods train services were seriously affected. The supply of foodstuffs, vegetables, etc., was practically at a standstill from the 16th to the 20th August, 1946. Work in the B. A. Railway Administrative Offices also suffered seriously, as the staff could not attend office owing to lack of conveyance and the fear of being assaulted. In the Chittagong Area, a number of trains had to be cancelled on the 16th August. On the 17th August, there were several casualties amongst the staff in Chittagong. On the 29th August, Fousdarhat Station

was attacked by a mob who looted the quarters of the staff. In the Dacca Area, there was only one case of injury to railway staff. On the 25th August, at Bahadurabad Ghat Station, the work was suspended for the night owing to a mob of about 200 men assembling near the station.

On the B. A. Railway staff quarters at Bahadurabad Ghat were looted on the 25th August. The Parcel Sheds and some wagons loaded with parcels were looted at Sealdah Station between the 17th and 19th August, 1946. The loss is estimated at approximately three lakhs of rupees.

Particulars of the public injured while travelling in trains or while within railway premises are not available. Amongst the railway staff, the number of persons—

Killed	7
Missing	17
Whose belongings have been destroyed or looted ..	939

This is a very short account of what has happened within a few days. Asked about what special precautions were taken by the Railway Police during the communal disturbance in Bengal for the purpose of protecting Railway property and passengers, Mr. Asaf Ali replied :

> On the B. A. Railway in the Calcutta Area, the Railway Police were strengthened with armed police, but the force was insufficient to guard the whole of the Sealdah area. They, however, were instrumental in saving the Sealdah Railway Station from being attacked. It was not possible for the Police authorities to give such adequate aid as would ensure regular running of the train service as the men at their disposal were not sufficient to man every train that was run. The Superintendent of Railway Police did all in his power to help whenever he was approached with urgent requests for assistance from any points outside Calcutta.
>
> In the Chittagong Area, the Superintendent of Police was unable to provide armed guards to protect the Chittagong Railway Colony, Pahartali area, etc., but he arranged for Police patrols to visit the affected areas periodically. The District Magistrate imposed a curfew.
>
> In the Dacca Area, armed Government Railway Police patrolled the station premises and yard at night. Armed guards have been travelling on each train between Dacca and Narayanganj since September and with effect from 3rd October, 300 men of the Indian Pioneer Force have been detailed for the protection of the Railway premises.
>
> The normal strength of Railway Police allotted to the metre-gauge section of the B. A. Railway, including the sections serving the Districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah, is :
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Superintendent of Police | 1 |
> | Inspectors .. .. | 4 |
> | Sub-Inspectors .. .. | 18 |
> | Assistant Sub-Inspectors .. | 21 |
> | Sergeants .. .. | 3 |
> | Head Constables .. .. | 25 |
> | Constables .. .. | 312 |
> | Others .. .. .. | 19 |
>
> Government are informed that the Government of Bengal have taken steps to protect the metre-gauge section of the line in Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah Districts and also to ensure the safe running of trains by the deputation of a number of armed police. Railway Police force is considered adequate for normal times, but is not sufficient to meet with an emergency, such as the one that arose in Calcutta in August last.

Mr. Neogy then requested the Railway Member to state whether Government were aware that certain portions of the metre-gauge section of the Bengal-Assam Railway serving the districts of Dacca, Mymensingh and Tipperah, experienced, during the last few months, frequent acts of lawlessness, such as theft, loot, assault on passengers and kidnapping of women from trains ? He also wanted to know what adequate action was taken in time for the purpose of preventing a recurrence of such occurrences and preventing the offenders to book ? In how many instances were the culprits apprehended and put on trial, and with what result ?

Mr. Asaf Ali replying admitted that theft, loot, assault on passengers and abduction of women from trains did take place. He said :

> A detailed statement of the incidents that took place during the last 12 months, together with full information regarding complaints received and action taken on them by the B. A. Railway has been called for and will be laid on the table of the House in due course. No public complaints were received in the Railway Board's office but from early this year, they received from the General Manager, B. A. Railway, periodical reports of acts of hooliganism and lawlessness as a result of which considerable damage was caused to Railway property, running of trains was adversely affected, and Railway staff assaulted. The position was so bad that the General Manager considered it necessary to suggest that the Railway should have *Armed Guards in the area near Bhairab Bazaar* and that for this purpose, General Headquarters, (India), should be moved to authorise the retention of 200 armed personnel of the Railway Protection Company. The suggestion, however, could not be accepted as it is illegal for Railway administrations to maintain an armed force in time of peace and it is the responsibility of the Provincial Government to afford such protection. *The Bengal Government were continually asked by the Railway Administration to take preventive action immediately but as there was no tangible improvement, night running of trains on the affected sections was stopped on 20th September, 1946.* On 26.9.1946, the Administration reported that the Bengal Government had arranged for a posse of armed police to be stationed at Bhairab Bazaar for the manning of Patrol trains and providing armed escorts on trains when necessary. With effect from 1st October, 1946, night running of all trains was resumed on the Chandpur-Laksam Section, and to a limited extent on the other sections affected. The question of temporarily increasing the strength of the Railway Police to meet the emergency is under the active consideration of Government.

The plague spot of the Railway depredations in the Eastern Bengal, as admitted by the Railway Member as well, is Bhairab Bazaar, the venue of a Muslim League Conference presided over by Khwaja Sir Nasimuddin. The lawlessness began in this area some time after this Conference.

FASCIST DICTATORSHIP IN PORTUGAL

By KAMALADEVI CHATTOPADHYAY

Not since 1942 has India been so shaken as by the occasional bits of news of happenings in Goa that trickle out through the cracks in the iron curtain which has been drawn over that unhappy country. In spirit more than a decade divides 1946 from 1942. That time India was like an elephant who has been cruelly prodded into an unprecedented ferocity by a piercing scimitar thrust into the breast. Today, India is slowly but surely coming into her own, confident of a new strength and pregnant with fruitful possibilities for tomorrow. The condemned 'felons' of 1942 are today practically at the helm of the State. It is, therefore, not only incredible, but absolutely intolerable that such atrocities as are taking place in Goa, should be inflicted on our kith and kin and what is even more outrageous, within the frontiers of our own country.

Goa has been a sealed book to most Indians. We have little or no conception of its characteristics or its culture. We may have been struck by the fact that such a large section of its population, about 10 per cent roughly, should have had to seek its fortune outside the province of its birth. Few have perhaps even stopped to ponder on the obvious conclusion that this means it cannot support its population. But then Goa has come to seem a dim far-away place, almost in another continent. When the recent struggle started, there were not people wanting who said, "But what have we to do with Goa! It is after all another Government." The natural kinship we have felt with the people of Indian States, we have not been able to extend to the people of Goa. Almost unconsciously that country has come to seem like a foreign land to not quite a few, a sinister curtain descending over it and in the words of the *Imperial Gazateer of India* "forming a compact block of 'foreign territory'." To the British it was naturally 'foreign' for it was ruled not by London but Lisbon and it was not the Union Jack that flew over this 'compact block' but another tricolour.

Thus though an integral part of the continent, geographically, culturally and economically, stiff Tariff-walls were raised between the two 'foreign' lands, naturally with greater detriment to the smaller and weaker Goa. Trade between the two steadily declined. Even within the last twenty years there has been a drop of 20 to 30 per cent which must obviously in both cases be only in the interest of foreign countries—those outside of India. In Goa the value of imports became four or five times that of exports. This reacted with considerable detriment to the masses of Goa, depressing their standard as the tariffs hit goods of popular consumption like foodstuffs and cloth. Even in normal times the cost of rice there was double that of ours. The high cost of living affected production with a kind of atrophy, and was mainly responsible for driving such a large number of Goans out of the country in search of work and bread. It is mostly the savings of these sent from British India that go to make up the huge balances yawning between Goa's exports and imports.

In addition to this Customs policy that has served to isolate Goa from the rest of India is another factor of equal economic disaster to that country—the inconvertible paper notes issued by the Banco Ultramarino, which has greatly depreciated the value of the rupee in Goa. The forced circulation of this futile currency has also added to the general economic depression of Goa and the appalling poverty of its masses.

Shorn of all civil liberties, means of organising and expression, starved and humiliated, the Goans have almost faded out of the average Indian's imagination and picture of future India. While we have been desperately struggling to throw off the last vestiges of the British yoke, we have almost forgotten the iron imprint of one of the worst types of totalitarian dictatorship actively operating within the shores of our country and oppressing our own people. Although the European conquest of our country really began with the advent of the Portuguese in India, the first traders to desecrate our soil with their unholy merchandise, setting the pace for India's impoverishment and ultimate slavery, we have cast little thought on Portugal or its affairs, and have continued to remain to this day rather ignorant of its political developments. Yet we cannot be indifferent towards a country that continues to control the destiny of any section of the Indian people, certainly not today, when it has thrown down its medieval gauntlet and is challenging our national integrity and self-respect by perpetrating crimes reminiscent of the middle ages. Yet these inhuman ways, this callous and calculated flaunting of all that has stood for humanness, decency, morality, have become current coins under fascism. As Victor Gollancz says in his recent book *Our Threatened Values* :

> "The moral values of the West have certainly not always been the rule, but their self-conscious denial had become increasingly rare until the advent of Nazism. At the critical moment it is not the paper constitutions that men and women will obey; they will obey their own nature and their own nature such as it has become."

Fascism began by disregarding what may be called the central value of civilization—respect for personality and the sanctity of life. For there is in every human being something special, individual and unique which is what constitutes that personality. Civilization works out a code whereby the test of respect for personality is one's attitude towards those who hold views different from one's own, and through imaginative sympathy realise that what is true of oneself is equally true of others. When man begins to deny this code all standards that set the pattern to a co-operative life or certain human values, must necessarily collapse. Respect for human personality becomes a thing of contempt, a mere sentiment and as Gollancz concludes his argument, when Nazism regards these values as wrong and communism as irrelevant, what they fail to understand is that "history is a continuing process, that you cannot advance by throwing away what you have achieved already ; that the rights of man are the precious foundation for an even finer structure, and that if you mistreat the seed of morality (as bourgeois) you will

get no flower at all but nihilism." The answer to Goa lies in Portugal. It is the nature of her Government and Society that explains to us the happenings here. Therefore, a peep into Portugal is not only essential but inevitable for an understanding of the problem of Goa.

While Spain and its tragedy have been highlighted through the fascist war, its sister country in spite of an equally sinister fate that has befallen it, has passed virtually unnoticed. Curiously enough before the Spanish Revoution of 1931, when Spain was still in the grip of medievalism, Portugal was one of the liberal countries and in the early nineties Goa naturally enoyed a degree of freedom the rest of India could only dream of at the time. But slowly yet firmly the wave of fascism caught Portugal in its vice even as it gripped Spain. In fact, Salazar and Franco are but twin brothers cradled in the same nefarious politics. All through the Spanish war, Salazar lent a helping hand to Franco, especially in driving back the Republican refugees fleeing from the Franco terror. The Badago massacre at almost the start of the Spanish war was the fruit of this infamous collaboration between the two dictators, when the Salazar police drove the Spanish fugitives back across the border to be herded into the Badagoz bullring where thousands were machine-gunned. In fact, friends of Republican Spain had to work as diligently and warily in Portugal as in Spain in order to protect the precarious lives of the Spanish refugees. For Portuguese dictatorship has run parallel to the Spanish, rendering each other all possible service, and each realises that in the other's survival lies his own security. Thus while Franco has counted on Salazar—and certainly with success—equally Salazar too has counted on Franco's army for the continuance of his own dictatorship. The offensive and defensive alliance between the two, signed when Hitler's fate seemed sealed, is significant of this.

Salazar was said to be cleverer and therefore subtler than Franco. But one wonders! Salazar's regime follows the typical fascist pattern. There is only one political party, the Unias Nacinal, corresponding to the Falangist Party across the border in ideology as well as in structure. As in Spain the Church in Portugal is a staunch supporter of the dictatorship. The head of the hierarchy, Cardinal Cerrejiva in Lisbon, is an old mate and friend of Salazar and it is not infrequently said that their respective roles might have been easily interchanged.

The Portugese masses are as poverty-stricken as the Spanish. The war has deteriorated the situation even more. Between the beginning and the close of the war, living costs rose 210 per cent. They are said to be even higher today. In the same period, however, wages and salaries increased by only 35 per cent. The figures for food consumption are astounding. Per capita per annum the average is 9 kilograms of meat, 11 litres of milk, 186 grams of cheese, 485 grams of butter and 40 eggs. It is not at all surprising therefore that according to one of Portugal's outstanding physicians, one person is dying of tuberculosis every minute.

As in the case of Franco, so in the case of Salazar, the Anglo-American block's support has been there. The fear of the Iberian Peninsula going under Moscow's influence is said to be the reason for this. It is well to remember, however, that Portugal has always been more directly a British influence sphere and even during the last war, in spite of her so-called neutrality, Portugal yielded, no doubt under British pressure, to allowing the use of the Azores for military purposes. As a matter of fact, the oldest alliance in Europe is between England and Portugal, dating as far back as 1373, and the last two centuries or so it has been definitely within the British ring. So long as England and America fear a radical change in Spain, they are bound to patronise Salazar as well. For in either event, the end of one must inevitably mean the end of the other. It is, therefore, not surprising that Britain should be interested in pressing Salazar to at least wear occasionally the cloak of democracy, to slow down the growing opposition to Salazar, if not entirely overcome it. It was thus that what were called "Free Elections" were held in Portugal last November. Actually they were a mere farce, for, the opposition was allowed to participate only on totalitarian conditions: Firstly, a candidate had to declare his acceptance of the Corporate State; secondly, no one who had spent some years outside of Portugal could run (in order to exclude the entire democratic opposition in exile); thirdly, the electoral census was so rigged as to prevent thousands of the regime's adversaries from voting. In spite of all this, however, the very idea of the elections gave a fresh stimulus to political life in the country. Under its impetus the various political parties professing democratic faith so long submerged beneath the cloud of illegality, came together into a coalition under the name of Movimato de United Democratica. This united opposition, the day after the proclamation of the election, came out fighting with the demand that the elections be postponed for six months. Their case very pertinently and legitimately was that after twenty years of suppression and ban, the political parties needed time to reorganise themselves. But even this incipient show of strength dismayed Salazar. Full of apprehension he, on the contrary, hurried on with the poll. The opposition had no other course except to demonstrate its strength through a complete boycott, which it succeeded in doing. For barely 25 per cent of the voters went to the polls—obviously 75 per cent of the electorate wanted neither Salazar nor his regime. In their own quiet way they had recorded their opinion. Today the very circles which were originally the source of his power, are turning against him. This was in truth one of the factors that had induced England and America to force Salazar declare elections, phony though they may have subsequently proved. The Portugese have not been unaware of Britain's role in the evolution of their destiny. They know only too well that without British goodwill, even what remained of their once far-flung empire would crack up and float away like drift wood. But they have no illusions left regarding England's disinterestedness. In fact they have not forgotten that before World War I, at one stage England was ready to agree to the handing over of the Portugese colonies to the Kaiser and to satisfy some of his demands at Portugese expense. The democratic forces in Portugal had, however, become greatly enthused by the advent of the Labour Government in England, reading in it a sign of their own emancipation. But these budding hopes too have been dashed to the ground. For the new Government in England seems disposed to continue the same old Tory policy in foreign affairs though not in domestic, and the Iberian Peninsula continues to writhe in the grip of dictatorships, with little or no help from the ancient island-democracy across the channel. The

concentration camps of Tarrafal in the Cape Verde Islands remain as full as ever. There is a story that when some malaria patients asked for quinine the camp doctor replied : "My job here is to sign death certificates." Ironically enough, the English, who seem to abhor dictatorship so much at home, do not seem to mind either hoodwinking at it or indirectly encouraging it abroad.

Thus the treatment meted out to the Spanish question by the Anglo-American block in the U.N.O. indirectly assures Salazar's dictatorship a further lease of life. This problem is of vital significance to us, for the continuance of totalitarianism in Portugal means *status quo* in Goa with all its implied horrors of today.

The Indian scene has, however, undergone transformation with the advent of the popular Interim Government at the Centre. Medievalism reminiscent of the Inquisition days has no place in the Indian scheme of things, be the authors British, Portugese or Indian. Dictatorship has to be destroyed as one would any bascilli, wherever it raises its cancerous head. Its continued existence in our body politic is both a challenge to our national dignity as well as a danger to our progressive evolution. Neither the Indian National Congress nor the Interim Government can with impunity tolerate such a regime as exists today in Goa and which is but the inevitable arm of the regime in Portugal. Equal responsibility lies with the U.N.O. But just how that august body discharges its duties we have seen already in the case of Spain. Indians have therefore to fall back upon their own moral strength and the intensity of feeling that can be raised over this issue which it is time we recognised as a national issue and a challenge to our national integrity.

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BRITAIN'S DUAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

The British Empire is said to control one-fifth of the world and one-fourth of its inhabitants. Such powers imply equal responsibility. Indian prohibitionists maintain that, by its toleration, if not its indirect encouragement, of the opium traffic, the British Empire has failed to discharge its duty to those it is ruling and, in addition, has set a very bad example to other countries.

The Temperance Movement in India which has always included Indians and non-Indians has repeatedly implored the British administration to take effective steps to put an end to the non-medical use of opium and has been told that this is impossible in view of the difficulties which stand in the way. Indian Nationalism has always held that if the British administration had really the desire to stop this which it has always professed it would like to do, it could have passed legislation on the same lines as the Dangerous Drugs Act by which Britain protects its own children. Not only would such a piece of legislation have encountered no opposition from any quarter, but it would have been welcomed by every section and group in India.

If the British administration persists, in the face of easily available evidence to the contrary in maintaining that such a measure would have been resisted, it could have evoked the Governor-General's special powers and passed the law in spite of opposition as it has done in the case of the salt-tax. If Indian Nationalism did not initiate such legislation in the past, it is only because of the difficulties in getting non-official bills enacted and also because if legislation had been passed, there was at least some likelihood that it would not have received the assent of the Governor-General on the plea that, carried into effect, it would entail loss of much needed revenue.

Anti-Narcotic Legislation in Great Britain and the Dominions

At the Opium Conference held at Geneva in 1924, it was asserted that though internal regulations in almost all the forty-one countries participating in it had adhered more or less to the principles laid down in the Hague Convention of 1912, there was, nonetheless, a lack of genuine allegiance to them on the international plans. For instance, Great Britain in passing its Dangerous Drugs Act had clearly demonstrated at least its theoretical acceptance of the Hague policy of suppressing the non-medical use of drugs within the British Empire. Enacted for the protection of its own people, its anti-narcotic legislation is of the most advanced type so that opium and its derivatives as well as other habit-forming drugs can be given only under strict medical supervision. Very strict control is exercised on chemists and druggists in Great Britain under it. Among other things, the prescriptions which have to be preserved and copied into a register, are, in principle, allowed to be filled up only once, or, if specified by the physician, up to a maximum of three times. The possession of opium and its salts, and of cocaine and their illegal use, when not prescribed by a qualified physician, are punished with imprisonment. Further, under it the sale by unauthorised agencies and the use in any form of these substances for non-medical purposes are illegal.

While, except for members and sympathisers of the Temperance Movement, Britons in general view, even today, the drink habit with a certain degree of indulgence and are, in fact, prepared to tolerate it so long as moderation is observed, every one of them very strongly condemns the habitual use of drugs and the addict is always regarded with loathing and scorn. It is this which explains the stringent measures adopted in deference to public opinion in England against the illegal trade in drugs and their non-medical use for purposes of intoxication.

There are similar laws in the Self-governing Dominions such as Ireland, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, etc., but they are absent so far as the countries included in the British Empire and which do not enjoy Dominion Status are concerned. These consist of Crown colonies, protectorates, mandated

territories and Britain's greatest possessions, Burma and India.

This explains why, till only the other day, the oriental or indeed any subject of the King-Emperor was allowed to purchase opium from the India Government at public auctions in Calcutta and why the same people were treated as criminals and punished for either possessing, eating or smoking opium at Liverpool and London as had actually happened in the case of Indian seamen who had broken this particular law of England.

It has also been suggested that if a public auction where, till 1926, opium was sold by the India Government, were held in London, Dublin, Belfast, Montreal, Cape Town, or Sydney, it would have immediately led to a riot and the people concerned, British or Colonial, would have not only destroyed the opium offered for sale but would also have seen to it that such an auction was the last ever held in their country.

On July 20, 1923, the *Times* of London gave an account of the trial and conviction of a man proved to have opium and opium-smoking appliances in his possession though not of having been detected when actually smoking opium. In sentencing him to imprisonment for three years, the Recorder, according to the report appearing in the abovementioned paper, said that

> "There was not much doubt that the practice of taking cocaine and smoking opium was doing much to demoralise society. Feeling that this was so, Parliament this year increased the personal penalty from six months' imprisonment to ten years' penal servitude. Parliament was determined—and he, in his humble way, was determined to assist the Legislature—in excising this moral cancer from the social system."

The Indian prohibitionist would say that the really regrettable thing is that these very fine sentiments find no application in British possessions east of the Suez.

Whatever his other complaints against the British people, the Indian nationalist is aware that they have traditions of idealism which, in the past, compelled them to outlaw slavery. This, in his view, would have made them incapable of resisting the appeal to banish slavery to opium in the territories ruled by them, if only all the facts in all th ir nakedness had been made available to them. He knows that in Great Britain, addiction to drugs is regarded, and regarded rightly, as a violation of moral decency. He, therefore, refuses to accept the explanation that the attitude referred to above is due to the conviction among Britons that what is transgression against moral decency in England is not equally a transgression against it in any country governed by British officials or among any people living under the protection of the Union Jack.

Opium and Labour in British Far East

Certain reasons have been advanced for this inconsistency of which two only will be referred to here. The first of these is that opium has been utilised by the administrations concerned as a means of swelling the revenue without, at the same time, causing too much discontent among the people ruled, a matter the discussion of which is deferred for the time being. Coming to the second reason which, it has been contended, finds its most extensive application in certain British possessions in Far East, the considered opinion of the Temperance Movement is that the cheap and plentiful labour of China has been attracted to these places where efficient native labour is not available, not only by the prospect of high wages but also by reports of the easy availability of facilities in them for indulgence in certain vices including opium smoking. Lack of space will not permit reference to more than a few instances to prove the correctness of the view set forth above.

Johore, the largest of the five Unfederated Malay States, is ruled by its Sultan who, under the terms of a treaty entered into with Great Britain in 1885, and, by an amendment to it made in 1914, acts under the advice of a British officer called the General Adviser. As for the other four, under the Anglo-Siamese treaty of 1909, "the rights of suzerainty, protection, administration and control" were transferred by Siam to Great Britain so that they are under British administration. In an official publication describing their natural resources and the openings available for the investment of capital in them it is stated that

> "The Malay Peninsula is rich in rubber, tin, cocoanuts and other tropical produce, and the hardworking and industrious Chinese supply a large part of the labour needed for the mines and the estates."

Johore had, in 1921, a total population of 282,244 of which more than a third, to be exact 96,888, were Chinese. In 1918, the revenue from opium constituted 46 per cent of the revenue and met 72 per cent of the total cost of administration. With the appearance of the trade depression in the Far East in 1920-21, there was less work, many Chinese had to be discharged and the opium revenue declined by nearly 50 per cent.

We are also told in the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945) that at the end of 1940, there were 929 miles of metalled roads in Johore and that the railway from Penang to Singapore passes through it for 121 miles. It is also observed that

> "Rubber estates are situated on either side along practically the whole length (121 miles) and thus, with the help of roads and navigable rivers, good communication is available."

The importance of the rubber industry, almost exclusively financed by alien capital, can be easily realised when we consider the export trade of Johore which, according to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), was, in round numbers, valued at 138 million dollars out of which rubber alone was responsible for 117 million dollars.

In 1940, the revenue of Johore was derived from three sources. In round figures, these were Customs 11 million, License 4 million and Land a little over 3½ million dollars. Omitting the last, realised from those owning land, we find that Customs was the most important item contributing a little less than 50 per cent of the total revenue. This came from taxes on exports and imports.

So far as the former was concerned, owing to the Western demand for rubber, Johore was enabled to levy a fairly high duty on it with the result that a quite respectable proportion of the Customs came from this source.

As regards taxes on imports, these were those imposed on first, animals, food, drink and tobacco valued at a little over 27 million and, secondly, on articles wholly or mainly manufactured, valued at nearly 27

million dollars. As Johore had no organised industries to speak of, and as it needed articles falling under the second head, it was content to levy taxes on a fairly low level. As regards those coming under the first class, drink and tobacco were heavily taxed as also such quantities of opium, raw and prepared, as were imported no detailed information about which is given in the abovementioned book.

The revenue from license (4 million dollars) was principally for permits for selling opium, for opium-smoking rooms, for gambling dens and pawnbroking establishments, the intimate connection between all which has been referred to elsewhere. The magnitude of the revenue, taking into account the population of Johore, its generally backward economic condition and the absence of any large-scale industry organised and controlled by the indigenous people, tells its own story.

The suggestion put forward indirectly, but deliberately, that opium makes a handsome contribution to the revenues of Johore is based on the generally accepted view that the Chinese take the opium-smoking habit with them wherever they go. In 1940, the total population of Johore was, according to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), 757,590, Chinese numbering 346,590, Malayasians 309,520 and Indians 76,230. It also appears that there were some Javanese among the Malayasians who constituted less than 50 per cent of the population. The presence of such large numbers of Chinese is an indication, of course indirect, of the prevalence of opium smoking in this State.

It has to be stated, in this connection, that while in the absence of any definite information in the abovementioned book, it is impossible to state precisely how much of the total revenue came from this source, its unexplained departure from its old policy of supplying information on this matter is perhaps due to the desire of withholding information.

Kelantan, another of the Unfederated Malay States, had a total population of 390,332 in 1940 consisting of Malays, Chinese, Indians and a small handful of Europeans carrying on trade, commerce and industries. Agriculture and animal industry play a large part in its economy. The Malays produce rice, coconuts, areca nut, vegetables, fruits, etc., while in it, in the language of the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), "numerous (rubber) estates are owned by British companies." The indigenous people also breed large numbers of buffaloes, oxen, sheep and goats. Its jungle products are timber, bamboos, rattan and resin. Mineral resources comprise gold, tin, manganese and iron ore which have all along been exploited by British concerns. The Chinese constituting about 10 per cent of the population are almost universally employed in the rubber plantations and in the mines.

The principal exports in 1940 were agricultural and jungle produce (£33,300), cattle (£12 270), locally produced textiles (£10 318), products of mines (£128,450) and rubber (£1,372,473)—very clear proof of the importance of the rubber plantations and the future prospects of mining industries.

The principal imports were textiles (£120,245), tobacco (£95 330), petroleum and benzine (£95,944), motor vehicles (£52,088), sugar (£35,130), tinned milk (£25,925), drugs and medicines (£17,696) and wheat flour (£13,100)—clear proof of the industrial backwardness of this place.

In the *Kelantan Blue Book* for 1919, we find the following significant admission :

> "The revenue accruing from the sale of *chandu* (smoking opium) forms at present a considerable proportion of the total revenue of the State, and if it is intended to abolish the sale at any near date, the results will be serious."

In 1940, the revenue of Kelantan was drawn from three sources, Customs, Excise and Marine (£248,506), Land Revenue (£56,553) and Municipal (£23,172), the first of which is obviously the most important. Whether intentionally or not, Customs, Excise and Marine have been lumped up but it is more than probable that while respectable amounts were derived from the rubber exports and liquor and tobacco imports, opium did not fail to contribute its quota. The Malayans prefer treatment by indigenous physicians and as there were only 175 Europeans in this State in 1940, it is not probable that the sum of £17,696 represents the value of medicines imported either for their use or for that of the very few non-Europeans who liked being treated according to Western medical methods.

In 1940, the revenue of Trengganu, another Unfederated Malay State, from all sources was more than three and one-third million and its expenditure very slightly above two and three-fifth million dollars so that its financial condition may be regarded as quite sound. It has telegraphic communication with the rest of Malaya and, through it, with the world outside and also a wireless station. The Public Works Department maintained 291 miles of metalled roads besides subsidiary roads kept up by the Land Office. In addition to these, the country is traversed by paths. There are numerous motor boat services for passenger and cargo traffic which penetrate to the interior and also pass up and down the coast. There is also a light railway passing through its mining areas, mainly for the transport of its mineral wealth. Goods brought down from the interior are taken away by coasting steamers from Singapore which touch nearly all its tiny ports.

In 1940, the total value of the exports was 13,210,895 dollars, the principal items being rubber (5,498,878 dollars), various minerals (iron and tin ore and wolfram aggregating 6,653,140 dollars) and agricultural and animal products (1,058 879 dollars). The value of the total imports was 8,878,136 dollars, the principal items being foodstuffs (3,833,719 dollars), manufactured goods (3,697,814 dollars) and raw materials (690,912 dollars) for hand-weaving, manufacture of metal ware and boat-building, the only industries of this State, sufficient proof of its industrial backwardness.

We are further told that the total investments (in rubber estates and mines) in 1940 amounted to 1,031,400 dollars and it may be safely assumed that almost the whole of it was British capital. The fact that exports valued at a little over 12 million dollars consisted of rubber and minerals out of a total of a little over 13 million dollars is very clear indication of the important part played by British capital in the economy of Trengganu. The same story is told by the figures for imports, this business too being the monopoly of European business houses.

According to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), Trengganu had a population of 211,041 about the middle of 1941 but nothing is said in it about its composition. One can, however, make a guess by the fact that, in

that year, there were 3 English, 2 Indian, 11 Chinese and 34 Vernacular (Malay) schools in it. It may be presumed quite safely that the Chinese constitute about a third of the population of this State and that they, and probably some Javanese, supply nearly all the labour for the rubber estates and mines. These, as we know, go wherever high wages are paid and facilities for opium-smoking and gambling are available. The silence of this authoritative book on the constitution of the population and its failure to give detailed information about the nature of the imports naturally invite suspicion.

Without entering into details, it may be mentioned here that the state of things which prevails in the above three more important of the Unfederated Malay States is also found in the last two smaller ones, Kedah and Perlis.

The Sultan of Brunei entered long ago into a treaty with Great Britain for the furtherance of commercial relations and the suppression of piracy. By a second treaty in 1881, it became a British protectorate and by a third one in 1906, "the general administration of the State," according to the *Statesman's Year Book*, "was entrusted to a British Resident." It is stated there that

> "The Resident is an officer of the Malayan Civil Service, and he is assisted in the administration by an Assistant Resident, also of the Malayan Civil Service. The heads of the Police, Agriculture Forest, Medical and Public Works Departments are European Officers of the respective services in Malaya."

Brunei has four wireless stations for maintaining telegraphic communications with the outside world and for internal traffic together with six Post Offices. The country is traversed by roads maintained by its Public Works Department and also numerous subsidiary roads and paths. Launches carrying passengers and goods traverse its waterways while communication with the outside world is regularly maintained by Straits Steamship Company's vessels.

In 1940, the total revenue was £181,574 and the expenditure £119,207. Brunei which had no public debt may be regarded as being in a very sound financial condition. The revenue consists principally of land revenue including oil royalties and taxes paid by rubber estates amounting to £92,463, Customs £46,468 and Monopolies and Licenses £14,747

Exports consist of crude oil, rubber, with small quantities of agricultural products like sago, cutch (magrove extract), etc., lagging far behind. Their total value was £1,422,680, the corresponding figures for imports being £453,502 only. Duties on exports (mainly on rubber and oil) contribute the major part of the Customs while Monopolies and Licenses, about which no further information is supplied, amounting to about a third of the Customs are those on opium, gambling and pawnbroking.

On page 3 of the *Annual Report of the State of Brunei*, for 1918 we find :

> "Almost all the managers (of rubber estates and oil companies)) refer in their reports to the scarcity of labour, and this difficulty has to be solved if the planting industry is to prosper."

In the next few lines, mention is made of the "scanty local population" as well as of its idle and irresponsible habits which stand in the way of regularity of attendance at work. Then comes a complaint against North Borneo which attracts "the better class Javanese and Chinese coolies" and a contrast is drawn between life in the estates there and life in the "distant and isolated estates" of Brunei. After this we have the two following suggestions :

> "A good deal can be done in Brunei, as has been done in British North Borneo, to attract and retain coolies by providing means of recreation . . .
>
> "The real crux of the problem is lack of population ; and this can only be corrected by encouraging immigration in every way."

The evidence quoted below proves that these attractions, so effective in the case of British North Borneo, consisted in the government monopoly of opium, gambling and pawnbroking.

Sarawak with an area of about 50,000 square miles, a coast line of 450 miles and many navigable rivers was originally obtained by Sir James Brooke from the Sultan of Brunei in 1841. It was recognised as an independent State under the protection of Great Britain in 1888. It is now British territory.

There are no railways, but there are excellent roads besides bridle paths, goods being carried by launches and small steamers. Wireless communication with Singapore, a Government telephone system and nearly 40 post offices enable Sarawak to maintain touch with the world and also between different areas in it.

Large tracts are under forest from which timber is drawn. Rubber plantations are under development. Coal exists in large quantities. The Sarawak Oilfields Ltd., with its headquarters at Miri, is a flourishing concern exporting large quantities of oil. Considerable progress has also been made in the development of oil-fields at Bakom in the Barain district. The importance of these industries, all financed and controlled almost exclusively by British capital, may be judged by the value of the exports of which they constituted the main part and which stood at 34,379,748 dollars.

Sarawak had no public debt and its prosperity is evident from the fact that its total expenditure in 1939 was 4,200,269 dollars as against a revenue of 4,762,532 dollars. This large revenue was derived almost wholly from land revenue, royalty on timber and oil, gambling, pawnbroking and arrack farms and the Government opium monopoly. The *Statesman's Year Book* does not supply separate figures for these different items nor does it give any information in regard to the composition of its population in 1940 when it totalled 490,585 souls except that it consists of various Malayan tribes, major and minor, with Chinese, Javanese and a handful of Indian settlers.

In Sarawak, there are Roman Catholic, Church of England, American Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist and Borneo Evangelical missions and, unless we are prepared to regard as untrustworthy what they have repeatedly told the authorities at their respective headquarters, receipts from the Government monopoly in opium, gambling and pawnbroking amount to nearly 25 per cent of the total revenue. Most of the missionaries also hold that the monopoly in these things consitutes a great attraction for the Javanese and the Chinese who supply nearly all the labour for the old timber and the oil and the fast developing rubber industries.

British North Borneo, according to the *Statesman's Year Book* (1945), is a British Protected State administered under Royal Charter granted in 1881 to the British North Borneo Company, with its headquarters in London. Its Governor appointed by this Company is responsible to the Court of Directors. His appointment is subject to the approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. He is assisted by a Civil Service of about 60 European officers.

According to the last census taken in 1931, the population of British North Borneo was 270 223 constituted as follows :

Europeans and Eurasians	576
Natives of Malay Archipelago	11,494
Chinese	47,499
Natives of Borneo consisting of aboriginal tribes living in the interior	205,218
The rest being Mohammedan settlers on its coast-line of over 900 miles.	

The aboriginal tribes are practically self-sufficient units depending on hunting, fishing and agriculture on primitive lines for their living. These have not as yet been drawn into such industries as have been started under European leadership in this country. The settlers on the coast and some of the Malayans deal in dried and salted fish, cutch (mangrove extract), copra and cocoanuts, manila hemp, tobacco, damar and rattans. Some of these items are procured from the Borneans who, in exchange, are supplied with such manufactured goods as they need, the rest being produced by themselves. The chief product, however, is rubber there being large numbers of rubber estates in this country. Valuable minerals such as gold petroleum, copper, iron, manganese and tin are also found in British North Borneo and the mines are being rapidly developed. Labour for these organised industries is supplied by the Chinese and such people of the Malay Archiplago, mainly Javanese, as are conversant with western methods of exploitation of natural resources and are not averse to lending their assistance in exchange for what they consider adequate remuneration. The following figures for exports from British North Borneo for the years 1936-40 show the important position of the above industries in its economy:

1936	£1,105,552
1937	£1,722,762
1938	£1,139,252
1939	£1,597,976
1940	£2,364,891

Equally interesting and important are the figures for the revenue and expenditure of British North Borneo for the same period. There will be found on page 91 of the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1945 :

Year	*Revenue*	*Expenditure*
1936	£341,586	£203,148
1937	£414,883	£209,709
1938	£383,464	£217,160
1939	£416,701	£226 666
1940	£503,436	£240,138

Even the barest glance at the above figures is enough to show that the local authorities at British North Borneo as well as the Court of Directors have been more than successful in keeping down the expenses of administration and in gradually securing an expanding revenue. The financial condition is so sound that British North Borneo has no public debt.

The sources of the above revenue, again according to the *Statesman's Year Book*, 1945 (p. 91), are :

"Customs and Excise duties, court fees, stamp duties, licenses, royalties, land rents, etc."

Obviously, it is difficult to realise any very respectable amounts as land rent from the aboriginals who live in the more or less inaccessible interior. Part of this item comes from the settlers and townsmen and the rest from the rubber estates. Court fees and stamp duties, a comparatively small percentage, are derived from such civil and criminal cases as are brought for adjudication in what are called Native Courts (for Native and Mahomedan law and custom) and the courts established for the benefit of others. In these, the laws administered are based on the Indian codes and local ordinances. It has been said that the revenue from this source is, to all intents and purposes, eaten up by the expenses involved in maintaining the machinery established for the administration of justice. Royalties represent the amounts received mainly for mining and, to a much smaller extent, for timber concessions. The major part of the revenue, however, is derived from Customs and Excise, the reason why they have been given a prominent place among the sources of revenue as given in the abovementioned book of reference.

Taking the first of these, we find that the major part of it is drawn from the export duties on rubber, mineral products and a much smaller amount from duties on timber, manila hemp, damar and rattans and still smaller amounts from those on the rest. There are import duties on manufactured goods, foodstuffs, etc. The rates vary and are helpful in swelling the total amount but the contribution from this source is not so important as that derived from the export trade.

Licenses are fees derived from permits to deal in opium, to maintain opium-smoking rooms, gambling dens and pawnbroking establishments. These, along with Excise duties on opium, gambling and pawnbroking constitute an important item because the absence of these attractions for labour would immediately administer almost a death-blow to those industries on which the prosperity of British North Borneo must, in the long run, depend. In this connection the following extract from page 173 of a book entitled *British North Borneo: An Account of its History, Resources and Native Tribes* by Owen Rutter, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society and of the Royal Anthropological Institute, with an introduction by the Rt. Hon'ble Sir West Ridgway, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., President of the British North Borneo Chartered Company, published by Messrs. Constable & Co., London, 1922, is illuminating.

"Under the heading of Excise is included the revenue derived from opium, gambling and pawnbroking."

The two vices of the Chinese and the Javanese are opium-smoking and gambling both leading, in most cases, to pledging personal belongings for the sake of finding money for indulgence in them.

We are also told in the same book (p. 172) that

"It will be seen at a glance that 70 per cent of the total revenue of the territory comes under the heading of Customs and Excise."

Continuing the author observes :

"It (Excise Revenue) is, from the shareholder's point of view, the most important branch of the

service, *without it there would be no dividend.*"—(Italics ours).

It thus appears that not only is catering to the vices of Chinese and Javanese labour necessary to attract and retain it, but also that it is imperative from the point of view of the British shareholders as without it there would be no dividends.

The only inference which can be drawn legitimately from the facts set forth above is that, as the primitive local population of the above areas consisting of cannibals, head-hunters, sea-gipsies and wild people who live by hunting are, from the point of view of the British exploiter, unusable, and further as the rubber estates and mines have to be worked, the more sophisticated Chinese and Javanese labourers have to be attracted by catering to their weaknesses.

The lives of human beings are cheap in the East and however large the number ruined body and soul by this wanton indifference to their well-being, there are always millions in reserve to be drawn upon. The problem from the European capitalists' point of view is solved so long as there is an unfailing and steady supply to renew the wastage caused by destructive factors including opium. And so this narcotic has been permitted to waste precious human lives in these equatorial possessions of Great Britain so that their budgets may be balanced and, at least in one case, that British shareholders may draw their dividends.

In this connection one is tempted to recall what Bishop Brent, one of the delegates of the United States to the Opium Conference held at Geneva in 1924, said :

"It is monstrous for a nation to think it possible to build up an honourable and righteous commonwealth with revenue gained from the exploitation of the weakness and vice of human beings."

(To be continued)

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AN OPEN LETTER TO INDIAN EDUCATORS

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Watumull Professor, Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies Graduate School, New York University

and

G. J. WATUMULL,

The Watumull Foundation, Los Angeles and Honolulu

I

It seems that India is suffering from an inferiority complex even in matters of education. According to the majority of young Indians of little knowledge and even some Indian educators of distinction, "there is nothing worthwhile taught in India, in the field of higher education." This is being demonstrated by the action of Indians of all classes and also by the attitude of the Education Department of the Government of India and their Indian advisors. They want thousands of Indian students (in many cases relations of Indians holding high positions) to be sent to American and British Universities. Behind this drive for going to foreign universities is the fact that Indians think that everything Indian is not worthwhile and a foreign "degree" will give them greater prestige and a better government job. The latter idea has been confirmed by the senseless action of the Government of India that thousands of Indian scholars, who will be sent to British and American Universities, will be assured highly paid jobs. This job-hunting idea, not the acquirement of the highest type of education, has been re-inforced by the notion that by visiting the United States or Great Britain, young men and women of the upper middle class of Indians will have greater social prestige. Thus Great Britain and the United States are being flooded not only with Government scholars, but also with private students from the rich families and the upper middle class of India.

True to Indian fashion of working haphazardly, most of these students leave India without adequate information about British and American Universities and also without any definite plan of studies. This is the impression we have acquired from interviews with as many students—government and private. The situation in England, as we understand from private information secured from reliable sources is very serious. A large number of Indians have gone to England as students—some of them are bonafide students,—but they have not been able to secure admission in universities. Of course, they are spending poor India's —famine-stricken India's—blood-money, just for staying in England and at the same time in many cases acquiring most degenerating habits, which are known to the Indians as progressive western practices, such as drinking cock-tails, dancing with bar-maids, etc.

In America, the situation is a little better not because Indians are not anxious to come to the United States, but because the American officials often use greater discretion regarding visas. Unless they are fully convinced that the prospective Indian students have already secured admission to American universities visas are refused. However, under the present situation of the overcrowding of American universities, it will be wise if ordinary Indian students, *even ordinary post-graduate students*, be prevented from coming to the United States.

We have this to say regarding the programmes of sending five hundred students by the Government of India and Provincial Governments annually to the United States. This must be stopped for the good of India, at least temporarily, when American universities are so overcrowded. Lest there be any misunderstanding about the overcrowding of American universities

I wish to quote the following authentic information supplied by the Government of the United States:

> "Reconversion Director John W. Synder reported tonight that 2,080,000, including 970,000 veterans, will want to go to college next fall but that only 1,000,000, including 690,000 veterans, can be accommodated."

This report also gives information regarding the acute housing shortage in the United States and universities have very great difficulty in finding living quarters for students. In this connection it may be worthwhile to mention that the Federal Government of the United States "will spend at least one billion dollars for the college education of veterans in the academic year 1946-1947, if about 700,000 veterans are enrolled. . . . Over the years Federal Government will spend about six billion dollars for the college education of World War II veterans . . ."

II

Recently rich Indians have begun to send their undergraduate sons and daughters to the United States. American university authorities in some cases have been gracious enough to admit them to universities, when literally hundreds of thousands of American students—better equipped educationally—are not getting the opportunity to enter colleges. But the worst thing about these immature students in the American universities is this: Except in rare cases, they do not show good results and in many cases they show such bad results that after two terms, they are asked to leave universities. This has happened in M.I.T. and other institutions of the highest standing. This has lowered the prestige of Indian universities and has even made it difficult for desirable first class students getting admission in these institutions.

It may be well to let the Indian educational authorities know that because of the poor results made by some Indian students in American universities, the general average of Indian students, is lower than that of the Chinese and Latin American students, in spite of the fact that some of Indian students in America, *specially Calcutta University scholars, have achieved excellent results in their higher studies.*

It has come to our notice that some Indians come to the United States as students and get admission to some of the best universities situated in commercial centres such as New York. They take some studies in universities to keep up their student status and then try to engage in some kind of business or devote time "in good time." Thus they accomplish very little as students and take four years to accomplish what can easily be done in one year.

Then there are Indian students who barely get through and get a degree somehow and not with distinction. This does not help other students who wish to carry on their studies seriously. In fact, it has happened that because some of the Indian students, graduates of certain Indian universities, could not show excellent results, one of the greatest American universities is reluctant to accord "graduate status" to ordinary Indian graduates. This does not increase the prestige of Indian universities.

III

Lest there be any misunderstanding, we wish to state emphatically that India, in the field of scientific and technical education of the people as a whole, is far inferior to that of the United States and Great Britain; *and India has much to learn from these countries.* But, the way to accomplish this is not by squandering the blood-money of poor Indian tax-payers by sending thousands of Indians to foreign countries; *but to follow the path that was adopted by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee, the late Rash Behari Ghosh, the late Tarak Nath Palit and the late Jamshedji Tata.* These constructive statesmen of India felt the need of raising India's national efficiency and *they adopted measures to create facilities in India* for the spread of the highest type of scientific and industrial education, by establishing the Indian Institute of Science and various professorships in connection with Calcutta University. These national investments in education, money spent in India, have borne splendid dividends in the form of training hundreds of young scientists with the least possible expenditure abroad.

India cannot afford to squander crores of rupees abroad, even under the pretext of training experts. As all the provinces of India will have national government, it is to be hoped that ninety per cent of the sum ear-marked for sending students abroad should be spent in India for the following purposes: First, establishment of permanent Chairs for such subjects which should be taught in Indian Universities and technical institutions to raise their status to first class institutions, and to afford a large number of properly qualified students the opportunity of studying in India those subjects for which they think they must go to foreign lands. Secondly, Indian Universities should be aided to expand their laboratories for research facilities. Thirdly, the standard of Secondary education in India should be raised by having facilities for scientific and technical education. Fourthly, the rest of ten per cent left should be spent for training young Indian University instructors in foreign countries to equip them with the highest type of scientific education which they will impart upon their return to their students in Indian Universities.

Lastly, we suggest that Indian Universities create a larger number of scholarships for students from poor families and so-called under-privileged classes, in order that they may have equal opportunities for higher education. As things stand, in India higher education is a special privilege for young people belonging to rich families or the upper middle class.

IV

Recently we have noticed that Indians are coming to the United States to study Sociology, Educational Psychology, Agricultural Statistics and other subjects which can be taught in India without much difficulty. If Indian universities establish a "School of Education" for training teachers, then all the subjects that are needed in the field of Education can be taught in India at the expense only of maintaining half a dozen professors which would afford opportunities for hundreds of Indian students of real merit and character to acquire the best type of education in Educational Psychology and allied subjects. To raise the standard of the existing Teacher Training Institutes, connected with Indian universities, it may be necessary to hire

some foreign experts at the beginning and send a few students of the highest ability to foreign countries with the express purpose that they become future professors in their own fields of study. This method should be applied in other fields.

It has been a fashion in India to blame the British for everything, including the present condition of lack of educational facilities. To be sure the British have not done what could have been done for the progress of education in India. But we often wonder, if the Indian patriots and Indian educators and Indian rich men and industrialists, with few exceptions, have done their share in raising the standard of national efficiency. We wish to point out that in most cases even Indian educators have not done their share effectively. They get better salary than Japanese or French professors used to get before World War II, but ordinarily the output of creative work by Indian professors is not equal to those of French or Japanese professors. *In the past the majority of Indian professors were more job-conscious than education-conscious. Let us hope Indian educators themselves will demand greater efficiency in Indian institutions of higher education and rouse the nation to carry on the constructive work of spreading Mass Education* in order to lay the sound foundation for great Indian nation.

Postcript

After this article was written two interesting news-items of importance have come to our notice and they have special message to the Indian public, interested in promoting Indian national efficiency through education :

(*a*) "Jubbulpore, April 5.—Dr. Sir Harisingh Gour, who has donated Rs. 20,00,000 for starting the Mahakosal University at his home-town, Saugor, executed the Trust Deed today and deposited the amount to the Saugor branch of the Central Bank in securities yielding 3½ per cent interest. Mr. P. S. Rau, Revenue Advisor, C.P. and Berar, who represented the Provincial Government, also signed the Trust Deed and deposited with the bank, the Government's contribution of the University Fund. In addition, the Provincial Government, has further made a grant of Rs. 10,00,000. A Board of Trustees with Sir Harisingh Gour as Chairman and two representatives of Provincial Government has been formed. The Mahakosal University is expected to start function in July next.—*A.P.*"

(*b*) "Rehevoth, Palestine, June 3.—Five American scientists participated here today in laying the cornerstone of the Institute of Biophysics and Physical Chemistry of the Weismann Institute of Science—a building to cost $1,000,000 when equipped with laboratories and to be completed within a year. Funds for the institute were raised in the United States by the American Committee for Weizmann Institute and Dr. Louis F. Fieser of Harvard University, promised today the continued co-operation of America Scientists in an exchange of students between Palestine and American colleges* . . ."

The news-item regarding Sir Harisingh Gour's magnificent gift towards the establishment of a University is most encouraging. It demonstrates that far-sighted constructive statesmanship is functioning in India.

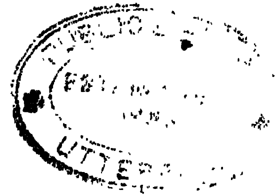
This also demonstrates that by spending 30 lakhs of rupees or more a university can be started in India. But here one may mention that if this thirty lakhs of rupees were utilised to strengthen three different universities, then it would have possibly afforded greater opportunities for spreading higher education and research facilities in India. To start a new institution of learning is wonderful; but to strengthen the existing institutions is economical and might become more effective in securing better results.

In this connection we wish to draw the attention of the Government of India and the Provincial governments that their present programme of sending 1,000 Indian scholars annually to England and America for their higher education is wasteful, to say the least. We have been told that for sending one student to the United States or Great Britain to finish his higher education it would cost nearly twenty-five thousand rupees per head. Thus for the so-called expert training of these 1,000 students would cost the Government of India and the Provincial Governments a sum of not less than two crore fifty lakhs of rupees, which would be sufficient to establish at least five universities or twenty-five existing Indian universities might have been endowed with at least ten lakhs each to establish up-to-date laboratory facilities and make necessary improvements.

The second news-item has a world significance and a very great lesson for Indians. The number of Jewish population in the world is now a little over ten million (10,000,000) people. During the last few years nearly 5,000,000 Jews were killed through persecution. But the surviving ones have not given up their fight for national regeneration and assertion. They wish to establish their Homeland in Palestine and they are going at this task with thoroughness. They are developing this country's agriculture and industries with great efforts and success and they have undertaken to develop one of the best educational institutions in the world through their own efforts, not through British Government's contributions. The five million Jewish population in the United States have agreed to raise at least $5,000,000 within a year to strengthen the Hebrew University and the Scientific Institution to which the above news-item refers. May we inquire the amount of annual contribution of Indians to strengthen the existing Indian institutions of higher education ? Then may we point out although the Jewish population of the world is about one-fortieth of the population of India, the number of Nobel-prise men among the Jews is at least twenty-five times larger than those in India. The Jews are struggling to survive through their own efforts and achievements. They have no country, they have no large population ; but they will survive because they strive for their survival. India has vast population, a great country and resources and if Indian leadership devotes some of its energy in constructive work of increasing national efficiency, then India can hold her own, and even may surpass in her achievements many of the present-day great nations. This is the task before Indian educators who are to revolutionise the ideals of the present and coming generations of India for a truly greater India. —(Through the courtesy of *America-India Feature and News Service*).

June 4, 1946.

* *New York Herald Tribune*, June 4, 1946, p. 10.



THE SCIENCE OF EXPROPRIATION

By A. CHATTERJEE

How men come to occupy a particular geographical area and evolve their social and economic institutions is a fascinating study. History tells us that the inhabitants of any country are either born there or they come into the country through peaceful immigration or by force, through invasion and conquest. The population of most countries today consists of a larger proportion of immigrants and invaders than of autochthonous elements. There are substantial numbers in whose veins flows the blood of immigrants and invaders mixed with that of those who have been there since the dawn of time. The social, cultural and religious institutions of man have as complicated an origin as his body and one finds in each field institutions and customs which have come down from time immemorial mixed with what they have built up and instituted by labour, enterprise, cunning, skill, subterfuge, fraud or force. In the field of economic rights, whatever the nature of the acquisition the individual man comes by wealth and property either through inheritance (including gifts) or by his own efforts. Inheritance and personal efforts are social facts which are entirely or mainly guided by social practice and tradition. So that it is difficult to pass a moral judgment on any one relating to his possession of wealth and property. Unless one is pretty certain that a man has acquired wealth by robbery, theft, fraud or some such reprehensible means, one can not condemn the fact of possessing wealth as a moral lapse without sacrificing logic and violating the fundamental principles of ethics. A man who has inherited large tracts of land from his forefathers is not guilty of any moral offence in so far as he is merely a creature of tradition and social practice. If he indulges in persecution of tenants by rack-renting, forced labour, violence and loot, it is his individual conduct which is condemnable and not his title deeds. A street-*goonda* owning no title deeds to any property may be just as guilty morally if he went about depriving his fellow creatures of their rightful ownership of the world's goods by practising the evil principle of "Might is right." Equally guilty with the persecuting landlord and the *goonda* would be such members of the Police as exact money from peaceful citizens; politicians and labour leaders who extort donations from unwilling and timid supporters; moneylenders who realise interest by force; professional men who blackmail their clients; monopolist traders, arrogant Burra Babus, sadistic schoolmasters or free-with-the-rod guardians.

The above remarks have been made with a view to dissociate the static and physical fact of owning something from the dynamic and psychological fact of conducting oneself in a manner towards one's fellow humans which is at once lustful, unjust and anti-social. This point will become clearer if we imagine the case of a landlord who owns vast tracts of fertile land and who out of sheer goodness of heart spends all his realisations on public benefit schemes. There are no unattended sick men or hungry destitutes in his Zemindary nor is there any shortage of good and shady roads, clean reservoirs, properly maintained wells, hospitals, orphanages, schools, free kitchens and so on and so forth. Imagine also as a substitute for the *goonda*, the romantic desperado, a Robin Hood, who looted the rich with a view to feed the poor. Think of a pageant of Darogas, Leaders, Doctors, Lawyers, Tradesmen, Office Superintendents, Teachers and Uncles, who are all benign and overflowing with the milk of human kindness and are moulded in the same angelic pattern, reminiscent of an overactive Father Christmas, who works day and night 365¼ days in the year. The facts of possession or designation will at once cease to ignite the flames of righteous indignation in our hearts.

Just as people come into possession of property or wealth, either by inheritance or by effort, they become entitled to incomes, similarly, by inheritance or effort. There are many incomes like those accruing to princes, priests and courtiers which are transmitted heriditarily. In this class fall the incomes of many who act as agents, brokers, buyers, shippers, managing agents, lessees, royalty earners, licence holders, etc., who are only essential middlemen or men specially privileged in the established social-legal-economic organisation. Their rights to a share in the national dividend is mostly obtained by virtue of inheritance, gift, or purchase. Fundamentally, from a moral point of view, there is no difference between their incomes and the rents, dividends and interests realised by persons who inherit or acquire landed property, buildings, stocks and shares and income-yielding capital in any shape or form. Those who earn incomes by their own effort do not necessarily restrict their efforts within a strictly moral compass. Jobs are obtained very often through influence and seldom purely on merit. Favouritism, nepotism, bribery and other corrupt and immoral practices prevail widely in the field of appointments, promotions and increments. Men who make an income by means of fraud, forgery, theft, defalcation, etc., are in no way in a very much better economically or morally justifiable position compared to those who employ corrupt methods to secure jobs for which they are not qualified or to achieve promotions or increments to which they are not entitled. As a matter of fact, a straightforward inheritance or a legitimate purchase of profitable property, stocks and shares or other economic advantages is morally and even economically less condemnable. For the simple reason that such acquisitions are free from fraud and subterfuge and in keeping with the established practice of the legal, moral and economic institutions of existing society.

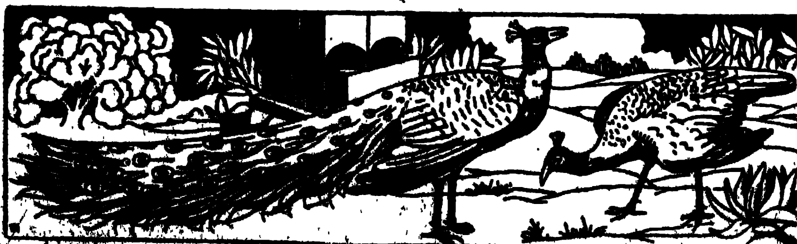
The cry, therefore, that landholders particularly should be expropriated with a view to vindicate the ideals of nationalism is nothing but a spectacular, but nevertheless cheap, attempt at side-stepping the moral and economic implications of true nationalism which incorporates in itself the inflexible and unambiguous principles of freedom, equity, and justice. That those who garner rice or wheat should escape and those who

take a share of rice or wheat by right of legal inheritance or purchase of cultivable land should be penalised, is a farce and not a reform. It is truly Gilbertian that in a society where practically everyman is trying and many are succeeding in making fraudulent appropriations from the *kitty*, some men will have the brass to get up and suggest the expropriation of a particular group, whose possessions in most cases can stand scrutiny and the test of "How did you come by this."

The writer does not own even a single chhatak of landed property and he does not think that landholders are a highly productive type of men. In a free and equitably organised society there should be no landholders. As a matter of fact, even the actual cultivators should not be allowed to "own" the land that they cultivate. For the proper and fullest utilisation of the economic resources of a country both natural and human, no able-bodied persons should be in a position to consume in excess of his productive contributions. Further, no man should be allowed to tinker with or mishandle the instruments of production existing in the country. Again, no man should be allowed to bluff society as to the real and true value of his productive contributions and thus obtain a bigger share of the social income than he is entitled to. I am not suggesting that all private property should be abolished rightaway or at any time. No. But all owners of private property should be made to understand that they are mere custodians of portions of the social capital. They must exert themselves honestly and wholeheartedly towards the proper maintenance and use of that capital for a maximum output of consumable wealth. They must distribute to such people as help them in this work a fair and reasonable share of this output, take their own fair share out of it, and hand over the balance to the State for utilisation for common benefit.

Now a landlord who enables his cultivators to have proper food, housing, water supply, medical aid, education, etc., and who looks after the conservation and improvement of the properties of the soil and helps to obtain better irrigation, improved seeds and manure and profitable storage, transport, credit and marketing conditions, and pays his dues to the State honestly and regularly, is probably an angel yet unborn. But where are the mill-owners, shareholders, traders, agents, exporters, importers, engineers, doctors, lawyers, carpenters, weavers, teachers and the thousand and one others who are supposed to run the social machine on the principle of no cheating and a fair day's work for a fair dose of utilities ? Where are the politicians and officials who are absolutely straight, hardworking and free from selfish motives ? No one can compute correctly the extent of unearned incomes in India. No one can say with certainty what the earning capacity of all Indians is. But one can assert without hesitation that in India most people do not put in a fair day's work and, yet, try to *grab* what they can as their share of the national income. The rich and the poor are equally guilty of this.

Scientific expropriation means taking away that which one has *grabbed* and *not earned*. Landlords are not the only grabbers. Scientific production in the national sense means making everyone produce to the maximum, giving due consideration to the human needs of rest, recreation and cultural occupation. Expropriation is, however, not so important at this stage of India's economic development as intensive production and the fullest use of all human and natural resources. The desire to expropriate certain persons of their property either absolutely by outright confiscation would be a more drastic procedure than ousting them from their property by compelling a sale to the Government or to a third party. Land acquisition under the British Government has always had an element of such expropriation in it. The only justification for forcing such a change of ownership would be that such a change would be likely to add to the sum-total of public wellbeing. In any scheme of expropriation of landed properties by compulsory sale at an arbitrarily fixed price, one must prove, with a view to justify the adoption of such a scheme, that : (1) The price paid would not actually impoverish the owners to any great extent. (2) That the actual cultivators would be able to meet the interest charges on the purchase money out of their produce and, over and above that, maintain at least their previous standard of living. (3) That the change of ownership would increase the actual produce of the land and (4) that the cultivators would not be reduced to a worse state of slavery to the State than they had been in under the private landlords. Unless we are satisfied on these points our feeling of self-righteous pride in marching in step with other nations may lead us into trouble. No nation can afford to injure the interests of 10, 20, or 40 million people just for intellectual satisfaction. Those who are deprived must be provided for in some other field of productive work. Their rightful claims must not be set aside in a rough and rude manner. Those who are supposed to be benefited by the change must show the benefit in actual fact and not merely in name and theory. Lastly, the socio-economic principles on which such redistribution of property and income will be based, must be applied consistently all the way in every field of economic life. Or it will look very much like a nationalisaion of only pink buildings as against white, yellow, brown and multi-coloured structures which will be left in the hands of their private owners.



SCHOOL-DAYS HALF-A-CENTURY AGO*

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

I was admitted to the lowest class (class Ten it was) of the local High English School when I was about five and a half years old and received a double promotion, which was for some time a great strain. In those days it was the practice to send up boys of class five (the Matric—then called Entrance—class was class one) for the Middle Vernacular examination, which had a course in Bengali, Mathematics, Geography and History almost as stiff as the modern Calcutta Matriculation course. Imagine the plight of a child of 7 to 9 years of age, whose reasoning faculties were hardly developed, made to grind at lessons in Euclid's Geometry and the Unitary Method and Rule of Three with various complex arithmetical sums of field measurement, of clocks, of lotuses and lilies in and out of water, of interest and discount. In my case, the result was a nightmare: the Bengali and the English course I followed with zest, but sums of ingenuity and Geometry lessons, Propositions 5 and 26 of Euclid sat on me like a nightmare. And though I had learnt to scrawl my alphabets in a week and could read through difficult Bengali primers in six months, the three years of my school (class eight to six especially) were like a bad dream—my father, when he was not touring in the mofussil areas, inspecting his schools and putting them in pace and enforcing the regulations (he was a strict disciplinarian who did not spare himself or others when a job had to be done), made prodigious efforts to inject Euclidian Geometry of angles and triangles and all their subtle deductions into my callow intellect: the result was tragic! I have not forgotten the horrors of these lessons yet and I was never very proficient in Mathematics for the simple reason that my early experience produced a dazed state of mind and infinite distaste whenever mathematical lessons had to be learnt and digested in my College days. But when I reached class V (I had just reached my tenth year), my faculties sprouted forth and I could equal the best bigger boys even in Mathematics—those whom I had always left much behind in language and History subjects. Map-drawing was also one of my pet aversions: this was also a mechanical art and the texture of my intellect good at pure ideas of Literature, Philosophy or Politics has been such as to fight shy of mechanical, rule-of-thumb subjects. In later days also when I was at the First Arts (now called Intermediate) course—it used to be a very hard and packed course in 1900 when I came to college—advanced English Prose and Poetry, Composition and Essay-writing, advanced Sanskrit, Histories of Greece and Rome, Deductive Logic, Physics (from general properties through Heat and Light to Electricity and Magnetism with descriptive analysis of pumps, and levers and electrical and magnetic devices and other things), Inorganic Chemistry, Mathematics—Higher Algebra, Trigonometry and advanced Geometry, Conic Sections, etc.—I was an easy first with the Arts subjects, but could not secure more than 60 per cent in the Sciences and Mathematics. I mention these facts only to demonstrate that there are in every learner certain 'universes of discourse' where his mind has free play and others to which his mind is more or less closed—and subjects and topics beyond his natural instincts and interests, however rammed and crammed into his brain, are never remembered or retained or found capable of being turned to any profitable use in after-life. Thus I am not ashamed to confess that I managed to forget all my knowledge of trigonometry and surds and asymptotes and binomial and exponential theorems and all my knowledge of Physics and Chemistry—all—even before I got my M.A. in English Language and Literature with credit only three and a half years after I passed my First Arts examination. And today, I can follow the lessons in these subjects when expounded by the teacher in a class-room and can probably ask questions and guess if the answers are right or wrong (for certain brain-impressions persist by natural law) but generally my mind is an utter blank with regard to science and mathematical subjects. The details have clean evaporated, leaving only some faint remembrance of the general theories and outlines.

The conclusion to my mind is irresistible that a boy's natural predilections and interests must be measured and known by the teacher before he is launched on any subject. I have known also the reverse side of my own picture—a college student, very proficient in Science and Mathematics, making frantic efforts and yet failing to make any headway with Milton's *Paradise Lost* or English Lyrics or Addison's prose Essays or Bacon or Shakespeare's dramas: his grounding in the language and its texture has been hopelessly bad at school and yet such is the antiquated and stupidly mechanical system in our University curriculum that water and oil must be made to mix somehow, so that in the written tests, a boy's hopeless ignorance or constitutional incapacity to learn certain subjects in which he feels no interest is never condoned in the face of brilliant exposition of certain other subjects where he is quite at home by natural causes.

The first and last word in *Pedagogics* in my opinion, is 'the discovery of natural and instinctive interests' and an ordered and intelligent effort on the part of the teacher to draw these out of the learner's subconscious mind and to perfect them. This is educating: the rest is senseless and mechanical training, a mere patch-work and white-washing make-believe which fritters away at the very first shock.

But to go back to the days of my early schooling. In our days, there were some *real* teachers fond of their avocation everywhere and I had the luck to be educated not only by home-influences but by the loving care of a few really competent and loving teachers. Some of them were strict and methodical: one or two

* Extracts from the autobiographical volume *At the Cross Roads*. The writer is a well-known Congressman and educationist who had been also editor of the now-defunct Calcutta daily *The Servant* and *The Rangoon Mail*.

were free-lance experimenters : and when I look back over half-a-century, I feel I am indebted to both these types of teachers. The Headmaster of my school, the late Girija Kanta Bagchi who later on became a Government School Headmaster, was of the first brand, also the Sanskrit and Mathematics teachers. They licked my erratic impulses to shape and encouraged my talent and provided deterrents to my impulsive nature. But my love of literature I owe to one of my school-day teachers—who is alive even today (he must be ninety now, an invalid and a cripple, yet with a clear mind and normal curiosities and interests)—Sri Banwari Lal Goswami, who rose into repute six decades ago as a poet, a sonnet-writer, a satirist in verse, when Suresh Chandra Samajpati, Indranath Banerji, Panchcowrie Banerji, Deviprosanna Roy Choudhury set the pace of Bengali letters through the then famous literary magazines—*Sahitya*, *Navya-Bharata* and *Janma-Bhumi*. He had passed no University examinations but he came of a very learned stock of Nuddea-Santipur, of a Vaishnava Brahmin family of cultured Sanskritic Pundits : he had hob-nobbed with many a clebrity in the field of Bengali letters in his young days and counted amongst his early friends such men of the then very efficient I.C.S. as J. N. Gupta and Sir A. C. Chatterjee. He had picked up a vast amount of may-be not fully assimilated learning and had a nose for the fine, even the bizarre in literature. Even at rural Gaibandha of 50 years ago, there was a small but fine assembly of Bengali and English books in the home-library of one of my father's friends, who was also a very intimate friend of this teacher of mine, Sj. Sarat Chatterji, a lawyer, who after some years' practice at Gaibandha—after his younger brother A. C. Chatterji, became a member of the I.C.S.—was transported to the Government Pleadership in the District Headquarters at Rangpur and practically controlled the entire District by virtue of his efficiency, tact and influence over District officials and was Head of the District Board and the Town Municipality for scores of years—an unbeaten record in Bengal ! He has retired now from the Government Pleadership and his place is now filled by a younger brother of mine—but those were glorious days, which will never return. Now the mutual bickerings of rival political parties and groups and the inefficiency of the British administration have undermined all our institutions—demoralised the District Administration, demoralised the Bar, degenerated the colleges and schools : but even quarter of a century ago, things were different and British Indian institutions had some vitality and real efficiency about them. Now all round one hears of nepotism and corruption, of lack of fundamental courage of conviction and mass dishonesty till Bengal and the rest of India have sunk into one stinking mess of iniquitous inefficiency ! It was this small library that was opened to me as a young boy of ten—and here I was encouraged to 'browse at leisure' on the broad and green pastures of literature—sucking in, albeit by stealth, Bankim Chandra's *Ananda-Math* and memorising the immortal "Bande Mataram" song when I was barely ten—reading some of Indra Nath Banerji's incomparable comic skits, reading some English books, even Paul de Kock (!), without let or hindrance and without any deleterious effect on my boyish mind : and discussing literary topics, reading *Sahitya* and *Navya-Bharat* and *Janma-Bhumi*, reading the Bengali translations of *Life of Garibaldi* and many of Chandi Charan Banerji's Bengali translations of famous books, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Trial of Nan Coomar*, etc., Todd's *Rajasthan* and getting a taste of poetry both English and Bengali ! By the time I reached the pre-Entrance class, I could write discourses in English with ease in racy, correct English and I tried my hand at writing even a short essay on the development of Bengali literature in the mother-tongue ! In all this, the magician and wizard behind the scenes was Acharya Banwari Lal Goswami, who read out to a small coterie of his disciples his new compositions in verse or new poems by contemporary poets. It was here that I had my first acquaintance with Nabin Sen and Hem Chandra and Michael and Bhudev Mukherji and Romesh Dutt's novels. Rabindranath Tagore was yet in the offing and him we began to cultivate when we were B.A. students in 1902—a small band of worshippers, to whom Tagore and his poems and essays and novels became an inspiration and who missed no opportunity to hear his discourses delivered from time to time in Calcutta in an angel-voice resonant and lyrical, almost divine. But the foundations were laid here in my youngish school days of a love of literature which has been the solace of my life amidst bewildering vicissitudes of fortune and which really pointed the way to the first love in my life—education and principally the teaching and cultivation of languages and literature. I have tried, in a small way, to repay my unpayable debts to my teacher, in later life, by editing and publishing some of his poetical works—but, alas ! the old tastes are gone and the style and mannerisms of poets of 50 years ago hardly find responsive echoes in ultra-modern cynical hearts, poisoned by the erraticisms and eccentricities of modern 'verse libre', and prose-poetry, and realistic verse aping the Russian and British-American styles now in vogue, most of which are attempts to manufacture 'inspired' poetry by bringing into the open the crass vulgarities and coarsenesses of the life of the 'great unwashed' on stilts of uneven prose made to play the role of 'unmetred verse' in a jargon which takes some ingenuity and brain-effort to unravel. Modern Bengali poetry has passed through an era of good and bad and indifferent imitators of Rabindric style (which really hardly lends itself to imitation) and is now passing through an aggressive imitation, often nonsensical, sometimes vigorous and pungent, of foreign styles and impressionistic methods, where the centre of the piece is the unlettered, long-suffering, exploited, hungry and poverty-ridden man and woman in the field and the factory. In this cauldron of a new witchcraft, the wizardry and romance and finesse of the old classical masters and their entourage is being cast aside in bumptious ignorance or in sheer bravado ! But again I am digressing.

I was a great favourite in the school and in the homes of my little place : my simple boyishness and high reputation at school as a well-conducted and promising scholar coupled with the respect evoked by my parents, contributed to this popularity,—my mother, an emblem of unfailing courtesy and sweet gentleness, ever ready to help in festive dinners with never about herself, and my father, a model of the upright educationist, an examplar of social reciprocity, a terror to erring primary and middle school teachers and their feckless managers, an object of reverence to all and sundry in the entire district, with whom he came into contact, honest and efficient in his duties and yet holding his head high with no leaning towards flattery

or extra hob-nobbing with the superior officials—they are still remembered with affection and respect in dear, old, Gaibandha, which has now changed beyond recognition, has a population of twenty-five thousand, a municipality, several Banks, three or four High English schools, one of them exclusively for girls, clubs and politics and intrigues, a modern market full of 'modern' contraptions, jute offices, motor cars and buses, veterinary hospitals, noisy citizens and turbulent students—also a glorious band of sacrificing patriots and many constructive centres of social and political service !

The other formative influences in my life have been the Radha-Krishna *jatra* performances I witnessed as a boy of which the *Adhikaris, i.e*, leading managers were expert in music and Pauranic and Vaishnavic lore. These were attended by packed audiences and were a hardy annual in the annals of the entertainments of our place. The songs sung were of a really high order and the tender sentiments soaked into our boyish hearts. I am afraid the soft and sentimental streaks in my mental make-up owe not a little to these strains of old-world Radha-Krishna music. But the first play (staged by amateurs on an improvised stage) that I witnessed when barely five years old has stuck in my memory even today : and when at college I read Charles Lamb's delicious essay "My First Play" in his *Essays of Elia*, I could not but compare notes and found that in the main our impressions agreed. I have forgotten everything about the theme—and what could a boy of five understand of theatrical themes?—but the appearance of the Divine Parbati and her consort Siva out of nowhere simply bowled me over and I thought them to be real Divinities—and the clap-trap of the stage, scene-shiftings and drop-scenes, the orchestral music, the elocution and the singing, produced in my mind a feeling akin to mystical rapture ! In my advanced age, I have seen so many first-class stage performances, cried over fine acting and mooned over sentimental situations and yet never caught a faint replica even of that fine rapture of my boyish days !

My first school-boy triumph was when, under the tutelage of my revered teacher about whom I have just spoken, I prepared and read before a Saraswati Puja Social function presided over by an English District Magistrate, a short essay on "The Benefits of British Rule." This was possibly in 1897 and the Englishman was highly pleased with my discourse and naturally with my loyalty to the British Raj ! But I was only repeating in my school-boy fashion in fairly correct English the banalities about those topics taught in the text-books and which are still taught in many of our schools, even when British rule appears to be at its last gasp. Another occasion was when another English District Magistrate came to visit the school and I was in the top class and the first boy of the class. He set us to reading from portions of "On the Art of Living with Others," included in our University selections but not forming part of our year's curriculum and he paid me in the visitor's book an encomium which must have been a great encouragement to me and my teachers as well. The testimony of a British I.C.S. officer was as good as a lac-rupee bond in those days ! But better still, I remember my first lessons of discipline of the European brand imbibed from a scene I witnessed in front of my school as a boy. Two English officials had just arrived there : one was the Magistrate of the District and the other, his superior, the Commissioner of the entire Rajshahi Division : as the latter jumped down from his pony, what was my wonder to see the District Magistrate himself running up and holding the bridle of the pony and never giving it up till he was relieved by the syce ! This is a lesson that has been imprinted deep in my memory and this has helped me to understand why with all their faults—want of finesse, lack of constructive imagination, insular habits of racial exclusion etc.—the Britisher still rules the roost in many parts of Asia and Africa. Discipline, loyalty, order, are the bed-rocks of the British character and we have to surpass the much-maligned Englishman in these qualities before we can beat him. School-boy life in Gaibandha now appears to have been one long, pleasant pic-nic : surrounded by loving parents (yet my father was very strict and could be severely harsh when occasion demanded—I still remember the licking I had as a small boy when I had absented myself from school on a festive day of entertainment in a neighbour's house and been fined one full anna : father had been away on tour that day, but to *our* consternation, I include my grandmother and mother in the category, he just rode back home when I had come back from school to ask for the extra one-anna imposed as an absence fine from mother at noon, and as soon as he was seized of the situation, my father gave me several lashes with his horse-whip ! Of course, my old grandmother was furious and did not fail to make father abashed with stories of his delinquencies when at school at Dacca—but the lesson lingered and I was one of the most regular boys to attend school thenceforth)—and treated with utmost fondness by almost every man and woman in the dear, old place—the idol of my teachers, very popular with my chums at school—I had invitations and caressings in plenty. We tried to sow our wild oats and sometimes rambled in the jungly growths near my habitations, sometimes went boating and pic-nicking without notice to our guardians, though I never could row or cook—sometimes we had our tricks with mango-sellers in the bazar—going about from dealer to dealer, tasting samples, till we were ready to burst—but I was ever a camp-follower, never a leader in these childish bouts !

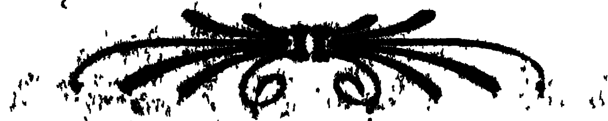
One other lesson imbibed even as school boy was from my father, who was a man of wide views of tolerance even in those early days of social reform, and dined with his Muslim friends without compunction or concealment and taught us to mix with Muslim families on most intimate terms. One of my best boy-friends has been a Muslim son of a member of the landed aristocracy of those parts : he is now retired from police service and has turned an Ahmadyia (Muslim of the reformed school) and we still cherish the old affection and are most pleased to meet each other when there is opportunity. But I could never be a sportsman : I had not the knack for sports : and sports in those days had really not begun in the mofussil tracts in earnest. But football and cricket and tennis were already making headway and a cycle or two were in the streets. But I was a good walker and good rider even as a boy of eleven and beat in riding executive officers of high grade as a College Professor, owing to this early training. I could never climb a tree, though I was a more or less indifferent swimmer. Several other experiences come to my mind of my school-days. First, the nerve-racking experience of the severe Earthquake of April 1897, which was very acutely felt all

over North Bengal and Assam, laying many structures in ruins, making wide fissures on the surface of the land as big as 15 or 20 or 30 feet wide from which issued sulphureous fumes and lumps of sand, and rushing streams of water even changing the course of rivers. It was a Saturday, fortunately for us small school-boys, and the classes had been disn.issed by half-past one. I have still a very distinct recollection of the onset. We were sitting at about 4 p.m. in one of the living rooms (*cutcha*) of our house (which had, for some years past, been shifted to the other bank of the stream) with our father working at his official files, when all on a sudden there was a great, strange rumbling noise above our heads and it sounded like a host of giants beating up the roof of straw and bamboo: then there was a big shaking and rolling about of the earth all round when nobody could keep on his legs but either began to reel or had to squat. Father at once gave the alarm : it is an earth-quake ; and we all rushed out of the shed into the open.

The quake was so sudden and terrible that many elderly people lost their heads while it was on and forgot all about their wives, children and dependants and ran pell-mell to distances, furlongs away from home. Meanwhile, the first quake had subsided and people began to gather their wits a little and to confer as to what should best be done : news arrived that the Court-houses, the Jail, the High School buildings had all suffered appreciable damage and there had been long and wide cracks everywhere on the land-surface. Meanwhile, there were further shocks and it was noticed that the river had changed its flow from the original direction to its opposite. There were two or three ferry-boats of big size for ferrying men and cattle and goods and bullock-carts and other conveyances across the river (the main town was on the bank opposite to our new house) and these were fastened together and women-folk and children were boarded on these, with the men-folk keeping watch all the night. This continued for two or three days.

Then in a few days' time news of extensive damage and loss of life began to pour in (in those days there was hardly any press, except Surendranath's *Bengalee* in English and *Hitavadi*, *Bangabasi* and one or two other Bengali papers published in Calcutta, there was no news-service, no radio and naturally news took time to filter through) and harrowing tales were told of extensive damage in the District Headquarters at Rangpur and elsewhere and in Assam and loss of valuable lives and also of dramatic escapes ! The shocks continued for about six months at intervals and by August or September the changed river-flow inundated our house and even cooking had to be done on raised platforms with great difficulty. At this crisis, father hired a big boat which we all boarded and after two days reached a steamer station in the Brahmaputra, wherefrom we went home to our native village *via* Goaluado. There also things were more or less in comparative disorder but the quake-damage was not so pronounced. This was when I was twelve years of age: the other quakes I have experienced at Rajshahi College when I was teaching English there (about the year 1914 or 15) and the Bihar earthquake of 1934, which was so terrible in its toll of lives and decimation of cities and villages, and the effects of which were felt even in Bengal.

Another incident of my school-life was rather funny, though it caused considerable excitement in our more or less sleepy hollow, where life used to run at an even uneventful pace, with hardly any break, except for official visits by the District and Divisional Heads or the Inspectorate of schools or for *jatra* performances requisitioned from Calcutta or other big towns or during Durga Puja and Holi. This was a two-handed fight between the Pres dent of the School Governing Body who was no other than the Sub-divisional Magistrate and the Secretary, who was one of the judicial officers and a strong man—it was all over the firing of loud-noised crackers and bombs (the process was to fill up iron pipes with gunpowder and then fire them) on the occasion of the Saraswati Puja celebrations of our school. The Magistrate felt disturbed in his court work by the racking and loud reports and peremptorily ordered an immediate cessation without consulting the Munsif-Secretary. The result was a firm 'No' from the other side, on which the Magistrate had the bomb-firers and drum-beaters. arrested and put in *hajat*, relations got very strained, the Magistrate did not attend the functions and it required the interference of the District Magistrate and the District Judge to smooth out matters after several weeks of very strained feelings. Other experiences, I recall of loving and encouraging treatment by the really learned men who then came to us as officials—they were often honorary examiners of our annual tests and as I scored very high in Arts subjects, I was often sent for and petted. Encouragement came also from Senior Inspectors of Schools, superiors of my father, who often were our guests, and who asked me all manner of questions, which often I could readily answer. Mathematical conundrums of greased poles, lilies with their stems in and out of water, clocks keeping time besides questions of English grammar, translation and history were asked and this was an additional stimulus to my boyish effort at shinning in the class exercises. I still remember with gratitude the names of some of these friends of the family—Sj. Rakhal Das Chatterji, a first-class first M.A. in Philosophy one of the S.D.O.'s, Sj. Devendranath Bagchi, the Munsif-Secretary who has been mentioned earlier, Sj. Becharam Lahiri and Adinath Mitra, Senior School Inspectors. There were some local lawyers also. All these gentlemen are now deceased, but they continued their interest in me and were exceedingly gratified when I took a first class in M.A. in English Language and Literature from the Calcutta Presidency College in 1905 and was shortly after early in 1907, installed as an officiating Professor of English Literature at the Presidency College, the premier Bengal College, which has trained up scientists, industrialists, men of letters, educators, political leaders by hundreds during the best part of a century in the Province. These intimate relations persisted even to the next generation of the sons and daughters of my early patrons and they have made my private life very sweet indeed !



A NOVEL CHILDREN'S MUSEUM

A children's museum which is a workshop, hobby center, playroom, printing press, theatre and cinema, started as an educational experiment in the United



The front view of the Brooklyn Children's Museum

States, is proving a great success. It is the Booklyn Children's Museum in Ntw York, and is the first of its kind in the United States.

The museum is only meant for children, but on special occasions the children may bring grown-ups, parents or friends, as guests.

Although this is not the first children's museum—museums catering for children were provided as early as 70 years ago—it is a complete departure in its functions. It aims to supplement the school work and enlarge it, thus filling out the educational horizon for the children. Many find interests they hope to follow into college and beyond—interests they would never have found in the usual course of their lives.

One of the many unusual features of the Brooklyn Children's Museum is a section devoted to encouraging youthful talents. Here the youngsters are provided the materials and tools to do anything that interests them. Modelling with wood and paper and metal is a great favorite. For the more mechanical-minded there is a well-equipped carpenter shop. Its popularity is evidenced by the number of busy children to be found in it. There is also a printing shop which boasts of treadle machines and full founts of type.

One of the most valuable contributions of the museum is the fostering of hobbies. A Stamp Club is provided for young philatelists and its popularity is evidenced by its large membership.

As an encouragement to the artistic talents of the children there is provided a stage where groups of children can arrange dramatic entertainment for the other visitors. Teachers show them the first step. After that they are on their own. Movies are also shown, combining both education and entertainment. Children are also encouraged to give puppet shows of the Punch and Judy variety. From start to finish these shows are the children's own ideas. They model the puppet heads and make the clothes.

The museum even caters for the needs of tiny tots who are too young to go to school. They have a special playroom with chairs and tables built for their size. Among the numerous toys and playthings to delight a tot's heart is included a plentiful supply of crayon and paper.

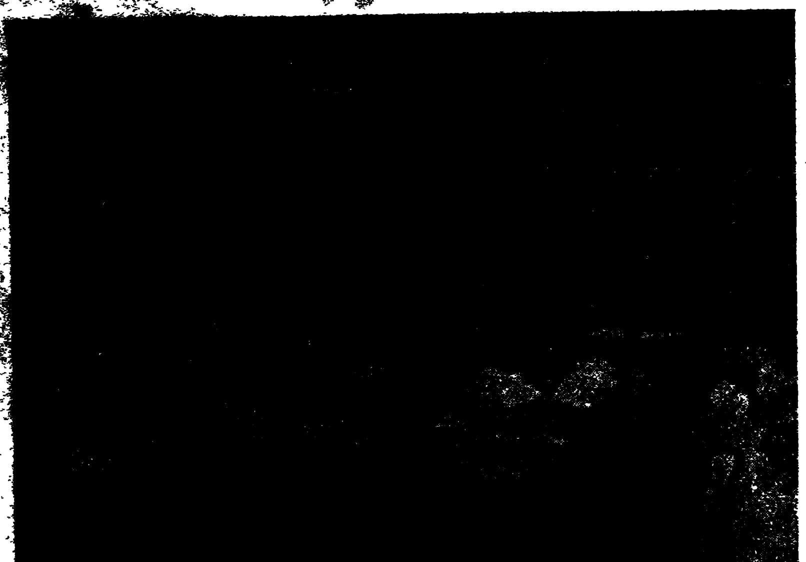


One of the museum's most popular exhibits is the collection of dolls from all over the world.





Here children are copying pottery objects or doing original designing.





The Brooklyn Museum's Library

But this is not to say that this institution lacks the exhibits and displays that one associates with the orthodox museums. These have been adapted to cater to the limitations and demands of the young folk The museum has, for example, one section illustrating the habits and clothes of peoples from various parts of the world. Actual clothes are on display and there are dolls dressed up in the rational costumes of the countries represented. Needless to say this section is a great favorite with the girls.



Like a miniature setting in a play, dioramas illustrate pages of history

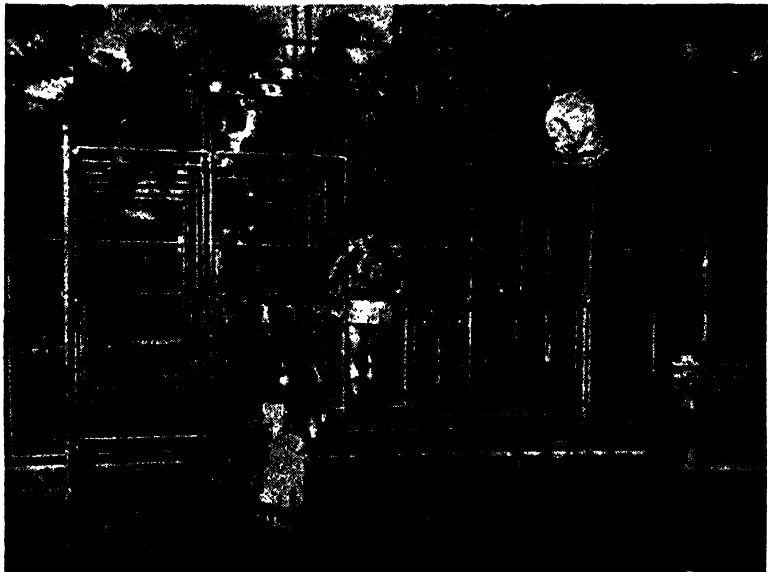
In the historical section, scenes from history are arranged in dioramas, like a miniature setting in a play. The mineralogical section provides a first-hand knowledge of the material things upon which civilization has moved forward.

Microscopes for studying life in its minute forms, gives the young visitors a fuller appreciation of the wonders of nature. Closely allied to this, but one not associated with the stuffed specimens of the average museum, is the live pets section. It contains harmless or tame animals that the children can fondle or pet.

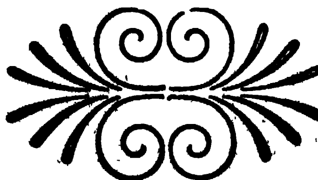
A comprehensive library provides a rich source of information in an easily assimilated form. Here are story books and fairy tales besides more serious works to meet the needs of the five-year-old as well as the teen-ager.

But while indoor work and study is transformed into so much fun for the children they often want to get out into the sunshine. The museum provides shady spots where young visitors can sit and read the funnies, open spaces where they can play marbles and other games and swings and other amusements. There is also a pen where tiny tots can bask in the sunshine.

How popular the museum is can be seen from the daily attendance of a thousand children, with three to four times that number on Saturdays. Most of the visitors are from the middle class or the underprivileged. —*USIS.*



All is not indoor work and study. Recreation is provided outdoors like this special arrangement of parallel bars and climbing facilities



STUDY OF SCIENCE PREPARES U.S. YOUTH FOR FUTURE CAREERS

STUDY of science, geared to peace, starts early in America. Aside from purely technical schools, attended during secondary school age by students in the United States, all public and most private schools offer science courses beyond the primary grades. Typical of this curriculum is that offered at Garden City High School, in a suburban area near New York City. Students in this school are average children between 12 and 16 years old, from the homes of businessmen, workers, professional men. Their education as scientists of the future costs nothing except an abounding interest in their work.



An exciting experiment in the elementary chemistry class is the demonstration of "synthesis"—the combination of two elements to form a compound

Employing the principle of learning by doing, the school has achieved outstanding results by the use of new educational techniques. Its regular curriculum of physics, chemistry, biology has been expanded to include an unusual degree of practical application. As a result, many scientific experiments reproduce on a small scale the near miracles of advanced technological ingenuity.

One group of students, for instance, was interested in meteorology. Not content with theoretical explanations, they constructed their own weather bureau, complete with anemometer, weather vane and all the equipment of an official government station. Reversing ordinary procedure, their interest aroused that of their instructor who made a specialized study of the subject which he is now teaching in the U. S. Army.

Another project, and one of which the youthful scientists are especially proud, is a telescope built from plans developed by students in the mechanical drawing classes. Except for the mirror, the telescope was made entirely by the students and won first prize at the New York Science and Engineering Fair.

EMPHASIS ON CREATIVE INTEREST

In still another field, an art student majoring in science conceived the idea for a mural tracing the development of modern laboratory methods. The four sections of the mural, two of which are completed, will show early Egyptian techniques, the alchemists' methods, laboratories in Lavoisier's time, and the modern laboratory of today. Every detail of the pictures is carefully checked against exhaustive research data, itself an impressive accomplishment. Thus, emphasis is placed on creative interest, using the student's potential skill for original achievement.

When a science student could not attain a certain heat temperature with a Bunsen burner, he constructed an electric furnace, now a valuable part of the school laboratory equipment. The girls are equally ambitious—one student spent her summer vacation in a nearby industrial plant, supplementing her studies with practical experience.

Graduates of the Garden City School have distinguished themselves in colleges and technical



Two senior students form an inorganic compound in a student-constructed electric furnace.

schools throughout the country. Two students were awarded scholarships by the Science Talent Search conducted by the Westinghouse Electric and Manufacturing Company, and three received honorable mention. Considering the large number of schools entering this contest, this percentage is a good indication of Garden City's scholastic rating.



Construction of demonstration models helps students to comprehend the structure of larger masses of matter



One of the unique projects undertaken by the science students is the construction of this weather bureau, a replica in part of official U. S. weather stations

The school does not, of course, stand alone in development of youthful scientific skills. It has its own three general science clubs, all extra-curricular activities. But there are other science clubs throughout the United States similarly encouraging student talent, although Garden City leads in advanced projects.



Students are completing their own short-wave radio for their weather station.

Science Clubs of America, for instance, have a membership of over 100,000, distributed in every state of the union as well as Alaska, Canada, the Canal Zone, Cuba, Hawaii, Puerto Rico and South America. What these clubs are trying to do was succinctly outlined by Lloyd S. Michael, Principal of Garden City School, who told a graduating class, "Education is an essential industry in the winning of the war and the achievement of a lasting peace. You are among the products of that industry."

What this means in terms of lasting contributions to scientific progress will be revealed in years to come. Meanwhile, the young scientists set the pace for their future.—*USIS.*



A GREAT ROAD-BUILDING PROGRAM

The federal government of the United States, in co-operation with the states, is embarking on one of the greatest road-building programs in the history of the nation. This program calls for the expenditure of a total of $3,000,000,000 within the next three years. Half of this sum was authorized by the United States Congress and is being supplied by the national treasury to improve and extend the vast highway system that links America's key industrial and agricultural centers. The various states will match federal allotments for state programs.

There was sharp curtailment in road construction in the United States during the war. This dormant period was put to good use, however. It afforded American engineers the opportunity for planning far-reaching programs with the projected view of supplying a field in which to absorb post-war labor surpluses created through the elimination or reconversion of war industries.

All but a few of the 48 states have already voted appropriations to match the annual distribution of $500,000,000 in federal funds. After a 33-state survey, road engineers have estimated all-inclusive figures for the 1946 nation-wide highway projects. By the middle of the year, approximately $400 000 000 worth of roads were being built. Of this amount, $251,000,000 were federal allotments and $149,000,000 non-federal. All told, the approximate state and federal programs to be placed under construction through the coming months amount to $715 000 000.

Construction Already Under Way

States included in the survey already have embarked on the construction of arterial highways and feeder roads. To accomplish this, some state legislatures authorized considerably larger sums than others. For instance, the western seaboard state of California has launched the most ambitious program ever attempted. It has alloted $75 000 000 for the entire year. Thirty-two million dollars worth of pavement is now being laid. On the East Coast, the state of Pennsylvania has appropriated $39 000 000, of which $35 000 000 is expected to be expended by the close of 1946. New York has a $30,000,000 program under way, and the southwestern state of Texas, $28 000 000 with an estimated $65 000 000 for the whole year.

Road-building on a national scale is not yet in high gear due to shortage of material and labor. However, engineers and contractors are gradually surmounting the obstacles and are pushing the projects forward to meet the demands of 60,000,000 American motorists who operate approximately 34,000,000 motor vehicles throughout the United States. These cars, according to automotive engineers, travel about 200,000,000,000 miles (320,000,000,000 kilometers) a year.

Of the total vehicles operating on highways in the United States, approximately 4,500,000 are trucks of all descriptions. They carry an estimated total of $9,000,000,000 worth of commerce annually. In 1945, all trucking facilities produced a record of 48 800,000,000 ton-miles (78,000,000,000 ton-kilometers), which topped the peak year of 1942 when over 46,000,000,000 ton-miles (73,000,000,000 ton-kilometers) were accumulated.

To present a clear picture of America's economic dependency on highways, trucking firms have shown that approximately 98 per cent of the nation's farm crops are moved by motor vehicles from growing area to market. About 1,600,000 trucks are engaged in such traffic. A great percentage of the oil industry also looks to motor transportation. In 1945, tank-truck operators delivered 128 000 000 gallons (484 000 000 liters) of petroleum products daily. In the cattle industry, over 10,000,000 tons of livestock are hauled to market annually, and dairymen utilize motor vehicles to handle 91 per cent of the nation's milk distribution. Similar figures are repeated with varying degrees in other key national industries.

Because of the heavy traffic American highways must bear, construction engineers look ahead not alone to building new highways but to improving roads already existing. State road systems total about 415,000 miles (664 000 kilometers), of which 332,000 miles (513,000 kilometers) constitute the primary roads. The odd 83,000 miles (133,000 kilometers) of neglected pavement in these networks need considerable repairing to qualify them as first-class arteries of travel.

Vast Secondary System of Roads

Supplementing the main state traffic channels is a vast system of county, township and village roads totalling 2,400,000 miles (3 840,000 kilometers). These routes serve 6,000,000 farmers, who produce about $12,000 000 000 of the national income. Only 45,000 miles (72,000 kilometers) of this secondary system have high-type pavement, and as much as 861,000 miles (1,378 000 kilometers) are unimproved. Engineers and economists, however, recognizing their importance, are determined to see that such rural routes receive proper attention in the future. This fact is of primary importance since over 54 000 communities totalling 7,000 000 people depend on motor trucks exclusively for transportation of goods and commodities.

To accommodate this traffic with the greatest dispatch, it is essential to have highways built incorporating all the latest engineering and safety features. This was the foremost thought of designers responsible for the construction of the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Chief Engineer Samuel Marshall carefully outlined the fundamental objectives at the outset of planning the highway.

Marshall's first principle was the separation of traffic lanes by grass pots or concrete islands. Secondly, he turned to the elimination of all railroad and traffic crossings, and the provision of acceleration and deceleration lanes for some distances along the entrances and exits of the super-highway. Emphasis also was placed on the construction of smooth, stable shoulders, level with the pavement, and the necessity of moderate grades to minimize danger in icy weather. In addition, recommendations were made for two or more lanes for each flow of traffic to prevent entanglement hazards of slow and fast moving vehicles. Further, a restriction was proposed forbidding pedestrians to enter the

thoroughfares. These safety measures all dove-tailed with the engineer's insistence that cities must be by-passed.

Modern highway construction has proved a boon to traffic in every respect. In all states, such as in New Jersey where engineers conducted a large-scale modernization program, challenges of rising traffic fatalities and intolerable congestion have been met by separating lanes and installing clover-leaf and circular flow inter-sections. New Jersey carries one of the heaviest traffic loads of any state in the union.

New Six-Lane "Thruway"

Such highway engineering features as those demonstrated in New Jersey and Pennsylvania are being incorporated in all new major road projects throughout America. New York, for instance, is adhering to such designs in its new six-lane "Thruway" that will extend 486 miles (778 kilometers) from New York City to Buffalo, on Lake Erie, without an obstacle—not even as much as a traffic light—to hinder travel. In the near future, New Jersey may build a similar highway that will connect up with New York's Thruway, now being considered as the eventual main artery of an express-way network extending into the New England states and Canada.

In addition, the greater portion of California's large expenditure will be devoted to arterial highways. One striking project is a coastal route from the Mexican border to the Oregon state line. An inland road between the same points also is planned, along with two east-west super-highways. These undertakings as in New York, exemplify the great engineering feats planned in all sections of the United States.—*USIS.*

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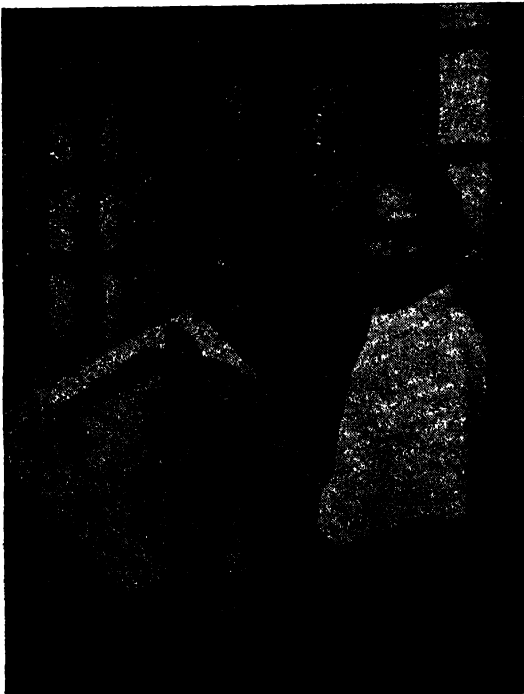
ART EXHIBITION

Opening Address*

By Sir PATRIC SPENS,

Chief Justice of India

I have undertaken this afternoon to open this joint exhibition in Simla of the works of Mr. Khastgir and Mr. Niyogi, two artists who are making great names for themselves. It is not the first time these two have co-operated in a joint exhibition. Fourteen years ago, they tell me, they gave a joint exhibition of their works. This is their second joint exhibition. If there be any here who saw the first joint exhibition, memories of it will add to their interest in this. For I doubt not that in these fourteen years the art of both has been maturing. True it is that sometimes one hears one or other of that most critical species of all critics, namely, the art critic, complain of some artist that his late work never equalled his early promise. But this, if ever true, is exceptional, I think. For most young artists fourteen years of opportunity and practice means fourteen steps on the upward climb to their full artistic development.



Sudhir R. Khastgir, Dehra Dun

For the benefit of those who do not know these artists and their works I must give some very short particulars of their history.

Mr. Khastgir is both painter and sculptor. He started at Santiniketan, Dr. Tagore's famous University. Later he became Art Master at the Scindia School at Gwalior. He is now, and has been for some years, the Art Master at the Doon School at Dehra Dun. He has exhibited in many places in this country. In 1937, he exhibited in London at India House. In 1943, soon after my arrival in India, I saw a striking exhibition of his works in New Delhi. But I believe that this is the first time that Simla has been given the opportunity of an exhibition of his works.

Mr. Niyogi studied originally at Calcutta and in due course also became the Art Master at the Scindia School at Gwalior, which position he still, with honour to himself and the school, occupies. Just before the war Mr. Niyogi received a most interesting invitation from the University of Hawaii, through one of its Directors who had visited Gwalior, to proceed to Honolulu and there exhibit some of his works and those of his pupils.

* The opening of an exhibition of the Paintings and Drawings of Sudhir Khastgir and Prabhat Niyogi at the Hotel Cecil, Simla, on July 2, 1946.

War interrupted his tour, but none the less, he was able to visit New Zealand, Australia and Ceylon on his return journey. During this tour he gave exhibitions of his paintings, lectured on Indian Art, and actually did some mural paintings in Indian style for Sydney University. He too, I think, is exhibiting for the first time in Simla.



Prabhat K. Niyogi, Gwalior

Now, so much and no more about the artists. What of their works ? Let me say at once that if any of you expect that I will for one moment dare to criticise their works or compare them, you will be wholly disillusioned. I am neither competent nor willing. I have never believed that amongst adults, artistic pleasure or the reverse can or should be induced by the all too pretentious words, descriptions, or expressions of opinions of others. The art of the advocate may be appropriate in other spheres, thank goodness, I have found it appreciated in the past, but not in operas or art exhibition. Pre-arranged write-ups, pre-arranged laudations of exhibition of pictures create far more suspicion than appreciation. Artistic merit requires no advertisement. I will not insult these works by attempting to influence your judgment and appreciation of them. Judge and enjoy for yourselves and induce your friends to come and do the same thing, whilst the exhibition remains open. It is an opportunity for Simla not to be missed.

In conclusion, I would only say this. To artists of all sorts, we owe very much in the fierce rush of events in which our generation lives. They can create for us those glimpses of a world, more beautiful, more peaceful, more harmonious, than that in which most have found ourselves now and for many years past. It may be a form of escapism. But it does us good sometimes to turn from the eternal politics, law, business and red tape of daily life, and to enjoy for a spell the gifts of art. Such an opportunity is here. Let us all take it and enjoy it and thank Mr. Khastgir and Mr. Niyogi for giving it to us.

I have much pleasure in declaring the exhibition open.

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INDIA'S NEW RASHTRAPATI : ACHARYA KRIPALANI

By Prof. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law,

Reader in Law, Allahabad University

Acharya Kripalani, affectionately called by his friends, admirers and well-wishers and those who come in contact with him, *Dada* (elder brother) as a sign of his solicitude for the welfare of everyone who comes in contact with him, is our new Rashtrapati. He is a man of indomitable courage, great energy, astuteness and is actuated by lofty idealism and patriotism. While he was serving as a Professor of Economics and Politics in a Government College in Bihar, he fell under the magnetism of Mahatma Gandhi, who stayed with him for some time before embarking on his famous Champaran campaign when he was made his companion and help-mate. Almost immediately thereafter, he threw up the soft and easy job of a well-paid professor, and threw himself whole-heartedly into the service of the motherland without thinking of the morrow for which he had no provision. Since then he has always described himself as a humble follower of Mahatma Gandhi. No Congress work, however humble, has any repulsion for this great man, for while he was at Benares he used to carry with his own hands the 'thela' containing Khadi cloth for popularising the use of Khadi which was then almost in its infancy. For twelve long years, he devoted himself, sometimes in spite of his ill-health, to the arduous work of the Secretary of the Indian National Congress which is very exacting. For twelve long years, he had to undertake long tours all over the country to educate the public, to instil into them Gandhiji's philosophy of non-violence, truth and *ahimsa*. The British Government at that time was adamant in putting down the Congress. The Congress had entered into a revolutionary role under the guidance and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. No longer was the Congress session addressed by English-speaking Indian gentlemen who would come and finish their work by means of a good deal of oration for two or three days and go back with a flattering unction to the soul that the work for the year



Rythm *by* Sudhir R. Khastgir



Curiosity *by* Prabhat K. Niyogi



Deers *by* Sudhir R. Khastgir



Springtime *by* Prabhat K. Niyogi



Typical of the major arterial highways of the U. S. A. is the Arroyo-Seco highway near Los Angeles, California



Construction workers operate a huge cement-mixing machine, laying concrete road-bed in the vast post-war highway program in the United States

had been done. Files had no intimidation for Kripalani for he is gifted with the rare faculty of distinguishing the wheat from the chaff. He looks straight at things and events without any emotion, without any sentiment. Deeply analytical, his capacity for diagnosing causes and effects is marvellous. He can stand no bunkum or conceited attitude from any individual, however high he may be.

Spare in body and great in intellect, he represents to us the ideal Indian whose motto in life is plain living and high thinking. Frugality and simplicity of life are his strong points. He thinks himself to be a soldier in the Gandhian army who should always be prepared for the battlefield where he might be clapped into prison at any time by the British Government and compelled to lie on the hardest of the beds and partake of the humblest of fares. Yet notwithstanding these self-inflicted hardships and privations, he would always remain humorous and jovial, and would always have a kind word for everyone. Apparently gruff looking to those who do not know him personally, his heart is soft like that of a woman. He is pained at any wrong or injustice done to any individual in any sphere of life and would try to undo the injustice if it would lie in him. He made a large circle of friends and admirers at Allahabad who hold him in high esteem and call him affectionately *Dada*. The students always would tease him to address them in all the different functions of their institutions where he would try to enthuse them to national work by infusing in them the true meaning and conception of the Great Master's teachings of lofty idealism, practical politics and unselfishness in the devotion to the country.

To have Acharyaji as a friend is indeed a boon and a veritable asset, for he never lets down the humblest of his friends. His evening tea, humble though it is, is always ready to be served to any one who would come to him then, and he would insist upon him to have a cup before he would open his lips. In days of prosperity of a friend, he may make himself scarce, but in dark days or illness of his friend, he is sure to be there, by the side of the sick bed or to soothe his afflicted and distressed mind.

A great scholar and fervent admirer of Gandhiji, he has written many books depicting the innermost characteristics of Gandhian philosophy and Gandhian revolution and methods of education, in his own inimitable style—direct, simple and fascinating. How in the midst of strenuous work as the Congress Secretary, he could snatch the time to settle down to write on such serious subjects, is indeed a marvel to his friends and those who know him. His public lectures and addresses are vibrant with sincerity and high idealism.

His kind humour, his ever present joviality, his eye beaming with intelligence have always stood him in good stead and he can make a stable friend in the course of a few minutes by his simplicity and unassuming nature and manners. Yet he can be deadly sarcastic if and when he chooses to be. For him the achievement of the freedom of the country is the main objective to which all others must be subordinated.

He is the people's President. He has no pretensions or a high bank balance or foreign education or visits to foreign country or mixing and hob-nobbing with the big and mighty of other lands. Mahatmaji's pet disciple and favourite follower, this self-abnegating national hero is sure to win the deserving place in the love and adoration of men and women throughout India.

No picture of Acharya Kripalani, however, can be complete without giving some description of his noble and idealistic wife, Srimati Sucheta Devi, who is an extremely devoted and affectionate wife and yet a great public worker. She is almost the head of the Kasturba Organisation under the guidance of Mahatmaji. A well-educated lady, an M.A. of the Benares Hindu University and an ex-Professor of Politics in the same University, when she chooses to talk of ordinary matters with ordinary individuals, few would be able to know, unless previously acquainted with her, that one is talking to a most well-educated woman. Witty, always smiling or laughing, she is the counterpoise of Acharya Kripalani who is outwardly solemn, grim and stern-looking. It is his wife or his friends who bring smiles to that countenance. Husband and wife—they both represent simplicity itself. The strength of the lady lies in holding as it were the ever-roving mind of Acharyaji in strong chains of domestic felicity. Since their marriage, the wife takes pride in asserting that she has brought good luck to Acharyaji. Whether she has brought luck or not—his friends do not know, but this much they know that she has relieved him of some of his arduous domestic duties to devote himself all the more whole-heartedly to the country's cause. She has brought happiness to him and mellowed his rough exterior to a great extent. Both the husband and the wife are extremely hospitable.

The recent visit of Acharya Kripalani and his wife to the deeply troubled and dangerous areas in Eastern Bengal, without any consideration for their personal safety, is sure to ensure to them the love, admiration and adoration of millions of people of India and elsewhere. Bengal must note that a friend in need is a friend indeed. In the darkest hours of Bengal, the couple went to see with their own eyes the horrible atrocities which have shocked not only Bengal but through Bengal the whole of India, nay the civilized world. Barbarities of the worst kind—abduction, arson, loot, murder, butchery—have all taken place, and the President-elect before he was officially declared the President, hastened to go to Bengal. Bengal and the whole of India expect that he would not hesitate to advise the adoption of the sternest and strongest measures to put down the utter lawlessness in Bengal which has tarnished the fair name of the province and has turned it into a No-Man's Land. He has left all his tasks behind to go to the most afflicted province to see how he can bring succour and help to the province.

The whole country should be glad that this new Rashtrapati, the poor, unostentatious, great patriot, imbued with Gandhian philosophy, high in idealism not divorced from reality, is today at the helm of the affairs.



COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN THE SERVICES ETC. IN BENGAL

By Rai Bahadur BIJAY BEHARI MUKHARJI

The Government of one country by another is an anachronism. The manifold ramifications of such a situation can hardly be measured. The modern psychologist well knows that the effect of individual repression is a set of complexes of more or less serious intensity which often result in more or less unlooked for behaviour patterns. In the case of groups, the result is the same. The more developed the operating components are the more serious is the result. India with her hoary civilisation, with developed ideas and ideologies which played important and far-reaching parts in the evolution of human history was checkmated by England with not always but very often contradictory ideals, ideologies, standards of values and approaches to life and its problems. The greater the tempo of what England considered her efficiency in the running of the Colonial Empire the more ruthless had been the denial of chances of self-expression to the Indians. The more secure the concentration of powers in the Rulers the greater had been the Indian frustration and still greater the spiritual and the mental deformities that followed in the ruled. The ruler who exercises irresponsible and not unoften immoral powers does not escape. His human value heavily deteriorates. Lord Hewart in his book *New Despotism* cites :

> "There is an agreeable story not too old, of a distinguished Anglo-Indian Civilian who returning home on leave after prolonged absence passed the Houses of Parliament on his way from Victoria to Charing Cross. 'What place is that ?' he asked. 'That, Sir,' was the answer, 'is Parliament—the Houses of Parliament.' 'Really !' he exclaimed, 'Does that still go on'?"*

Aldous Huxley in his *Ends and Means* dilating on the essential need of satisfactory social background for the evolution of human types, writes :

> "It should be noted that the kindliness of the English manifests itself only at home . . . The Indians do not find their rulers particularly kindly. And in effect, the ethical standards of Englishmen undergo a profound change as they move from the essentially peaceful atmosphere of their own country into that of their conquered and occupied Indian Empire. Things which would be absolutely unthinkable at home are not only thinkable but do-able and actually done in India."

Judged in the context of human progress and of the progress of humanity this situation inflicts a tremendous and an immeasurable loss. "Power corrupts. Absolute power absolutely corrupts," said Lord Acton. In India, the Englishman exercises absolute power. He has not escaped the effect. In the practical field, the situation produces fantastic results. For the purposes of the present discussion one may take up "communalism," its growth and its ramifications, and examine in summary the loss that the social organism here as a whole suffers today. The individual units baffled, turned down, twisted and deformed, exhibit a spout of dementia, and the groups share. The development of wrong and perverse ideas and ideals is encouraged. Evils grow. The cause is forgotten. One resultant evil leads to another till the whole is engulfed.

The problems of Bengal which are in marked contrast to the problems of most of the other provinces bring out clearly the cause and the effect. The All-India and other Provincial political leaders seldom care to enquire into and analyse the position. In Bengal, which bore the brunt of the political struggle for the last forty years, there are definite signs of mental and moral exhaustion. Leadership is dwarfed and derelict.

Bengal, constituted as it is, has over thirty-two millions of Mahomedans. The number represents nearly a third of the total Mahomedan population of India. In number, it is the one province, which has the largest number of Mahomedans. The Punjab comes next with a population of about sixteen millions or half the number in Bengal. This preponderance of Mahomedans in Bengal is the result of administrative changes made with, the cynic says, a definite purpose. The purpose was to sterilise the position of the Hindus in general and of the Caste Hindus in particular and reduce them to a position of political, economic, and social ineffectiveness.

Bengal Hindus and the Caste Hindus in particular had been the force, which the British administration had utilised to establish itself. Bengal was the first area to come under British rule. With the revenue raised and stabilised here, with its Bengalee Hindus trained in English educational institutions and in the British system of administration and of professions, the alien government had a stronghold on the minds of the people who had spread far and wide in India to initiate and establish the system of British administration in every branch. Her eminent and leading men including that outstanding figure of the 19th century Raja Ram Mohun Roy had advocated and preached for trust and faith in the British administration. The Raja had preached that the British intended only to improve the condition of the Indians and would withdraw as soon as the task was done which he prophesied would not take more than forty years. This was in the first quarter of the 19th century. There was no outbreak of anti-British feeling or of anti-British administrative antipathy throughout the first half of the 19th century so much so that the Sepoy Mutiny which in 1857 convulsed India left Bengal cold. The starting of the Sepoy insurrection in Berhampore and Barrackpore was confined to non-Bengalee Sepoys in Cantonments, who found no response in the civil population of the province. The East India Company rule ended and Queen Victoria took over the administration with a proclamation which announced that "our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, integrity fit to discharge." Time rolled on but Raja Ram Mohun Roy's prophecy was not fulfilled.

The British administration was not found in any mood to budge. All powers and all positions of responsibility were gathered up to be centred

* Lord Hewart's *New Despotism*, page 15.

in the British hands. "The Indian Civil Service," remarked the Montagu-Chelmsford report, "was not a service but a ruling corporation." The ruling corporation gathered up all threads. Queen Victoria's proclamation was sweet to the ear but was found to butter no parsnips. Bengalee Hindu boys with means took, it is true, the hurdle, crossed over thousands of miles of sea, lived in foreign land, successfully competed in the Indian Civil Service. Their number was, however, exceptionally few. Even those few met with a cold reception. Surendranath Banerjea, one of the first few, was dismissed and the result of late Mr. R. C. Dutt's appointment as Commissioner on British Officers has been discussed in his biography by Mr. J. N. Gupta, I.C.S. (Retired). In the meantime, Public Service Commission sat in the eighties of the century and played with the problem of Indianisation. The result was that Indians drifted to "positions of minor responsibilities" (an official phrase) for which alone in the official view they were held to be fit.

Frustration was deep though no overt act was in view. The century closed. It was in 1904 that there was the suggestion that Lord Curzon intended to partition Bengal. A lighted tip was thrown on this heap of dry frustration. There was an immediate flare-up when in spite of protests and representations Lord Curzon proved adamant and the partition was given effect to in 1905-6. It is remarkable how modern history is written; Mr. R. Coupland in his report almost completely omits any mention of this all-important incident in the political history of the country. The public men and others sensed a feeling of fatuity as well as of insult. They took it that the wishes of the people carried no weight whatever in the counsel of the Ruling group and that their views and their objections were treated with contempt. This had a country-wide psychological reaction. The zero point was touched. This set aflame the huge heaps of frustration that had been collecting. For the first time there was mass demonstration against the Administration at various levels. Meetings were held, opposition was organised, fiery speeches were delivered and people were told that their wishes were spurned by the rulers. Anti-government feelings and anti-British feelings were roused. British goods were boycotted and at places burnt. There was a general sense of wounded national feeling throughout the country. As the movement developed from strength to strength, the powers that be in charge of the administration decided to stop it by repression. Emotional youths overstepped the bounds of reason, organised secret societies, carried on political dacoities to collect money for arms and weapons. The first symptom appeared at Mozaffarpore (then a part of Bengal) where two European ladies were killed with bombs by mistake, the District Judge being the mark who as the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta had been responsible for the trial and punishment (including whipping) of many youths. A bomb factory was discovered. Widespread arrests were made. The accused on trial included Aurobinda Ghosh, the defence counsel included C. R. Das. The Government arrested many youths and men.

They resurrected an obsolete Regulation and put under prison many without trial. This conflict of immoralities yielded immoralities. There was a sudden growth of anarchical crimes—officials were shot, some were British, more Indians—more Hindus than either Moslems or British, more Caste Hindus than Scheduled Caste Hindus. Very unfortunately Eastern Bengal and Assam had a Lieutenant Governor in Sir Bamfylde Fuller, who had more emotion than discretion, and surrounded by officials (mainly British but with a fair contingent of Indians) romped about the country delivering speeches replete with indiscretion. To him any one who entertained anti-partition sentiment was a "wrong" individual and one with pro-partition outlook was the "right" individual. Sir Halim Ghaznavi was one among many Moslems who had anti-partition attitude and to Fuller Sir Halim was "the wrong Ghaznavi." His brother who subsequently was rewarded with membership of the Executive Council had "pro-partition" sentiments and was the "right Ghaznavi." Sir Bamfylde Fuller with a vulgarity amazing in a man of his position revelled in expressions which described that he owned two wives (apparently in addition to a British third) and of them the Mahomedan was the favourite one. The Mahomedans acquiesced. As the folktales narrate the "favourite wife" prospered and the non-favourite one withered. His anti-Hindu and pro-Moslem attitude was very pronounced and so was also the attitude of many of his top officials. They kept the goose-step with His Honour. Many are the stories of the pranks that they played actuated by this feeling. He and his officials for the first time in this fair land of Bengal sowed the seed of poisonous communalism. It was they who sowed the wind. Many imperialists and many more sneaking Indian sycophants nourished it. The Calcutta riots and the great killing of Hindus and Mahomedans are only a part of the reapings. Now the whirlwind is reaped.

On a background of political immaturity and economic backwardness due to long historical causes, if you draw the fantastic picture of the unfortunate Moslem leadership slipping into the hands of people with more greed at heart than grey matter in the cerebrum, it will be no exaggeration. The Swadeshi agitation continued till in the year 1912, when the partition was modified but the poison remained all the same. The province of Lord Curzon disappeared but Sir Bamfylde Fuller cadets of British officials and of Muslim leaders lived on. Nationalism had to be checkmated. So, communalism must be developed. Bengal was re-partitioned but that the Hindus must be in a minority was not overlooked. Large parts of Chotanagpore peopled throughout by Bengalee Hindus for ages must be kept back and with an apparent pose of absent-mindedness these tracts were added to Bihar. They had been parts of Bengal for hundreds of years. The Bengalee Hindus were forced to be a minority in Bengal but even then to the tune of 42 per cent. If analysed in the terms of voters or in the terms of adults, the proportion will show other results. Some go so far as to say that if the census be correctly taken, other results are inevitable. It is remarkable that neither in the 18th nor in the 19th century there is any record even in British written reports that there was any clash between the Hindus and the Mahomedans in the area now constituted as the Province of Bengal. It is remarkable that in all the papers presented to Parliament by Lord Curzon up to 1906, there is not even a mention of Hindu-Mahomedan differences in the Province. In 1904, Lord Curzon visited Dacca, and to his dismay found a strong opposition.

Sir Henry Cotton, I.C.S., said at the time of the Partition of Bengal:

"The object of the measure was to shatter the

unity and to disintegrate the feelings of solidarity which are established in the Province of Bengal. It was no administrative reason that lay at the root of the scheme. It was a part and parcel of Lord Curzon's policy to enfeeble the growing powers and to destroy the political tendencies of a patriotic spirit."

The *Statesman*, the premier Anglo-Indian daily, and by no means a pro-Hindu paper, wrote :

"The object of the Partition was to foster in Eastern Bengal the growth of a Mahomedan power which, *it is hoped*, will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the *Hindu Community*."

This was not all. There is a certain group of officials in the Imperial Services in India and in Bengal, who, it is alleged, constituted and still continues to constitute the shadow cabinet of the Muslim movement. They act in collaboration with the non-official British mercantile community and the group of die-hard Imperialists of which Winston Churchill is a well-known specimen. One such official was Mr. Archbold of the Indian Educational Service. He was the Principal of the Dacca College, and subsequently he was transferred and came to occupy the position of the Principal of the Aligarh College. Since the late Sir Syed Ahmed thought it discreet to divert the educated Mahomedan from nationalistic and Congress ideals not without official inspiration, Aligarh has been one of the main centres of Mahomedan politics. In 1906, Mr. Archbold spent his vacation at Simla and naturally mixed with the Government of India officials. On 10th August, 1906, Mr. Archbold wrote to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Hony. Secretary, Aligarh College :

"Colonel Dunlop Smith (Private Secretary to the Viceroy) now writes to me that the Viceroy is prepared to receive the deputation of Musalmans and intimates me that a formal petition be submitted for it . . . apprehension should be expressed that in introducing elections injury will be done to Musalman minority and hope should be expressed that in introducing the system of nomination or granting representation on religious basis, the opinion of Musalmans will be given due weight . . . My personal opinion is that the wisest thing for Musalmans to do would be that they support the system of nomination because the time for introducing election has not yet come. Besides, it will be very difficult for them if the system of election is introduced to secure their proper share . . . You are aware how anxious I am for the good of the Musalmans and should, therefore, render all help with the greatest pleasure. I can prepare and draft the address for you.

"If it be prepared in Bombay, then I can revise it, because I know the art of drawing up petitions in good language. But, Nawab Saheb, please remember that if within a short time any great and effective action has to be taken then you should act quickly."

Mr. Archbold did not omit to mention :

"*But in all these matters I want to remain behind the screen and the move should come from you*."[1]—(Italics ours).

This deputation, described later by Mahammad Ali, a deputationist, as a "Command performance"[2]—duly engineered as suggested by Mr. Archbold, was received by Lord Minto in all solemnity on October 1, 1906.

With equal solemnity Lord Minto in reply stated :

"You yourselves the descendants of a conquering and a ruling race—your address, as I understand it, is a claim that in any system of administration . . . . in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral representation, the Mahomedan community should be represented as a community. . . . You justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire I am entirely in accord with you."

This deputation and that answer had been considered a high water-mark of Imperial statesmanship.

Lady Minto in her *India and Morley—1905-10* records that she forthwith received a letter from an official which ran thus :

"I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened today—a work of statesmanship *that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than the pulling back of sixty-two millions of people (the supposed Muslim population) from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition*."[3]

Probably the official was correct in his prophecy though not exactly in the sense that he made it. It was the event which probably led to the events that completely destroyed the Englishman's moral stature in India and brought to the surface a group of people disloyal to the country who had to be fought in the open. Subsequent events roused India from the stupor in which she was in and paved the way for India's independence which in the interests of India as well as of England, of the East as well as of the West, of the Hindus as well as of the true Muslims, had to come. It is a glaring instance of how "problems" evolve in India. This gave Lord Minto the basis for suggesting 'communal representation' and 'weightage' and thus develop the fissiparous tendency in a section of a thoughtless minority community.

In the meantime, Dacca—the earlier sphere of the educationist Mr. Archbold's benevolent activities had its stirrings. With those true instincts for the main chances which are the characteristics of geniuses, Nawab Salimulla, a zemindar of Dacca, though initially opposed to the Partition of Bengal, found that there was an opportunity to rehabilitate his exhausted resources—exhausted through his own endeavours—and championed Partition. Lord Curzon was pleased. Zemindars had had serious plights after the permanent settlement and as a result thereof, which the readers of Sir W. Hunter may know, not one was so fortunate for about one hundred and fifty years as Nawab Saheb. He had had over ten lakhs of rupees loaned out to him by the British Government together with a British Manager, who not only managed his

1. See Tufail Ahmad's *Roshan Mustagbal*, pp. 360-61.
2. Lady Minto's phrase in Countess of Minto's *India and Lord Morley*, p. 56.
3. Countess of Minto's *India and Lord Morley*, p. 48.

estates but provided him with all the intellect that Nawab Saheb's somewhat deficient cranium badly needed in the varied activities he was called upon to undertake and to which he was unused. In 1906, Nawab Salimulla founded the *Muslim League* on the 9th November, which is thus the *Action Day* of the Muslim League just in its 40th year. It may be noted that the Nawab of Dacca is not a territorial magnate and has not the slightest connection with the Musalman Subedars and others. The family started in the 19th century with a small trade in hide which through luck and industry prospered and secured wealth to purchase zemindaries. To the great credit of the family, Nawab Abdul Gani (locally addressed by his pre-honorific title as Gani Meah) and Nawab Ashanulla, the grandfather and father respectively of Nawab Salimulla, were men of generous temperament and completely free from communal outlook of any sort as were the representatives of the best types of the 18th and the 19th centuries. Both were held in great respect by the Hindus and the Muslims alike. Morley, the Secretary of State, at first shied at this new-fangled idea of communal representation but ultimately his imperialist instinct got the better of it and his life-long liberal principles went under. The idea was incorporated in the scheme known as the Minto-Morley Reform of 1908. This thin end of the wedge to develop fissiparous tendencies in India and develop communalism to checkmate nationalism was started with a blatant false postulate which was expressed and left unnoticed in the form of address with which Lord Minto addressed the engineered Mahomedan deputation :

"*You yourselves the descendants of a conquering and a ruling race* ."

Long before the Hindu-Muslim problem was so sedulously developed it had been recorded in written history that Bengal Mahomedans were descendants of converts from the bottom rungs of the Hindu society (and as stated before, Bengal Mahomedans form nearly a third of the total Mahomedan population of India). What is true of Bengal, with rare exceptions here and there, is true of the rest of India. Whether the historical falsehood continued in the form of address was a pure and fabricated bluff of Lord Minto or was due to his colossal ignorance is a matter of conjecture. That it was untrue is too patent to be discarded. But the device had the desired effect. That communal electorate, which is a complete negation of democracy, could only end in a complete separation of parts of a social organism, could easily be foreseen. No national State in process of evolution has ever admitted it as a part of its representative institutions. Neither England and Scotland, when they decided to develop one British State out of two bitterly fighting nations inhabiting two different countries, could admit the device, nor George Washington developing one United State out of multi-national States, nor Bismark, contemplating a Federation of till then warring principalities of Prussia and Germany, could permit it. A national State integrates diverse and even warring elements into one whole. A non-national State discovers differences, expressed or dormant, in an organised whole and disintegrates. In integration lies strength. In disintegration develops weakness.

Congress leaders versed in abstract politics but unused to tackle realities failed to grasp the implications and in their eagerness to appease the carefully developed Muslim intransigence contracted a pact in 1916 known as the Lucknow Pact. The pact consisted of two parts—a separate pact with the Muslims conceding separate electorate and a common pact demanding political powers from the British. The former was approved of and the latter turned down.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report with a seeming disapproval of communal representation accepted the communal electorate, and elaborated a cautious political evolution known as Dyarchy (alleged to have been suggested by Lionel Curtis). The separate electorate worked beyond the expectation of its authors. The communities drifted apart as they did never before in Bengal. Riots multiplied and there were signs of great religious intolerance and animosities. Sir John Simon came with a commission appointed by the British Parliament and submitted a report squarely condemning the communal electorate and forbidding its extension. This report was submitted to Parliament in 1930. In 1932, Mr. A. E. Porter, I.C.S., one of the ablest of recent administrators in Bengal, with wide experience of districts, reported as Commissioner of Census that, "The Depressed Classes were not an administrative problem in Bengal." In spite of all these, in 1934 came the Communal Award extending the communal electorate and allocating to the Muslim community 119 seats out of 250 with 20 seats to Europeans which invested the latter with the same authority and opportunity as the Irish party of the Parnellites had in the British Parliament to the disgust of the latter. Between the two, the Muslims and the Europeans can always have an understanding and thus secure an overwhelming majority in the Assembly. This allocation of the majority by separate electorate was based on curious mathematics. The number of one hundred nineteen was not pro-rata to the enfranchised number in the elected rolls nor even pro-rata to the adult manhood and womanhood of the community who alone could function as citizens to exercise civic rights but pro-rata to a population including babies—actual or fancied. The communal award introduced a further wedge in the shape of a separate electorate for castes scheduled by His Majesty as such "though in 1932 the depressed classes were not an administrative problem" and till then nothing had been heard of such a problem.

Mr. A. E. Porter, I.C.S., wrote in 1933 :

"*For the administration, in fact, the problem of the depressed classes in Bengal practically does not exist*, save in so far as special measures are necessary to improve their economic condition and standard of education. The prominence which it acquires is largely due to the questions raised in *comparatively recent years* as regards separate representation in the legislatures for members of these classes. For Bengal at least, therefore, *the attempt to treat any social usage or disability as a clear criterion by which to distinguish the depressed classes is bound to fail*."[4]

London East End needs special measures for the improvement of its economic condition and standard of education and so did the "other England" that Disraeli discovered and analysed in the *Sybil*. Could that be thought of by the provision of separate electorates ?

4. Census of India, Vol. V, p. 497.

Mahatma Gandhi, with the true instinct of the patriot and with a full realisation of what the seed of a separate electorate would mean here too, undertook a fast. The separate electorate for the scheduled caste was discarded but at a heavy cost to Bengal of thirty seats in an assembly of 250 by what is known as the Poona Pact. Thus the checkmating of nationalism by communalism was complete. The Bengal Assembly today is a body, the intellectual and moral stature of which can be tested by any chance on-looker. He will need no psychiatrist to discover that it has no stock intellectual or moral, actual or potential to meet the heavy demand indispensable to the solution of Bengal's varied and complicated problems—political, social, administrative and economic. The Bengal Famine, the Calcutta Riots, the widespread corruption, the complete breakdown of its administrative system are but small proofs of its hopeless but natural incapacity. It is Emerson who said that one could not get out of a man what is not in the man. Could one get out of the group what is not in the group ? The system—which is a mockery of democracy—leaves Bengal with its sixty-four millions of people and grave problems that demand the highest efficiency and integrity for solution at the mercy of the dregs of the social organism. Evil breedeth evil. Even Ministers, with Gandhi-caps and immaculate khaddar and bearing the imprimatur of and coming to positions with the support and sanction of the Congress, have been known—to the chagrin of all genuine lovers of Congress—to be as dishonest as any other and as devoid of moral sense as the worst the communal electorate could provide. The entire public life in Bengal has been corrupted, and the standards of values turned upside down. The poisonous miasma has spread from the centre to every fibre of its moral stature. Adverting to the form of Lord Minto's address, suffice it to say that Buchanon Hamilton in the first decade of the 19th century recorded :

"Although the followers of the Koran form a large portion of the inhabitants of the district,[5] there is little reason to suppose that many of them are intruders. They seem in general from their countenance to be descendants of the original inhabitants who have been converted in a great measure probably by the intolerance of the Kings of Bengal."

While the first Report of the Bengal Census written by Mr. H. Beverley, I.C.S. in 1872, recorded :

"If further proofs were wanted of the proposition that the Musalmans of the Bengal delta owe their origin to conversion rather than to the introduction of foreign blood, it seems to be afforded in the close resemblance between them and their fellow countrymen who still form the castes of Hindus. That both were originally of the same race seems sufficiently clear, not merely from their possessing the same physique but from the similarity of the manners and customs which characterise them."—Para 353.

Dr. Wise, the Civil Surgeon of Dacca, carried on an extensive scientific examination and came to the same conclusion in the early seventies of the last century. With polygamy and widow remarriage the number of Muslims multiplied. The Musalmans of present-day Bengal and for the matter of that of the whole of India, are no more "descendants of a conquering and ruling race," as Lord Minto feigned to believe, than the Indian Christian converts "the descendants of a conquering and ruling race" today. This difference between the Hindus and the Moslems of Bengal is that, while both are bereft of their political status, the former have retained and the latter lost the social and the religious status of their ancestors. They speak the same language, eat the same food, take fish and meat (excepting one type of meat) and are subject to the same economic and physical conditions and have almost the same outlook of life. Yet false history, specious fictions and false ideas are essential to develop the schismatic trends. Even today the *Times* of London does not hesitate to attribute Hindu-Moslem riots—definite outcome of the policy pursued—to differences in economic condition, as if converts of one economic and intellectual stratum could be transformed overnight, as if Hindu ryots economically are in any sense different from the Muslim ryots, as if Hindu shop-keepers are better off than Mahomedan shop-keepers. The *Times* ignores the fact that the East End Londoner economically is not the same as the West End Londoner and yet does not go in for riots and British labourers are not the same, economically, as the British capitalist magnates whom the State never allows them to attack.

The seed of communalism was sown not in ignorance nor without a purpose. The records[6] of the time are replete with references which will help an honest enquirer to come to a definite conclusion as to how far a conscious policy with a definite objective was followed. The Communal Award was given by Premier Ramsay Macdonald who in his non-renegade days had toured India and knew the background of the so-called Hindu-Muslim conflict. He expressed in his book *The Awakening of Asia* :

"*Sinister influences have been and are at work on the part of the Government. The Mahomedan leaders are inspired by certain British officials and these officials have pulled wires at Simla and in London, and of malice aforethought sowed discord between the Hindu and the Mahomedan communities by showing to the Mahomedan special favour.*"

He was thus perfectly aware of the genesis, of the source of vitality and of the life of the so-called Hindu-Muslim conflict. The separate electorate was an automatic internal combustion mechanism. It automatically works, provides its own dynamics, dismembers and disintegrates.

It was Sir J. Maynard, I.C.S., of the Punjab Government, who said :

"Mass rivalry between the two communities began under the British rule . . . Hindu and Moslem masses, before they had eaten of the tree of knowledge and become religion-conscious *worshipped peacefully at the same shrine.*"

It is with very good reasons that Dacca and Calcutta, rich in wire-pullers, so frequently become centres of communal riots. Communal electorate accentuates and stratifies communal consciousness and communal rivalry. They are kept alive by people interested in their exploitation. It is essential to put these in writing, for the generation that had

5. Rangpur—the typical North Bengal district with a preponderance of Mahomedans.

6. Vide *Recollection of John Morley* (Secretary of State for India), also the published Diary of Lady Minto.

witnessed peace and tranquillity reigning supreme among the Hindu-Muslim population of Bengal and afterwards saw the Hindu-Muslim conflict in Bengal being born, developed, accentuated under its very eyes, is fast passing away. The generation that has succeeded, both of Hindus and Muslims, seems to accept it as an inseparable concomitant of political or social life in Bengal. In the recorded history of the Province of Bengal of the 18th and the 19th centuries, nowhere could be found any reference to Hindu-Muslim conflict in Bengal. The voluminous papers of the East India Company, the *Fifth Report*, Stewart's *History of Bengal*, *Bengal under Lieutenant Governors* by Chief Secretary Mr. Buckland, *The Administration Reports of the Province of Bengal*, published by the Government, will bear that out. Bengal had had conflicts and commotions—economic and social—during the 19th century. The reports and records of the indigo agitation in Bengal, the rent and tenancy agitation leading to the passing of the Agrarian Disputes Act in 1867, and the Rent Law Commission in 1880, will bear out that the Hindus and the Muslims worked on a common platform with unity of purpose and unity of interests. Not a spark of communal ill-will as such was there. How the disintegrating policy and the corrupting system function to the utter ruin of the social organism can be demonstrated by its progressive march.

The Dyarchy system started after the Government of India Act of 1919, was set functioning. The communally elected Ministers and the communally selected members of the Executive Council started agitating for the communal representation in the services of the Public administration. When India was being administered as a Colonial Empire of the British people the Indian recruitment was sought to be based on a test of efficiency. The laws that were passed since 1833, the rules that were framed for recruitment subject to European reservation, nowhere laid down that the Hindus should have any preference. It is one of the forte of the British administrators that they gave equal opportunities to all which attitude later was summed up in Queen Victoria's proclamation referred to before. If the Colonial Empire was not to break down, it was essential that the machinery should be good and strong. The Mahomedans who got into the services were those who were competent and would not hesitate to go in for competition or were selected for merit or for consideration of birth or of special service of their families. The obvious and honourable course would have been to speed up education, to develop the intellectual and the moral statures of not only the Mahomedans but of all the backward sections by special facilities of education and progress and to put them in positions of responsibility in the administration. Neither a Sir Syed Ameer Ali nor a Sir Abdur Rahim, neither a Dr. Zahiruddin nor a Sir Shamsul Huda needed the dishonest system of political patronage to get recognition of their unquestioned merits. It must be said to the credit of several European members of the Indian Civil Service that they foresaw the disastrous effect of such discrimination on the administration and the inequity of communal representation in the services and opposed it. To my personal knowledge several European officials protested. Their voices went unheard. They must carry out the policy and subordinate their principles,—this was the attitude of the powers that came in. But with the progressive development of the communal feeling which separate electorate by its automatic working accentuated, the demand grew and there was the other type of European officials to foment and foster communalism though never at the cost of the European preserve. With the growing strength of the communally-minded legislators—most of whom had an inferiority complex because of their own lack of education, and an utter incompetence which only a dishonest political system could cover up—the voice of objectors got fainter and executive instructions commenced to be issued laying down mathematical formulae for communal representation in the services. With the legislature and consequently, the Ministry corrupted by the ingress of a type of moral and intellectual renegades as a result of Ramsay Macdonald's communal award, a complete go by to the principles of right administration could be and was given. This development received support from a group of Bengal Hindu leaders which had long kept away from political and still more from administrative responsibilities and thus had grown as inevitably bigger in emotions as smaller in political insight. Power starvation—political and administrative—leads to curious psychologies. Of the developed and balanced outlook they had no idea. They could hardly comprehend that the administrative machinery in the concrete must be honest and efficient, if the social organism was to get, if not the best, at least something out of a constitutional system. The 18th century poet was forced to express that

> "For forms of Government let fools contest,
> What is best administered is the best."
>
> —*Goldsmith*

The support of Hindu leaders lent a moral flavour to an immoral position and gave to senility the look of a politico-philosophical dogma. The Ministry of Ramsay Macdonald's patent of democracy deputed Mr. (now Mr. Justice) McSharpe of the Indian Civil Service, to go into the question and to evolve for the democrats (we are told that Islam is cogenitally democratic) ,the principles and procedure not of free competition and unbiased testing of merits but of communal representation in the services of Bengal. His report was given the honorific title of the "Bengal Services (Communal ratio) Recruitment Rules[7] of 1940" and issued to all offices with special returns enjoined to help the Government to make sure that no one gets in to hurt this specially delicate texture of communal administrative mechanism built up by the McSharpe formula. The formula laid down that

(1) 50 per cent of the recruits must be Mahomedans ;
(2) 30 per cent should be of the Scheduled Castes ;
(3) 20 per cent should be *General*, which includes Caste Hindus, Anglo-Indians, Buddhists, Jains and others.

It should be remembered that the Caste Hindus provide over 90 per cent of the first class Honours men of the Universities in both Bachelor and Master's Degrees in Arts, Science, Medicine, Engineering and Law. Trade, Commerce, Industry and Agriculture provided avenues for any one who did or did not go through the modern system of education. Even when a competitive system for recruitment is in vogue

7. India Act, Public Service, Com. Reg.

the Communal Ratio rules apply and if the quota is filled up, poorer types must be picked up, for example, the fourth man in the examinees' list is passed over for the 59th in the list to provide the quota for the other community. The other day the Bengal Government advertised for the Principalship of the Art College with the condition added that the candidate must be of "the Scheduled Castes." An agitation followed and the absurd condition was later altered. But the policy survives and is almost a law. An actual advertisement is noted below to show how the rules are applied in practice :

"*Public Service Commission, Bengal* : Applications are invited to fill the following posts at Medical College, Dacca, in the Bengal General Service : (1) Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department on Rs. 300—50/2—700—75/2—1,000 (reserved for a Muslim) ; (2) Professor, Anatomy Department on Rs. 550—75/2—1,000, plus non-practising allowance of Rs. 150 per month (reserved for a non-Muslim) ; (3) Professor, Physiology Department on Rs. 550—75/2—1,000, plus non-practising allowance of Rs. 150 per month (reserved for a member of the Scheduled Castes) ; (4) Assistant Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department, if a non-B.M.S. Officer is appointed. Pay Rs. 125—25/2—150—20/2—250—15/2—310—20/2—350 (reserved for a Muslim) ; (5) Three Demonstrators, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department, two posts are reserved for Muslims and one for a member of the Scheduled Castes. Pay Rs. 125—25/2—150—20/2—250—15/2—310—20/2—350. Persons holding substantive appointments or appointments on probation against substantive vacancies in the Department of Health and Local Self-Government (Medical), Government of Bengal, are not eligible to apply.

Qualifications : Every candidate must possess the following qualifications :

(*i*) He must be domiciled in British India or born of parents habitually resident in India and not established for temporary purposes only. Preference will be given to candidates who are natives of or permanently domiciled in Bengal. For the post of Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department.

(*ii*) He should have a Science degree with post-graduate and research experience in Bio-Chemistry as well as teaching experience and should not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Professor, Anatomy Department.

(*iii*) He must be a medical graduate with post-graduate experience in Anatomy with adequate teaching experience, his age must not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Professor, Physiology Department.

(*iv*) He must be a medical graduate with post-graduate and research experience in Physiology with adequate teaching experience, his age must not ordinarily be less than 35 years on the 1st May, 1946. For the post of Assistant Professor, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department.

(*v*) He should hold a Science degree and have teaching experience preferably in Bio-Chemistry. For posts of Demonstrator, Chemistry and Bio-Chemistry Department. (*vi*) He should at least be a Science graduate in Chemistry or Bio-Chemistry.

Applications (for which there is no prescribed form) are to be made in writing. Each candidate must furnish the following particulars in his application : (1) Name, (2) present address, (3) home address, (4) father's name, (5) age, (6) academic qualifications, (7) experience, if any, (8) *religion and caste.*

Applications together with a treasury receipt for Rs. 5 must reach the Secretary, Public Service Commission, Bengal, Anderson House, Alipore, Calcutta, on or before the 27th May, 1946.

Applications from candidates who are in permanent or temporary employment under any Government of India, will be rejected unless they are submitted through the appointing authority of their post or service. Canvassing will disqualify.

Alipore,
the 16th May, 1946 P. B. RUDRA, Secretary"

If it had been provided that all other qualifications being equal preference would be given in case of a Professor of Chemistry to a Moslem and in case of a Professor of Physiology to a Scheduled Caste candidate and in case of Anatomy to a non-Muslim one, there could be an understandable position, but here the result comes to this that if there be the minimum standard of qualifications, a Scheduled Caste candidate will be a Professor of Physiology and a Moslem a Professor of Anatomy, and so forth, in spite of the fact that incomparably better qualified individuals exist in the country and can be had on the terms offered though they do not fit in to the caste or the creed compartments. The money of the tax-payers will be spent on and the social organism as a whole will get not the best but only one with minimum qualifications. Generations of students will be taught by persons who are not the best qualified but who have the privilege of belonging to a caste or community that for no fault of others could not make the same progress as others did.

This pernicious principle has been attempted to be introduced in every sphere. Fifty per cent of the contracts for the Public Works of the Province must go to the Moslems, so much per cent must go to the Scheduled Castes, so much to the General or non-Muslims. Whether an individual had ever executed a contract before or ever built a house or a canal efficiently in the past is a matter of little or no consideration. The fact that he belongs to a religious faith or to an unprogressive caste is enough for a passport. If rations have to be controlled and controlled Governmental shops have to be started, the distribution must be on communal ratios. If the quota is filled up an actual grocer with generations of traditions behind him must be shut out (and without authority he can trade no more) and some one of the caste or faith whose quota has not been filled up will come in irrespective of the fact that he had no traditions nor any experience behind him to warrant a presumption that society will be better served.

The net effect on the society and in offices is this. The best and the most efficient do not come in. Those that come in include a minimum number of the efficient and a maximum of the average or the undeveloped. The texture of the office markedly deteriorates. Those that come in on communal basis expect preferment on the

same basis and not unoften they get it. The Bengal Administration Committee, 1945, records:

> "We have been told that there has been a marked deterioration in the morale of the services as a result of the impact of political forces on the framework of the permanent administration. The services apprehend that amenability to Ministerial pressure and a "correct" attitude towards questions in which the party for the time being in office is particularly interested are more likely to lead to promotion than administrative efficiency."[8]

Those that belong to less favoured communities find that promotions or preferences go by political patronage and there is really one party that patronises and that party patronises communally. An unconscious disinclination to do their best comes in. Every office goes down to the lowest level and stagnates at the minimum efficiency. The system develops not the best but the worst standards. This pathology is the high way not only to inefficiency but also to dishonesty. Corruption in consequence is rampant. Inefficiency is writ large on every branch of the administration.

In his broadcast on 4th January, 1944, the Hon'ble Mr. Casey, the Governor of Bengal, said:

> "It is common knowledge that there is a good deal of corruption in Bengal, and I, together with the great mass of decent people in Bengal, very greatly deplore it. The Public Service in Bengal *enjoyed a high reputation for integrity but that in recent years the position has greatly deteriorated specially since the war began seriously to affect India*"[9]

The new Indian constitution with Communal Award started working in 1937, and the war started in 1939. The filling up of appointments is not a question of distribution of jobs to different sections of the social organism on a rule-of-three basis. It is a question of running the administrative machinery at the highest level of efficiency at a cost economical to the tax-payers. It is vital to the country. If this is overlooked, morale and efficiency deteriorate. The social organism suffers heavily. The best lose an incentive to work and put in just the minimum to keep his job going. In England when nepotism and the system of political patronage operated in the matter of recruitment and of promotions as they did since and from before the days of Lord North right up to the middle of the 19th century, the inevitable deterioration followed. It is on record that as England grew in stature and had to undertake diverse responsibilities the deterioration in the public services led to serious disasters in diverse spheres. It is on record that in June, 1855, Mr. Layard, a Member of the House of Commons, moved:

> "The House views with deep and increasing concern the state of the nation, and is of opinion that the manner in which merit and efficiency have been sacrificed in public appointments to party and family influences, and to a blind adherence to routine has given rise to great misfortune and threatens to bring discredit upon the national character and to involve the country in great disasters."[10]

Sir Stafford Northcote pointed out:

> "The habitual disregard of the principle of promotion by merit, and the supersession of men in service by the appointment of strangers from outside the service to the best and the highest paid situations had produced the inevitable results of demoralisation and inefficiency."

This led to a great movement in which Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Benjamin Jowett and others took leading parts. It ultimately succeeded in freeing the Public Services from the moorings of nepotism and political patronage. Competitive examinations were introduced, Civil Service Commissioners were appointed. Definite rules for weeding out the undesirable and for developing the efficient were framed and worked under the watchful eyes of the Treasury Branch.

India is on the threshold of great changes. But a political constitution, however meticulously perfected, will be completely wrecked if the administrative machinery is not arranged to be kept at the highest level of efficiency and integrity. Bengal has its most serious economic and social problems to solve. If the political constitution provides opportunities for the nincompoops to become the heads under the rule-of-three basis laid down by the communal award, and its limbs in the administrative machinery are provided on the communal ratio basis with minimum qualification conditions, nothing but grave disaster awaits the country. The Bengal Famine, the Calcutta Riots, the widespread corruption, the hopeless inefficiency all about and all in a period of twenty-five years[11] of political and administrative jerrybuilding, should be a warning to all the lovers of the country. They are unmistakable pointers. From the history briefly summarised it will appear that the inevitable growth of nationalism was sought to be checkmated by communalism, communalism had to be bolstered up by patronage and bribery, and patronage and bribery had to be met out of the taxpayers' blood-money: hence separate electorate, hence communal award, hence communal percentage in the services and elsewhere. And all these had to be camouflaged and disguised in the terms of the so-called political philosophy and provided with formulae dressed in political jargon and verbiage. The little Englanders of the English diehard imperialist groups in Britain and the little Englanders that are engaged in commerce and appointed in the services in India, aided by indigenous sneaking sycophants, had their day. It is the guileless and the innocent that suffered. It is they who died, they who produce the wealth and pay the pipers. But they who played the tune of utter incompetence and selfishness played a death dirge to innocent victims quite unchecked. The political mechanism foisted on Bengal rather helped than hindered the process.

In the Report on the Bengal Famine Enquiry Commission at page 107. Sir John Woodhead and his Committee wrote:

> "A million and a half of the poor of Bengal fell victim to the circumstances for which they themselves were not responsible. Society together with its organs, failed to protect its weaker members.

8. The Bengal Administration Enquiry Committee's Report, 1945, para 219.
9. *Ibid*, para 223.
10. Fourth Report, Royal Commission on Civil Service, p. 8.

11 The Provincial Autonomy started in 1920.

Indeed, there was a moral and a social break-down as well as an administrative break-down."

Many more died from the after-effects of famine though statistics take no note of them.

The Calcutta riots added a new inglorious feather to the cap of the administration. The Anglo-Indian daily, the *Statesman*, on August 23, 1946, wrote :

> "As previously remarked *the unparallcled tragedy in Calcutta, the frightful scenes of brutality and destruction during the great killing have inevitably besmirched the name of the Muslim League before India and the world.*"

But if unchecked other graver disasters would follow.

The shadow of Lord Minto receiving the deputation with Mr. Archbold peeping behind the screen, the great "eventful day" of the official mind, Nawab Salimulla receiving a cheque for rehabilitating his zemindary and establishing the Muslim League, the communal electorate, the communal award, the communal representation in the services, the Dacca riots, the Bengal Famine, the widespread corruption, the hopeless inefficiency in the administration, the Calcutta Riots—all in the period of 40 years—fly past the mind's eye in relentless succession of cause and effect. The venue of the reeling Indian drama shifts behind prison-bars. Thousands are there along with Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Abul Kalam Azad and others. The gaunt figure of that staunch Muslim, Abdul Gaffur Khan, is also seen there. In between pop up and down like King Charles's head—the figures of Quad-e-Azam Jinnah (Beverley Nichols' discovery—"the most important man of Asia"), of B. R. Ambedkar panting with a telegram to Churchill : "Murder ! Fire ! Cabinet Mission threatening real self-Government to India—Othello's occupation gone—help, rescue," of shrewd-eyed broad-chinned Winston Churchill puffing his cigar and elaborating the thesis : "I have not become the King's First Minister to preside over the liquidation of the Empire." The drama ends. The reel stops. On the wall blazon forth the words, "The wheels of God grind slowly but grind exceedingly small."

One comes now to the task of reconstruction. The whole machinery must be readjusted, slogans, fictions, bluffs must give way to reality—the souls of the dead and of the skeletons of the dying in a Province, that was once the garden of India, demand it. The communal representation in the services must go lock, stock and barrel. It was permitted nowhere else but tried only here in India and specially in Bengal for the last twenty years and has been found, at the heaviest cost imaginable, wanting. The administration shaken, broken up, corrupted and emaciated is in stupor. Appointments made on communal basis for the last 20 years should be checked up against the record of their performances. Those found satisfactory might be kept on but those found unsatisfactory should be weeded out. In future the open competitive examination should be the one process with a period of probation during which the unpromising and unworthy should go. The syllabus should be comprehensive and provided with widest opportunities. The process shoud be pushed on—symptomatic treatment will not go far. The entire pathology must be probed. The septic focus must be scrapped and rooted out. The centre of bad metabolism must be scotched. Communal award must go. Separate electorate must go with a period of joint electorate and reservation of seats in transition. India is on the march. Nothing but the best and the highest should be accepted from the top to the bottom to work for the renaissance. Caste, creed and religion must yield up the best. Education must fit up and gather up the rear. The authorities and those in power should be approached. They should have the courage to own up the disastrous effect of the policy so far followed and which must change and remember what Bertrand Russell says :

> "Where some class containing individuals of energy and ability is debarred from desirable careers there is an element of instability (in the state) which is likely to lead to rebellion sooner or later."[12]

For this and for the interests of the social organism as a whole the entire policy should change and the administrative machinery be set to the highest pitch of efficiency and integrity.

12 See Bertrand Russel's *Power*, p. 101.

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MUHAMMADAN GROWTH NOT ALWAYS FASTER THAN HINDU GROWTH

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA

Because the Muhammadans of Bengal have increased by 51·2 per cent, while the Hindus have by 22·9 per cent during 1881-1931, it is tacitly assumed that the Muhammadan growth was, is and will ever remain greater than the Hindu growth. The recent greater growth of the Hindus during 1931-1941 is explained as due to inflation. Those who make the above assumption forget that in the Burdwan Division where one-third of the Bengali Hindus live, there has been actual decrease of population twice during the census period on account of the prevalence of the 'Burdwan fever' or malaria and the influenza epidemic of 1918-1919. This has not been always so. The relative proportion of the Muhammadans over some large areas—more extensive than the Burdwan Division has come down, while that of the Hindus increased.

Montgomery Martin's *Eastern India* was published in London in 1838. It contains various statistical data and informations regarding Bihar and Northern Bengal. The data were collected round about 1810. From these data we may draw certain conclusions.

We shall deal with the population figures of the then districts of Dinagepoor, Runggopoor and Puraniya. The boundaries of these districts have since then undergone profound changes; some areas have been excluded; some new areas included; and new districts have

been formed out of them by sub-division and amalgamation with other areas. As these three districts were contiguous what has been loss to one has often been the gain to the other. The area covered by these three districts was estimated by Martin to be as follows:

Puraniya	.. 6,340 sq. miles
Runggopoor	.. 7,400 „ „
Dinagepoor	.. 5.374 „ „
Total	19.114 sq. miles

The area covered by these *three* districts is now more or less spread over the following *five* districts:

Goalpara	.. 3.985 sq. miles	(now in Assam)
Jalpaiguri	.. 2,932 „	„
Rungpore	.. 3.496 „	„
Dinajpore	.. 3,948 „	„
Purniah	.. 4,972 „	.. (now in Bihar)
Total	19.333 sq. miles	

The two areas are practically the same; the error due to the inclusion of new areas or exclusion of old areas seems to be of the order of less than 5 per cent.

The population of this area was estimated to be as follows:

	Muhammadans	Hindus (or non-Muhammadans as we would say now)
Puraniya	12 43,000	16,61,380
Runggopoor	15,36,000	11,99,000
Dinagepoor	21,00,000	9,00,000
	48,79,000 +	37,60,380
	= 86,39,380	

The populations of the presentday five districts corresponding to these areas in 1872 and in 1941 are given below:

	1872	1941
Goalpara	4,46,741*	10,14,285
Jalpaiguri	4,16,781	10,89,513
Rungpore	21,49,119	28,77,847
Dinajpur	14,35,309	19,26,833
Purniah	17,14,995	23,90,105
	61,62,945	92,98,583

The population of this region has increased during the last 70 years by 50·9 per cent. Assuming the same rate of growth and calculating backwards the population 60 years earlier (*i.e.* about 1810) would be about 34·75 lakhs or 35 lakhs. But the estimated population is over 86 lakhs. However inaccurate and liable to error the methods adopted may be at the time of the earlier survey, there cannot be almost 245 per cent *over-estimate* of the population.

Rather all the earlier estimates of population were *under*-estimates. In 1787, Sir William Jones, the founder of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, the bi-centenary of whose birth we have recently celebrated, thought that the population of Bengal amounted to 24 millions only including part of the United Provinces then attached to Bengal. Five years later Mr. Colebrook placed it at 30 millions. In 1835 Mr. Adams assumed it to be 35 millions, but this estimate was thought to be too high and was reduced to 31 millions in 1844. In 1870 the population was held to be 42 millions or less by more than a third than the figure disclosed by the first regular census of the province in 1872. The Census disclosed a population of 62,335,217.

However inaccurate Martin's estimate may be of the population of this region there must have been some *de-growth* of the population during the following half a century.

Even if we assume that the estimate of the total population was wrong, the relative proportion of the Hindus and the Muhammadans would not be and could not be wrong. for the same error of *over*-estimate or *under*-estimate due to the defective method or methods adopted would affect the two communities in the same proportion. and the resulting proportion would be practically free from error.

At the time of the survey in 1810, the percentage of the Muhammadans in this region was 56·5. In 1931, it was 49·2 per cent; and in 1941 it is 50·7. Their percentages in the several districts have been as follows:

	1881	1931	1941	*Change during* 1881-1941
Goalpara†	27·51	43·92	46·35	+18·84
Jalpaiguri	35·85	23·99	23·03	—12·82
Rungpore	60·99	70·79	71·40	+10·41
Dinajpur	52·55	50·51	50·23	—2·32
Purniah	41·70	40·54	40·83	—0·87

Taking the entire area the percentage of the Muhammadans is slowly increasing at present. In 1881, the percentage was 53·2; in 1891. it was 48·3 and in 1901, it was 47·6 per cent. Their percentage was decreasing from 56·5 in 1810 even during the census period; now it is increasing A part of the increase is due to immigration– even then it has much leeway to make up to reach the former figure.

In former times immigration from outside was practically *nil*; now-a-days we know that a large number of Muhammadans are migrating from Mymensingh into Assam. Out of 8,83,000 persons in Goalpara (Assam) in 1931 as many as 1,70,000 were immigrants from Bengal; and most of them were Muhammadans. The Census Superintendent of Assam for 1931 writes thus:

> "This large increase is due principally to the continued influx of Mymensinghia immigrants into the Brahmaputra valley, the increase of Muslims in that valley being 61 per cent, which is only slightly less than it was in 1921 where the percentage increase of Muslims in that valley reached the enormous figure of 65."

Therefore, in this region the increase in the percentage of Muhammadans due to natural growth must be much smaller. Besides their natural growth the Muhammadans were increasing their strength by *conversion*. Speaking of Puraniya, Martin in his *Eastern India*, Vol. III, page 144, says:

> "The followers of Muhammad, although by no means so numerous as in Dinajpoor, have more influence, a much larger proportion of the land being in their possession, and the manners of the chief

* As in 1881.

† As in 1891.

town being almost entirely Muhammadan. In general also they are somewhat more strict observers of their law, although the difference is not very material. *The faith on the whole seems to be gradually gaining ground,* (italics ours) the strictness with which the doctrine of caste is here observed occasioning many converts, and the passage from one religion to the other, according to the existing practice is very trifling, as scarcely any new dogmas or practices are required, a few external ceremonies is all that is necessary, and the convert continues to dread the same imaginary beings, and to appease their wrath in the same manner as he did before his conversion."

Again at page 512, while speaking of Runggopoor Martin says:

"*The faith in Muhammad seems to be daily gaining ground,* (italics ours), owing to converts who no longer could have been received in their original castes. The two religions appear to be on very friendly terms and mutually apply to the deities or saints of the other, when they imagine, that supplications to their own have been ineffectual."

Thus in spite of the accession to their strength by conversion, in spite of Muhammadan immigrants from other districts, the relative strength of the Muhammadans has gone down from 56·5 per cent in 1810 to 53·2 in 1881 and further went down during the census period. It is only recently that their relative strength has begun to increase.

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INDIA'S CASE AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

By SWAMI BHAWANI DAYAL SANNYASI and Dr. LANKA SUNDARAM, M.A., Ph.D. (London)

INDIA appeals to the United Nations Organisation on behalf of her quarter of a million nationals in South Africa, in the belief and confidence that this appeal is not only within the competence of, but is sustained by, the United Nations Charter. India calls upon South Africa, her co-signatory to the United Nations Charter, to fulfil the Preamble of the Charter:

> "To affirm faith in the fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small;
>
> "To establish conditions in which justice and respect for the obligations arising from Treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained; and
>
> "To promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

These inescapable principles of human freedom, to maintain which fifty nations, including South Africa and India, have subscribed their signatures to the United Nations Charter, are now threatened with extinction by the Union of South Africa, in so far as the right to live as peaceful citizens of Indian nationals in the Union is concerned.

India files this appeal with the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation under Article 13 of the United Nations Charter, demanding assistance "in the realisation of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" as far as Indians in South Africa are concerned. India files this appeal to the Assembly of the United Nations, after having exhausted the provision for "negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice," contained in Article 33 of the United Nations Charter. Even Articles 52 and 95 of the Charter are inoperative, in so far as there is a breakdown in the constitutional law and procedure of the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations. The responsibility for this breakdown in the *regime* of international law is entirely and solely that of the Union of South Africa, which has refused the Government of India an opportunity for discussion of the Indian question in South Africa at a Round Table Conference, on the model of the Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932, as repeatedly requested by the Government of India. The result of this refusal by the Union Government, which today claims that, the Indian question in the Union is a domestic question, is in complete variance with the law and fact relating to the history of the entry of Indians into South Africa during the past 86 years, and has resulted in the Government of India terminating diplomatic and trade relations with the Government of the Union.

At the bar of world opinion, India has the confidence to prove that the dispute between herself and South Africa is a dispute which concerns vitally and irrevocably the interstatal relations between herself on the one part and the Union on the other, and the international relations between India and South Africa on the one part and the United Nations Organisation on the other. The Union Government has committed a breach of international law, and there is a threat of breach of international peace thus created. Indians in the Union today have risen in a non-violent and peaceful revolt against denial to them of franchise, right to gainful employment, and the opportunity to live as peaceful citizens. His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, which were responsible for the introduction of Indians into the Union, before the Union Constitution was drafted in 1910, today looks on helplessly, unable to discharge the legal and political obligations they have towards these hapless Indian residents in the Union, and it is thus that the Government of India bring forward this appeal to the United Nations Organisation.

The law and fact of the dispute between India and South Africa must be set forth as clearly and concisely as possible. They naturally get mixed up at almost every angle, and constitute the history of Indian immigration into South Africa, which first started in 1860 at the frantic request of the White community of the Union. The better method seems to be to state the law, both national and international, in order to demolish the claim of the Union Government that the Indian question is a domestic one, and then to state the fact relating to the quantum of legal rights to life and to gainful employment which Indians, as citizens of South Africa, are entitled to at the bar of the United Nations Organisation.

Law Relating to Dispute

The fact that both India and South Africa were signatories to the Treaty of Versailles, and were, later, admitted as original members of the League of Nations (*vide* Annexe to the Covenant of the League of Nations) automatically lifted these two countries from the ambit of the outmoded and time-worn usage and custom relating to the British Empire and Commonwealth of Nations. Steadily literally year by year, both India and South Africa participated in the *regime* of the League of Nations, whose legal successor today is the United Nations Organisation, and submitted themselves to the jurisdiction not only of the League of Nations and the International Labour Organisation, but also of the Permanent Court of International Justice. The fact that both India and South Africa had agreed to be bound by the conventions passed from time to time at Geneva under the auspices of the League of Nations and its ancillary bodies, and that they had additionally agreed voluntarily to submit annual reports on action taken on the conventions adhered to by them, created a new precedent in the life of these two countries, particularly with reference to interstatal and international relationships. Both the countries are today agreed to throw into the common pool of international organisation, definite portions of their national sovereignty, and to abide by such international action as is deemed necessary to meet the exigencies of any issue.

India and South Africa have ratified the Protocol establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice, the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court, and the General Act of 1928 [see Appendices I to III], and hereby hangs a tale which both His Majesty's Government and the Government of the Union of South Africa want to interpret to the disadvantage of India which, however, is not factually, and in terms of international law, tenable at all. His Majesty the King has, on behalf of both India and South Africa, irrevocably bound himself and his successors to abide by the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court, even though Minist rs Plenipotentiary, who are nationals of these two countries have, in respect of their individual countries, deposited ratifications of these Instruments of the Permanent Court in the Registry of the League of Nations Secretariat.

There are, however, certain vital reservations to the ratifications, in particular of the Optional Clause, by His Majesty's Government, the Government of the Union of South Africa and the Government of India. His Majesty's Government had sought to riddle their ratification of the Optional Clause *on behalf of the British Empire*, with a proviso that they would prefer settlement of disputes *inter se* the various units of the British Empire outside the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court. Very naturally, India at the behest of His Majesty's Government, was obliged to conform to this mode of ratification. The relevant reservations made on behalf of India in this regard will be discussed later, but it must be remembered here that while the Irish Free State ratified the Optional Clause with the sole condition of reciprocity and no reservations at all, the Government of the Union of South Africa specifically admitted the justifiability by the Permanent Court of the disputes *inter se* the various units of the British Commonwealth of Nations, but preferred to settle them by other means.

In the Instrument of Ratification of the Optional Clause, which was deposited on behalf of India with the League of Nations by the late Sir Mohammed Habibullah, on September 9, 1929, there were four reservations, two of which are relevant to our discussion, and are reproduced below. They are to the effect that the Government of India would submit to the jurisdiction of the Permanent Court all disputes :

(1) "Other than disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of settlement;

(2) "Disputes with the Government of any other member of the League which is a member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner *as the parties have agreed or shall agree.*" (Italics ours).

Additional to these reservations to the ratification of the Optional Clause, the Government of India, while ratifying the General Act of 1928, appended a series of reservations, in which the two mentioned above are included. In the reservations to the ratification of the General Act the Government of India stated that "disputes concerning questions, which by international law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States, will be excluded." Section 3 of this list of reservations to the ratification of the General Act, relates to the manner in which disputes *inter se* between the Government of India and others, including units of the British Commonwealth of Nations, are to be settled. The League of Nations Secretariat received on February 15, 1939, a communication from the Secretary of State for India containing the following declaration :

> "India will continue, after the 16th August 1939, to participate in the General Act for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes, subject to the reservation that from the date of the participation India will not, should she unfortunately find herself involved in hostilities, cover disputes arising out of events occurring during the War. This reservation applies also to the procedure of conciliation. The participation of India in the General Act after the 15th August 1939 will continue as heretofore, subject to the reservation set forth in the Instrument of Accession in respect of India."

Articles XII, XIII and XV of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to which both India and South Africa are adherents, are specific in relation to the obligations undertaken by these two countries in the *regime* of international law which was sought to be established during the inter-war period, and which is valid even today, by virtue of both India and South Africa being members of the United Nations Organisation.

> Under Article XII of the League Covenant it is stated: "The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any disputes likely to lead to a rupture they would submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council." Article XIII provides: "The members of the League agree that whenever any dispute shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject-matter to arbitration." Under Article XV it is laid down: "If there should arise between members of the League any disputes likely to lead to rupture which is not

submitted to arbitration in accordance with Article XIII, the members of the League agree that they will submit the matter to the Council. *Any party to the dispute may effect such submission by giving notice to the existence of the dispute to the Secretary-General, who will make all necessary arrangements for a full investigation and consideration thereof*".—(Italics ours).

Reservations or no reservations, as regards the ratification by India and the Union of South Africa of the Statute and the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court of International Justice and of the General Act of 1928, the procedure under the Covenant of the League of Nations is crystal clear and does not give the Union Government any loophole for escape.

The substance of the Indian case, with respect to the Pegging Act and other discriminatory legislation of the Union of South Africa, is that the Indian question in the Union is not a domestic question, but is one which involves not only the relations between India and South Africa on the one part, but also between India and South Africa and the rest of the world on the other. It is true that Resolution No. 21 of the Imperial War Conference of 1918 was accepted by India and South Africa as follows :

> "It is the inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own populations by means of restriction of immigration from any of the other countries."

But the present dispute between India and South Africa is not in regard to any claim by India to send emigrants into the Union, but in relation to the 250,000 Indian residents in the Union, who are there today because South Africa wanted them at one time and India permitted them to go out. Their status and future are thus the concern of India and of the United Nations Organisation.

The Indian question in South Africa had never been a question which is domestic to the Union Government. Before any of the existing units of the Union of South Africa had any Legislatures of their own, Indian labourers were taken out of this country under a contract to which His Majesty's Government and the Government of India were parties. When the existing units of the Union of South Africa obtained their legislatures, and particularly after the South African Union was formed in 1910, the legal and moral responsibility of His Majesty's Government for the preservation of rights of Indian settlers in South Africa was transferred to them. By implication, and without any room for doubt, the Union Government and the various Provincial Administrations in South Africa today, as was also the case during the preceding long decades of the doleful history of the Indo-South African question, became responsible for the discharge of obligations thus undertaken.

If the Indian question in South Africa was ever a domestic question, within the unfettered competence of the Union Government, it would not have been possible for India to send out the deputation under Sir George Paddison in 1926 in connection with the Class Areas Bill and other proposed legislation of the Union Government. If the Government of India and the people of India had no concern with the fortunes of Indian settlers in South Africa, the two Cape Town Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932, at which representatives of the Government of India and the Union of South Africa participated as representatives of two high contracting parties, would not have been held in the Union. If the Indian question in the Union of South Africa was at all a domestic question, the Union Government would not have agreed to receive an Indian Agent-General since 1927, to become the natural spokesman of the Indian settler community in that country in their relations with the Government of the Union. The more recent conversion of the status and functions of the Indian Agent-General into those of a High Commissioner, was only an incident in the development of India's diplomatic appointments abroad, which was necessitated by the exigencies of the Second World War and, even though an Indian High Commissioner took the place of an Indian Agent-General during the past six years, it is clear that the Government and the people of India *did not* surrender their proclaimed and recognised responsibility to the Indian residents in South Africa.

By no stretch of the imagination can it be said by the Union Government that the Indian question of South Africa is a domestic question. When the Transvaal Asiatic Law Amendment Act was put on the Statute Book, 1907, the Chinese Minister in London lodged a protest with the British Foreign Office as follows :

> "Apart from the fact that the ordinance is not in consonance with the principles of international comity, it is indeed repugnant to the policy of fairness and equality which is always advocated in the United Kingdom."

A quarter of a century ago, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru told Field Marshal Smuts, in the open session of the Imperial Conference, bluntly and categorically, that "if the Indian problem in South Africa is allowed to fester much longer, it will pass beyond the bounds of a domestic issue, and will become a question of foreign policy of such gravity, that upon it the unity of the Empire may founder irrevocably."

It is quite clear that the Union Government cannot hope to escape through the horns of a dilemma by repudiating its obligations to the Government and the people of India and to the United Nations Organisation which is the legal successor, so to say, to the League of Nations of the inter-war period, by converting the Indian question in the Union into a domestic minority question. On September 18, 1922, the third Assembly of the League of Nations passed the following resolution, on the motion of the representatives of South Africa :

> "The Assembly expresses the hope that the States which are not bound by any legal obligations to the League with respect to minorities will nevertheless observe in the treatment of their racial, religious or linguistic minorities, at least as high a standard of justice and toleration as is required by any of the Treaties and by the regular sanction of the Council."

Two years later, both India and South Africa again participated in, and undertook obligations at, the international Conference on Emigration and Immigration held in Rome (1924). Paragraph 7 of Resolution VII of this Conference, to which both countries were parties, ran as follows :

> "The labour contracts drawn up in the emigration countries between the employers and the workers in conformity with the laws of that country,

shall have full force in the immigration country, except as regards causes of public order and laws and regulations of the latter country."

These two International Instruments of conduct bind South Africa to a procedure which is irrevocable, and whose quantum of law certainly has its incidence in favour of the Indian resident community in the Union. The minority treaties of the League of Nations were never intended for the purpose of protecting *only* the Czechs, the Poles, the Germans, etc. of Central European countries, and, at any rate as far as Indians in South Africa are concerned, the spokesmen of the Union Government to the League of Nations, according to the resolution of its 1922 Assembly, undertook obligations voluntarily and irrevocably in their favour. Again, in terms of the labour contracts drawn up between an Indian indentured emigrant for South Africa in the sixties of the last century, as is examined in the next section of this Memorandum, Indian residents in the Union today, being largely the progeny of the original Indian indentured emigrants, have their legal rights assured. These rights are inviolate.

Today there is a complete breach of diplomatic relations between India and South Africa. On November 5, 1944, the entry into or residence in India, without permit, of South Africans was banned by the Government of India under Section 3 of the Reciprocity Act of 1943. The Indo-South African trade agreement has, on July 17, 1946, been denounced, and there is a stand-still in the trade relations between the two countries. The Indian High Commissioner in South Africa has also been recalled. These three developments do necessarily resemble the position anterior to the declaration of war between one country and another, and the Government of the Union of South Africa has consistently refused to have parleys with the Government of India. The Union Government is not prepared to convene a Round Table Conference in South Africa on the model of the Round Table Conferences of 1927 and 1932. This complete diplomatic breach between India and South Africa is, therefore, a matter for the cognisance of the United Nations Organisation. The acceptance of the Covenant of the League of Nations and the ratification of the Statute and the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court by South Africa and India, which is valid even today, creates an obligation which must be forthwith filled. The Union Government specifically recognises the justifiability of disputes *inter se* the units of the British Commonwealth of Nations by the Permanent Court. India and South Africa have no other specified machinery which can now be pressed into service for the adjudication of the dispute pending between them today. The reservations made on behalf of India in the ratification of the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court and the General Act, particularly those specified in our discussion earlier, are inoperative, with the result that the reference by India to the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation of the Indian question is a perfectly valid one in the eye of the International Law.

It might be suggested that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London might be seised of this dispute between India and South Africa, and it might also be argued that at any rate, two such references were made before to the Privy Council in respect of the boundary disputes between Ontario and Manitoba in 1884 and the Labrador Coastal dispute between Canada and Newfoundland in 1927. But there is no specified procedure for the filing of appeals before the Privy Council between the Government of two countries belonging to the British Commonwealth of Nations, even assuming that either India or South Africa, or both, are willing to submit this dispute to its jurisdiction. On the contrary, as has been pointed out amply in this memorandum, both India and South Africa are distinct international personalities, and have assumed specific obligations which are immutable in the eyes of International Law. Quoting an earlier precedent relating to India's admission to the International Labour Organisation, immediately after the promulgation of the Covenant of the League of Nations, it will be seen that both India and South Africa, which were members of the International Labour Organisation continuously since 1921, were admitted to this Organisation as High Contracting Parties. An earlier draft of the Instrument, setting up a permanent Organisation for the promotion of international labour conditions, actually styled South Africa and India "as if they were independent States." It is not only the intention behind the promoters of the *régime* of International Law and organisation during the inter-war period which is of vital significance to us today, in the light of the creation of the United Nations Organisation and the adhesion thereto of both India and South Africa. It is also the fact that India and South Africa are distinct international entities, with obligations which are binding and fundamental, not only as regards their relations *inter se*, but also in respect of their dealings with the rest of the world community. In the light of the civil resistance movement of the Indian resident community in South Africa, additional to the breach of relations between India and South Africa on the very same account, it is obvious that the United Nations Organisation is faced with a situation in which there is definitely threat of a breach to world peace. The equity, or the lack of it, of the Union legislation towards the Indian resident community within its territorial jurisdiction, is quite distinct from the facts that a grave threat of breach to international peace has occurred, that a minority community in the Union has revolted against the Government to whom they owe allegiance, and that the Government of India have broken off relations with the Union Government on the score that their nationals have been maltreated. These are facts which cannot be disputed, and the law of the United Nations Organisation must necessarily take notice of these facts.

Facts of the Case

The facts of the case must now be set out briefly, in order to establish the quantum of legal responsibility which vests with the Government of India, even today, for the welfare of Indian nationals in the Union of South Africa. Even though shiploads of Indian labourers were permitted to be sent out to Mauritius and to other British Colonies in various parts of the world at various other earlier dates, it was only in 1860 that the first shipment of Indian labourers was permitted to Natal. This was, however, not done until after frantic appeals were made by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, followed by ample assurances of equitable treatment to such of the Indian workers who were permitted by the Government of India to emigrate to South Africa. In document 9 of 1858 of the Natal Provincial

Administration, Lieutenant-Governor Scott wrote to the Secretary of State for Colonies as follows :

"I am aware from past correspondence that the Indian Government do not appear very desirous of seeing an imigration of coolies from India to Natal, and that many difficulties did exist to such a scheme, but seeing that the Planters here regard this privilege as of importance. I shall be glad if these difficulties could be overcome."

A tabular statement of the terms offered to an indentured Indian emigrant labourer in the Colony ot Natal, dated January 27, 1874, is attached as Appendix IV to this Memorandum. It will be seen that, for the sake of a mere pittance, the unlettered Indian agricultural and urban worker permitted himself to be shipped across the Indian Ocean in search of an *El Dorado* which never existed, because it was the recruiter's chicanery and pressure which supplied the motive force to his emigration.

In a despatch of the Government of India, of 1877, the method of recruitment under indenture was stated as follows :

"Colonial Governments appoint persons of approved character to conduct emigration on their behalf from the Presidency Towns of India. These agents employ recruiters of whose respectability they are required to convince the Government Protector of Immigrants. These recruiters persuade persons to emigrate and take them before magistrates who register their engagements. The recruits are then conveyed to Calcutta, Madras or Bombay, where they are housed under the immediate eye of the emigrant agent, in depots which have been licensed as fit places for the collection of emigrants by the Protector. They are thence shipped on board vessels, which are also licensed, care being taken that they are equipped in every respect with what is needed to ensure the safety of the passengers on their long voyage; and there the direct concern of the Government with the transaction ends."

The law and practice of indenture must be examined here, in order to establish the incidence of rights to Indian emigrant workers, once they were shipped across from India to distant parts of the world. The British Guiana Royal Commission, which reported in 1871, describing the indenture of Indian emigrant labourers in British Guiana, which was exactly identical with the system of indenture prevalent in Natal, wrote as follows :

"The indentured system differs from slavery principally in this respect—that of his proper civil rights those which are left to the slave, if any, are the exception ; while in the case of the indentured labourer the exceptions are those of which he is deprived. Hence, it is the freedom of the slave and the bondage of the labourer, against which all the unforeseen incidents and accidents of law must tell."

In another place, this Commission observed as follows :

"Indenture, as it seems to us, is justifiable, however contrary to English ideas, to ensure payment by [to] the immigrant for services rendered, that is for his passage out, which payment, it seems, can be ensured in no other way. It may also be defended on the ground of his helplessness on arrival in a country; for, if a man must necessarily be dependent on others for the preservation of his health, there is no harm in recognising it by law." In the Command Paper of the British Parliament (No. Cd. 7,744 of 1915), two Commissioners of the Government of India, after a world-wide inquiry into indenture, wrote that the employer "exercises *quasi*-judicial authority in disputes between immigrants, is entrusted with the temporary care of their savings, and acts as their confidential adviser."

Lord Olivier, who, as Governor of Jamaica in the first decade of the twentieth century, had occasion to observe Indian indentured labour in that colony, writing in 1909, stated :

"The protection by the State of the indentured labourer in the Colonies is not a democrotic domestic compulsion. It is a paternal and humanitarian compulsion. It is imposed from without by the statesmanship of the Indian and British Governments."

Mr. Hy. S. L. Polak, an Attorney of the Supreme Court of the Transvaal and a co-adjutor of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa, writing in 1909, described Indenture in its legal incidence as follows :

"Indenture is a contract of a peculiar nature entered into, not under the common law of the country, but under a statute specially devised to meet the case. The labourer never knows to what employer he is to be allotted, being required to enter into his contract in India, and to consent to allotment to any employer that the Protector might choose for him. Between the master and the servant under such a law there can be no human relationship, save as may often be observed between an owner and his cattle. And, as a matter of fact, the Indian labourer is often regarded by his employer as of less account than a good beast, for the latter costs money to replace, whereas the former is a cheap commodity. So long as breach of contract on the part of the labourer is *always* (and on that of the employer *seldom*) regarded as a criminal and not as a civil matter, it is impossible to regard indenture in any light other than of a system approaching one of servile conditions, and this quite independently of what may obtain in other parts of the world where conditions may be better or worse."

It will be seen that Indians entering Natal in 1860 and afterwards, had entered so initially for a period of three years, with a right to reindenture for a further period up to a total of ten, after which, in case the indenture period aggregated five years out of this total, they are entitled to a free return passage to India. The tabular statement in Appendix IV, however, suggests a slight variation to this procedure, in that the initial contract was for five years. The point of law which must be remembered here is, whether the contract, as shown in the Appendix, subsisted between:

(1) The Government of India and the Government of Natal; or
(2) the Indian labourer and the Protector of Immigrants in Natal alone; or
(3) the Indian labourer and the employer to whom he was allotted ultimately on arrival in Natal.

It will be presumptuous to try to fix the problem of law relating to the above three alternative propositions, particularly in the knowledge that they relate to a period which is ninety years old, but it is clear that the overall picture of Indian emigration to Natal under indenture system does bind irrevocably the Government of India, the Provincial Administration of Natal, and the Union Government of South Africa after it came into existence in 1910. More than everything else, in view of the fact that the Natal Provincial Administration, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was

but a factotum of the British Colonial Office, the legal responsibility of His Majesty's Government towards Indian settlers in Natal was all-pervading and not minimal. It is established that the law relating to the immigration, residence and ultimate settlement of Indian labourers in South Africa was and continues to be one which involves the responsibility of the principal for the engagements of the agent, the principal in this case being, jointly and severally, His Majesty's Government, the Provincial Administration of Natal and the Government of the Union of South Africa.

A brief examination of the law of Natal, particularly during the years 1859-70, is very helpful in this connection. Under Law No. 15 of 1859 of the Natal Legislature, White employers in Natal were enabled to introduce at their own expense immigrants from India. In 1860, an agent of the Government of Natal (Mr. W. H. Collins) proceeded to India for the purpose of selecting the first batch of Indian emigrant labourers, which landed in Durban on November 17, 1860. Law No. 17 of 1864, passed by the Natal Legislature, provided for the extension of the period of indenture from three to five years, a decision which speaks loudly of the imperative need for the continued introduction of Indian labourers for the benefit of the economy of Natal. The Consolidation Law No. 2 of 1870 of the Natal Legislature must hold our attention a while here. Under this Law, there was an offer of free passage back to India to Indian indentured labourers after the completion of ten years' residence in Natal, five years of which must be indentured service. If, however, an Indian labourer, who proved his claim for a return passage under this law, elected to remain permanently in Natal, *a parcel of freehold land was given to him in lieu thereof*. Bonuses were offered to Indian labourers to induce them to reindenture themselves. They were also protected from arrest for civil debt. Very soon, after the passage of this Consolidation Law (which was ten years after the first indentured Indian set foot on the soil of Natal) several Indians claimed and obtained under Section 51, parcels of land in the Umsinto area. A report of the Protector of Immigrants in Natal, dated March 31, 1881, had the following very remarkable passage :

> "Return passage and lands to be provided by Government under Section 51 of Law 2 of 1870. Forty (Indians) have applied for land under this Law. If the lands are not provided for them, they will demand a return passage to India which will be a very expensive matter (about 200 Indians, including children). They should be either positively refused, or to be put in possession of the land."

The intention and fact relating to the continued residence of Indian indentured labourers in Natal are conclusively proved by the Consolidation Law of 1870. Indian labour was frantically needed by the White planters of Natal, and was proved to be infinitely cheaper than Negro labour, particularly the labour of those Negroes who were manumitted only a couple of decades earlier. In order to save the return passage (the Natal Legislature voted £200 000 in 1859, for the introduction of Indian labour, and at a later date floated a considerable loan to service the Indian indentured labour system), indentured Indian labourers, on completion of their contracts, were induced to stay on the land *as free citizens*.

Lord Salisbury, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, in a despatch to Natal, referring to the profound discontent and indignation caused in India by ill-treatment meted out to Indian immigrants in overseas countries, wrote in 1874 as follows :

> "Above all things, we must confidently expect as an indispensable condition of the proposed arrangement, that the Colonial laws and their administration will be such that Indian settlers, who have completed their service to which they agreed as the return for the expense of bringing them to the Colony, will be free in all respects, with privileges no whit inferior to those of any of His Majesty's subjects resident in the Colonies."

Under Article XIV of the London Convention of 1884, Indians, who freed themselves from indenture in Natal and entered the Transvaal, were enabled to acquire property and rights to trade, though later legislation succeeded in destroying these rights. The Sanderson Committee, which was appointed (1910) by His Majesty's Government to inquire into the question of Indian immigrant labour in every part of the British Empire, recognising fully the value of permanent settlement of Indian indentured labourers overseas, observed as follows :

> "It is true that where, in the circumstances of the case, free immigration is impracticable, the immigration is under indenture, and that such immigration was originally undertaken with the object of providing sugar planters with a regular and efficient supply of labour. It still benefits the planter in the first instance. But it also benefits the Colonies in two ways: first, by encouraging the principal industries on which its prosperity depends; secondly, by promoting the development of its still latent resources. The immigrant himself is a tax-payer, and in most cases contributes to the revenue of the Colony in no inconsiderable degree by the duty on articles required for his special use and consumption."

In the wake of indentured immigration of Indians into Natal, motley crowds of free Indians also entered the Colony, and at later stages entered the other units of the present Union of South Africa, namely, the Cape Province, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. Until the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement educated free entrants from India were permitted to enter South Africa, and the Indian indentured immigration into South Africa ceased in 1910. The presence of free immigrants from India side by side with indentured Indian workers and Indians who gained their freedom after completing their terms of indenture, did always complicate the legal position of the Indian resident community in South Africa, and it certainly offered a baffling legal problem in so far as the actual regulated status of Indians in the Union was concerned. Today, it is stated that more than 90 per cent of the Indian resident community in the Union is local born, and that possibly an equal proportion of the Indian settlers was the progeny of the original indentured Indian immigrant. A statistical appraisal of the sectional problems involved in the presence of categories of Indians in South Africa today might be extremely helpful, but is not possible, because no records were properly maintained distinguishing these three categories of Indians in the Union. The problem for the United Nations Organisation is, however, not the comparative merits of different categories of Indian residents in the Union today. It is a question involving the minimum rights of a citizen in the eyes of Law, which the Union Government cannot be permitted to flout.

Time and again the Union Government, even after the first Cape Town Agreement of 1927 which accepted in principle the status of Indians as citizens of the Union, sought to get rid of the resident Indian community by the application of the Repatriation Clauses of the Agreement, and it is on record that nearly one-fourth of the total Indian community in South Africa was got rid of by this means and were repatriated to the Mother Country. In 1933, the Young Committee was appointed "for the exploration of the possibilities of a colonisation scheme for settling Indians, both from India and from South Africa, in other countries." The Committee was asked "to report as to the country or countries in which further investigation as to the successful operation of such a scheme might be advantageously made, having regard to the political, climatic and economic conditions in such country or countries, and the extent to which Indians in the Union would participate therein." It is not necessary here for us to investigate the sequel to the investigation of this Committee, apart from stating that the attempt to transplant Indians from South Africa in other parts of the world, like British North Borneo, British New Guinea and British Guiana, was given up as a failure. The conclusion on this question of the Second Cape Town Conference of 1932, to which India and South Africa were parties, was as follows :

> "It is now recognised that the possibilities of the Union's scheme of Assisted Emigration to India are now practically exhausted owing to the economic and climatic conditions of India, as well as to the fact that eighty per cent of the Indian population of the Union are now South African born."

The abandonment of this scheme by the Union Government is a tacit admission that such of the Indian residents in South Africa, who survived the Assisted Passage Scheme to India were part and parcel of the body politic of the Union, and that the Government of the Union have obligations which are incidental to the relationship of the State and the individual, not a whit smaller in quantum both as regards law and fact.

The question of South African nationality must be discussed here in some detail. Under the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, to which both India and South Africa were parties but which the Union Government today seeks to nullify unilaterally, it was stated :

> "The Union Government firmly believe in and adhere to the principle that it is the duty of every civilized Government to devise ways and means and to take all possible steps for the uplifting of every section of their population to the full extent of their capacity and opportunities, and accept the view that in the provision of educational and other facilities the considerable number of Indians who remain part of the permanent population should not be allowed to lag behind other sections of the people."

Additional to this vital principle, under which the Union Government recognised Indians in South Africa as a community which is integral to the body politic, there were other provisions in the Agreement which must be noticed. It was proclaimed that "an Indian should be enabled to live a happy family life in the country, in which he is domiciled," and it was agreed to by the Government of the Union of South Africa that the Government of India "should certify that each individual for whom a right of entry is claimed is the lawful wife or child, as the case may be, of the person who makes the claim." This right has been exercised by the Government of India during the past twenty years. It was also stated in the Agreement :

> "If the Government of the Union of South Africa make representation to the Government of India to appoint an Agent in the Union in order to secure continuous and effective co-operation between the two Governments, the Government of India will be willing to consider such a request."

The Union Government did make such a request, and an Indian Agent-General was appointed to the Union in 1927 and continued there for a decade and a half, even though, in more recent years, the status of Indian representation in the Union was changed from an Agency into a High Commissionership.

The Government and the people of India, in addition to the Indians in South Africa, have accepted the principle of "the maintenance of Western standards of life by just and legitimate means and Indians in the Union have, as has been amply demonstrated from time to time during the past twenty years in Union Government reports, faithfully surrendered their right to live their own life and conformed to Western standards of living. So far, there has been no proved breach of this essential condition of the Gentleman's Agreement between India and the Union, which the resident Indian community in the Union have faithfully adhered to. On the contrary, it is the gravamen of the dispute between India and South Africa that the Union Government have, through their segregational and other legislation and administrative practice, sought deliberately to prevent Indians in the Union from having the means and opportunity for conforming to Western standards of life.

Hardly before the signature of the Union Government dried up on the First Cape Town Agreement, the South African Nationality Bill, which subsequently became the law of the Union, was introduced on November 15, 1927. Section I of this Act, defining South African nationality, runs as follows :

> "A person born in any part of South Africa included in the Union, who is not an alien or a prohibited immigrant under any law relative to Immigration."

In view of the implications of the legal expression "prohibited immigrant," which came into current use after the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement which led to a gentleman's understanding relating to the stoppage of free Indian immigration into the Union, this definition of 1927 relating to South African nationality, certainly created a difficult position for the Indian community in the Union. The result was that the question was taken up before the Supreme Court of South Africa, whose Appellate Division, in the case *E. M. Seedat versus Appeal Board,* by the judgment of the Lord President, laid down as follows :

> "The regulation is no doubt an Act of administration of a nature on scale which can seldom, if ever before, have been entrusted by the Legislature to the discretion of an individual. As was said in the case of *Dava Ratanjee, 1913, N.L.R. 467*: 'The Minister, without distinction of nationality, class or circumstances, has simply declared the whole Asiatic population of the world.........to be unsuited on economic grounds to the requirements of the Union, and therefore restricted.' But while that is so, we are unable to say that in so doing he has gone beyond the (*a*) of sub-section (1) of Section IV of the Act. The enormous powers conferred upon him by paragraph

words of that enactment, taken in their ordinary and grammatical sense, are wide enough to cover the Regulations, and we find nothing elsewhere in the language or scope of the Act to render such an interpretation repugnant, or to force us to a more limited one.

"What are economic grounds, and who are to be deemed unsuited on such grounds are matters which, in plain terms, are committed entirely to the discretion of the Minister: and whether he exercises that discretion by prohibiting each Asiatic person separately and individually who attempts to enter the Union as it was conceded he might do . . . . . or by prohibiting 'every Asiatic person' as a class by declaring them unsuited on economic grounds, makes no difference. He is left to classify as he pleases."

This judgment, however, related to the Draconian Law of the Union of South Africa with reference to fresh entrants from India into the Union territory.

In 1940, the Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of Natal, in the case of *Jussodia*, defined the position of the indentured Indians and their descendants in Natal. Justice Statham said :

"Law 12 of 1872 erected a Department of State called *Protector of Immigrants*, whose duties are defined by law, and designed to safeguard the welfare of the immigrants in a manner compatible with the theory that their residence in Natal was of a temporary character and their welfare was the concern of the Government of India whose subjects they continued to be. The law provided for the registration of Indian marriages by the Protector, and made registration *prima facie* proof of a marriage.

"Section 63 of Law 25, 1891, and Law 7, 1896, though passed at dates later than 1883, read with Sections 13 and 14 of Law 12, 1872, all of which validate in Natal marriages, which by the common law of Natal were invalid, lent weight to the view that it was the intention of the Legislature all through to apply to Indians who come to Natal as labourers their own marriage system, on the theory that they are birds of passage whose real domicile was India."

It is clear from these rulings of two competent tribunals of the Union, that it was the intention of the Law in South Africa to render the progeny of the original indentured Indian labourers, in particular, stateless. As has been pointed out earlier, the overwhelming majority of the Indians in the Union today are South African born. They have not seen their Mother Country. Their ways of life, both as a result of the inescapable grip of the social and economic system and the White civilization of South Africa, and within the meaning of the Western Standards Clause of the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, which they are voluntarily and faithfully observing even today, make them not only reluctant but unfit to return to India and to hope to get absorbed in the population of the Mother Country. It will not be a flight of the imagination to describe the present position of Indians in South Africa as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Little by little, but with the precision of a steam roller, a quarter of a million Indians in the Union are today being squeezed out of existence. The parliamentary franchise which Indians possessed till 1896, and the provincial franchise which they had in Natal till 1924 had been withdrawn. Their right to reside and trade on a par with the White community has been denied to them, both by Law and by administrative practice. Their freedom of movement between one province and another in the Union has been completely curtailed on racial grounds. They cannot travel in public vehicles, use the public counters in the post offices, or reside in hotels side by side with the White sections of the population. Law after law has been passed, both by the Provincial Administration and by the Union Government, in flagrant breach of repeated past promises, both by the Union Government and by His Majesty's Government at earlier dates, destroying the very basis of the existence of the Indian community in the Union. It is no longer possible for the Indian in South Africa to exist as a useful citizen and to hope to obtain gainful employment. The Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946, as a protest against which the Government of India have enforced reciprocity legislation prohibiting the entry into India without permit of South African nationals, broke off trade relations and put an embargo on exports to and imports from South Africa, and recalled their High Commissioner, is only the last of a series of enactments of the Union Government and its subordinate Provincial Administrations, which have had the effect of withdrawing from the Indian community in South Africa their rights as citizens, leave aside the question of rendering them stateless.

The following is a list (*vide* Appendix to P. S. Joshi : *Verdict on South Africa*) of some of the principal enactments of the Union, which have had the effect of reducing the position of Indians in that country to that of an outcast community, which is not only disfranchised but which is completely prevented from having access to gainful employment :

1. Law 3 of 1885, Transvaal.
2. Statute Law of the Orange Free State, 1891.
3. Law 25 of 1891, Natal.
4. Law 17 of 1895, Natal.
5. The Franchise Act, 1896, Natal.
6. The Dealers Licences Act, No. 18, 1897, Natal.
7. The Immigration Restriction Act, 1897, Natal.
8. Law 3 of 1897, regulating the Marriages of Coloured persons within the South African Republic (Transvaal).
9. Law 15 of 1898, Transvaal.
10. Regulations for Towns in the South African Republic (Transvaal) 1889.
11. The Act No. 1 of 1900 to amend the Immigration Law, Natal.
12. The Immorality Ordinance, Law 46 of 1903, Transvaal.
13. The Immigration Restriction Act of 1903, Natal.
14. The Immigration Act, 1906, Cape Colony.
15. Johannesburg Municipal Ordinance (two private) of 1906.
16. The Act No. 3, 1906, to amend the 1903 Immigration Act, Natal.
17. The Arms and Ammunition Act, No. 10 of 1907, Transvaal.
18. The Immigration Act. No. 15 of 1907, Transvaal.
19. The Education Act, No. 25 of 1907, Transvaal.
20. The Act No. 27 of 1907, the Vrededorp Stands Ordinance.
21. The Workmen's Compensation Act, No. 36 of 1907, Transvaal.
22. The Immorality Amendment Ordinance, Law 16 of 1908, Transvaal.
23. The Townships Amendment Act, Law 34 of 1908, Transvaal.
24. The Gold Law, Act 33 of 1908, Transvaal.
25. The Asiatic Registration Amendment Act, No. 36 of 1908, Transvaal.

26. The Public Service and Pensions Act, No. 19 of 1908, Transvaal.
27. The South Africa Act, 1909.
28. The Public Servants Superannuation Act, No. 1 of 1910, Natal.
29. The Education Act, No. 6 of 1910, Natal.
30. The Act No. 31 of 1910 (to provide pensions for teachers in Government-aided schools) Natal.
31. The Immigrants Regulation Act. 1913.
32. Indian Relief Act, 1914.
33. The Act No. 37 of 1919.
34. The Townships Franchise Ordinance, 1924, Natal.
35. The Rural Dealers Ordinance, 1924, Natal.
36. The Durban Land Alienation Ordinance. 1924, Natal.
37. The General Dealers Control Ordinance, 1925, Transvaal.
38. The Color Bar Act, 1925.
39. The Minimum Wages Act, 1925.
40. The Local Government (Provincial Powers) Act, 1926.
41. The Immigration and Indian Relief (further Provision) Act, 1927.
42. The Liquor Act, 1927.
43. The Asiatics in the Northern Districts of Natal Act, 1927.
44. The Nationality and Flag Act, 1927.
45. The Old Age Pensions Act, 1927.
46. The Industrial Conciliation Act, 1930.
47. The Immigration Amendment Act, 1931.
48. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Act, 1932.
49. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1934.
50. The Slums Act, 1934.
51. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1935.
52. The Rural Dealers Licensing Ordinance, 1935, Natal.
53. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure Amendment Act, 1936.
54. The Marketing and Unbeneficial Land Occupation Act, 1937.
55. The Industrial Conciliation Amendment Act, 1937.
56. The Immigration Amendment Act, 1937.
57. The Transvaal Asiatic Land Tenure (Further Amendment) Act, 1937.
58. The Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act, 1939.
59. The Town Boards and Health and Malaria Committee Ordinance 1940. Natal.
60. The Motor Vehicles and Road Traffic Regulations Amendment Ordinance. 1940. Natal.
61. The Durban Extended Powers Ordinance. 1940, Natal.
62. The Factories Machinery and Building Works Act, 1941.
63. The Resolutions for the Exemption of the Feetham areas in the Transvaal, 1941.
64. The Asiatics (Transvaal Land and Trading) Act 1941.
65. The Trading and Occupation of Land (Transvaal and Natal). Restriction Act, 1943.

APPENDICES

(From the originals published in Chapter I of "India in World Politics" by Dr. Lanka Sundaram)

I

Instrument of Ratification of Protocol Establishing the Permanent Court of International Justice

GEORGE, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom, of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c., &c., &c., to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting !

Whereas a Protocol between Us and certain other Powers and States declaring acceptance of the adjoined Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice which was approved by a unanimous vote of the Assembly of the League of Nations, was concluded and signed at Geneva by our Representatives on behalf of our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, our Island of Newfoundland and our Colonies and Protectorates Overseas, on behalf of our Dominion of New Zealand, on behalf of our Union of South Africa, and on behalf of our Empire of India, on the sixteenth day of December in the Year of our Lord 1920 ; on behalf of our Dominion of Canada on the thirtieth day of March, 1921 ; and on behalf of our Commonwealth of Australia on the sixteenth day of June, 1921 ; as well as by the Representatives of other Powers and States duly and respectively authorized for that purpose, which Protocol with the adjoined Statute are word for word as follows :

We, having seen and considered the Protocol aforesaid, have on behalf of Our United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Our Island of Newfoundland and our Colonies and Protectorates Overseas, on behalf of our Dominion of Canada, on behalf of our Dominion of New Zealand, on behalf of our Union of South Africa, and on behalf of our Empire of India, approved, accepted and confirmed the same in all and every one of its Articles and Clauses, as We do by these Presents approve, accept, confirm and ratify it for ourselves, our Heirs and Successors ; engaging and promising upon our Royal Word that we will sincerely and faithfully perform and observe towards other Powers and States who are or shall be signatories of the Protocol aforesaid, all and singular the things which are contained and expressed in the Protocol, and that we will never suffer the same to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as it lies in our Power.

For the greater testimony and validity of all which, we have caused our Seal to be affixed to those Presents, which we have signed with our Royal Hand.

Given at our Court of Saint James, the sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand nine hundred and twenty-one and in the Twelfth year of our Reign.

| Great Seal of the Realm |

(Sd.) George, R. I.

II

Instrument of Ratification of the Optional Clause of the Permanent Court

GEORGE, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, &c., &c., &c., to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting !

Whereas, at Geneva on the Nineteenth day of September, One thousand nine hundred and twenty-

APPENDIX IV

TABULAR STATEMENT OF TERMS OFFERED TO INTENDING EMIGRANTS BY THE COLONY OF NATAL

Labourers	*Work*		*Minimum rate of wages per month*			*Rations free of charge*					
Classification	Nature	Duration	Adult males	Adult females	Minors	To adults	To non-adults of the age of one year and upwards	Housing accommodation and garden ground	Medicines, medical attendance and diet during sickness	Period of service	Period entitling to free return passage to India
Adults of and above the age of fifteen years	Agricultural labour, manufacture of produce and the various domestic occupations	Six days in the week, excepting holidays, and nine hours daily inclusive of one hour allowed for meals	S 1st year 10 2nd „ 11 3rd „ 12 4th „ 13 5th „ 14 Payable monthly	Half the rates to adult males	Rates in proportion to capacity for work	*Monthly—(three days in the week)* lb. Rice 1½ or Maize 2 lb. Dholl 2 Salt-fish 2 Ghee or oil 1 Salt 1	Half allowance	Free of rent	Free of charge	Five years	Ten years' continuous residence, five of which under indenture
Minors from ten to fifteen years											

27th January, 1874

H. A FIRTH,
Emigration Agent for Natal.

nine, there was signed on our behalf a Declaration under Article 36 of the Statute of the Permanent Court of International Justice annexed to the Protocol signed at Geneva on the Sixteenth day of December, One thousand nine hundred and twenty, which Declaration is, word for word, as follows :

"On behalf of the Government of India and subject to ratification, I accept as compulsory *ipso facto* and without special convention, on condition of reciprocity, the jurisdiction of the Court in conformity with Article 36, paragraph 2, of the Statute of the Court, for a period of ten years and thereafter until such time as notice may be given to terminate the acceptance, over all disputes arising after the ratification of the present declaration with regard to situations or facts subsequent to the said ratification.

Other than disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other method of peaceful settlement, and Disputes with the Government of any other Member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree, and disputes with regard to questions which by international law fall exclusively within the jurisdiction of India and subject to the condition that the Government of India reserve the right to require that proceedings in the Court shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within ten days of the notification of the initiation of the proceedings in the Court, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of twelve months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all members of the Council other than parties to the dispute.

(Sd.) Md. HABIBULLAH.
Geneva, September 19, 1929."

III

General Act, 1928

The Act was ratified by India subject to the following conditions:

"(1) That the following disputes are excluded from the procedure described in the General Act, including the procedure of conciliation:—

(i) disputes arising prior to the accession of His Majesty to the said General Act or relating to situations or facts prior to the said accession;

(ii) disputes in regard to which the parties to the disputes have agreed or shall agree to have recourse to some other methods of peaceful settlement;

(iii) disputes between the Government of India and the Government of any other member of the League which is a Member of the British Commonwealth of Nations, all of which disputes shall be settled in such a manner as the parties have agreed or shall agree;

(iv) disputes concerning questions which by International Law are solely within the domestic jurisdiction of States; and

(v) disputes with any party to the General Act who is not a Member of the League of Nations.

"(2) That His Majesty reserves the right in relation to the disputes mentioned in Article 17 of the General Act to require that the procedure prescribed in Chapter II of the said Act shall be suspended in respect of any dispute which has been submitted to and is under consideration by the Council of the League of Nations, provided that notice to suspend is given after the dispute has been submitted to the Council and is given within ten days of the notification of the initiation of the procedure, and provided also that such suspension shall be limited to a period of twelve months or such longer period as may be agreed by the parties to the dispute or determined by a decision of all the members of the Council other than the parties to the disputes.

"(3) (i) That, in the case of a dispute not being a dispute mentioned in Article 17 of the General Act which is brought before the Council of the League of Nations in accordance with the provisions of the Covenant, the procedure prescribed in Chapter I of the General Act shall not be applied, and if already commenced, shall be suspended, unless the Council determines that the said procedure shall be adopted; (ii) that in the case of such a dispute, the procedure described in Chapter III of the General Act shall not be applied unless the Council has failed to effect a settlement of the dispute within twelve months from the date on which it was first submitted to the Council, or, in a case where the procedure prescribed in Chapter I has been adopted without producing an agreement between the parties within six months from the termination of the work of the Conciliation Commission. The Council may extend either of the above periods by decision of all its members other than parties to the disputes."

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review.*

ENGLISH

HISTORY OF THE SIKHS, Vol. III: *By Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. Minerva Bookshop, Lahore. 1944. Pp. x + 183. Price Rs. 7.*

The first volume of this series deals with the period 1739-1768. The second and third volummes bring the history of the Sikhs down to 1799 A.D., the former dealing with the Cis-Sutlej and the latter, the one under review, with the Trans-Sutlej states.

This volume is a worthy companion to the preceding two which were reviewed in these columns and have elicited high praise from some of the renowned historians of India. The author has shown the same zeal and patient industry for collecting facts and the same critical spirit for shifting evidence. The result has been a highly interesting and instructive picture of the Sikh community during the period when it was hopelessly torn asunder by internal dissensions and faced with a series of invasions by the Afghan king Shah Zaman, the grandson of the Durrani king Ahmad Shah Abdali. The author has treated the life of the Sikhs in all its aspects and has clearly shown the elements of both weakness and strength in their organisation. The numerous *Misls* into which they were divided enabled them to rapidly subjugate the different parts of the Punjab and neighbouring hill-states and extend the domain of the Sikh rule from the Indus to the Jumna. It also developed individuality and resourcefulness of the different chiefs, and enabled them to set up tiny principalities whose peace and prosperity offered a happy contrast to the harried dominions of the Mughals. But the absence of any central authority was a fatal weakness which stood in the way of their becoming a great nation. This is clearly shown by the author in the history of the thirty years delineated in this and the preceding volume. For during this period the energies of the Sikhs were mainly diverted to two channels,—military raids into the neighbouring lands on the east and north, and fighting among themselves for power and pelf without any higher motive or constructive statesmanship for evolving a single solid and stable Sikh State in the Punjab.

The year 1799 with which these two volumes close 'forms a landmark in the history of the Sikhs'. The repeated invasions of Shah Zaman were repelled by the disunited Sikhs, but this discomfiture of the Kabul ruler brought into prominence, courage, bravery and military genius of the young Sukarchakia chief Ranjit Singh. Though still in his teens, he had deeply impressed the Sikh leaders by his character and personality and now made the unification of the Punjab the great aim of his life. Shah Zaman left Lahore, for the last time, on January 3, 1799, and its fort surrendered to Ranjit

Singh on July 7. As the author rightly remarks: Henceforward the history of the Sikhs "centres almost exclusively in this great man. The event marks the downfall of the independent Sikh chiefs on the one hand and the establishment of Sikh monarchy on the other". It is to be confidently hoped that the author will complete the great work he has so well begun by writing the history of the Sikhs under Ranjit Singh. We cannot, however, ignore the note of pessimism struck by him in his Preface. He laments lack of encouragement and complains that the "teaching profession does not even provide him with decent means of livelihood". "After twelve years' hardest toil," says he, "I find myself unable to make both ends meet. I feel therefore compelled to call a halt to research activities and redirect my energies into some other channel." It would be indeed a great pity if this prove to be true and we can only hope that the author would soon be in a position to resume his self-imposed task for which he seems to be the fittest person.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

AN EXPLANATORY DICTIONARY: *By H. Martin. K. and S. Cooper, Bombay. Price Rs. 18.*

This is a very fine dictionary for the use of advanced students excepting for the price, which, though in keeping with the fine printing and get-up, will be beyond the means of the majority. Special care has been taken to use the simplest terms possible in the explanations.

We hope that a cheaper popular edition will be forthcoming, as there is a real need for such a book for Indian students.

K. N. C.

PICTURE OF A PLAN: *By Minoo Masani. Illustrated by C. H. G. Moorhouse. Oxford University Press. November 1945. Numerous coloured illustrations. Pp. 63. Price Rs. 2.*

Mr. Masani has already earned just reputation with his *Our India*. The present book, which has been woven round the Bombay Plan, will maintain his reputation as a distinguished writer on economic subjects simplified for the young. In it, the reader will be able to gather a clear idea of how planning is actually done; and he will, at the same time, gain an introduction to the fundamentals of Capitalism and Socialism, on one or other of which a national plan has ultimately to be based. The illustrations are of great merit, and will be of great help to the reader.

BACK TO SANITY: *By Y. G. Krishnamurti. Basrur Brothers, 139, Hill Road, Bandra, Bombay 20. Pp. xvi + 80. Seven plates. Price Rs. 5-8.*

Philosophical musings on the distracted condition of the modern world. The writer is of opinion that the only hope of rescue lies in a return to sanity, as exemplified by the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi. In spite of the good printing and plates, the price seems to have been set too high for the average reader. But perhaps the nature of the musings themselves precludes the book from being popular with the common run of the reading public.

THE HILL TRIBES OF JEYPORE: *By Lakshmi Narayan Sahu, M.A., Member, Servants of India Society. Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack. Pp. 205 + viii + 8 + 22 illustrations.*

Mr. Lakshmi Narayan Sahu here gives us an account of the life of a little more than a dozen tribes inhabiting the Jeypore Hills in the district of Koraput in Orissa. These cover such interesting tribes as the Kandhas, Sauras and Porojas etc. Mr. Sahu has drawn largely upon reports of previous workers; but he has also supplemented them by some amount of personal observation. The ethnological description of the tribes in question is often of an indifferent quality; but the sympathy which the author entertains for these tribes finds fuller expression in his account of their depressed social and economic condition. His suggestion for their all-round improvement are sound and practical, and will be welcomed by all who are interested in the welfare of this very important section of India's population.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

LANDMARKS IN THE LIFE OF SIR J. P. SRIVASTAVA: *By E. V. S. Manien. Published by Patt & Co., Cawnpore. Pages 47.*

The ex-Food Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council Sir Jwala Prasad was born in Aug. 16, 1889 in Basti District. U.P. He had a good educational career both in India and England and he began his life as a teacher. Afterwards he took to business and was a successful man in the line. As a politician he made his mark in the U.P. Legislative Council and was elected as Minister of Education in 1931. It was at his instance that Unemployment Enquiry Committee with Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru as chairman was appointed to enquire into educated middle class unemployment. During the Bengal Famine of 1943, Sir Jwala Prasad could not do much in spite of all his efforts and as a result 35 lakhs lost their lives. The Governmental machinery at the centre and also at the provinces, was inefficient and corrupt and still continues to be so under an irresponsible alien government. Another famine is at the door of India and the country is still under the rule of a bureaucracy not responsible to the people. Sir J. P. was recently the food member of the Government, which sent a food deputation to Europe and America with a beggar's bowl, India is ruled by the British but so far as this begging business is concerned, Indians have been found suitable to represent the administrators. The Congress has rightly disassociated from such business.

THE ART OF DISCIPLINE, MANAGEMENT AND LEADERSHIP: *By Mr. Abul Hasanat, I.P. Published by the Standard Library, Dacca. Pages 447. Price Rs. 5.*

The author of this book has for his treatment a very interesting subject—Discipline and Leadership. Discipline not only distinguishes a group of persons but explains different degrees of progress among the nations of the world. The person who is able to enforce discipline becomes the true leader of his group. Leadership attained by coercion must be short-lived but a popular leader, *i.e.*, the leader who occupies his position by people's consent is the person who can do real service to mankind by his guidance. Self-discipline and self-development go together and properly developed they bring self-confidence and fearlessness in man. The author discusses the subject as an art, so the readers will be benefited by following his instructions in the methods he advocates for self-development. The author believes that most men have immense potentialities and possibilities of becoming great but they remain ordinary fellows throughout their lives for want of proper culture, education and determination to be great. To guide, lead and rule men, a person must have a good grasp of human psychology which most men lack and once these fundamentals are mastered, the individual becomes a leader of men, a source of inspiration to others. The author is very resourceful in citing illustrations drawn from history and also from every day life which make the book interesting.

We have no doubt that the readers will find this book not only interesting but useful.

A. B. DUTTA

ISLAM AND THE THEORY OF INTEREST: *By Dr. Anwar Iqbal Qureshi, M.A., M.Sc., Econ. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Dub). With a Foreword by Professor Gyanchand and an Introduction by Allama Syed Sulaiman Nadvi. Published by Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmir Bazar, Lahore. Pp. 219. Price Rs. 6.*

This book is an attempt to criticise the modern theories of interest and to interpret the Islamic injunctions on interest, with an object to show that "the decree issued by Islam fourteen hundred years ago was not only entirely right but an unmixed blessing for humanity and really conducive to the welfare of human societies." The book is divided into the following chapters:—(1) The Western Theories of Interest; (2) The Islamic Theory of Interest; (3) Interest—Usury; (4) Islam and Prohibition of Banking Business; (5) The Effects of Usury on Society; (6) The Effects of Fixed Interest Bearing Loans on Business.

It is remarkable that the author, who has so lucidly and brilliantly analysed and criticised the western theories of interest as 'an academic economist", has floundered in the quagmire of theology in his efforts to correlate Islamic concepts to modern conditions and to demonstrate the Islamic doctrines to be a living economic theory capable of future guidance. This is another regrettable example of how theological doctrines, however valuable they may be in our personal life and in the domain of religion, are clouding the clarity of our vision in those spheres, where, objectively speaking, they can no more be correlated to and integrated with modern social facts. Usury, interest-taking and bank-promoting are as much facts among Muslims as they are among others and the consideration that weighs with the Muslim capitalist, as with every other capitalist, is the percentage of profit and the amount of dividend and not the scriptures. Dr. Qureshi would have done well to take into consideration these objective facts of capitalism and to build up his theory on the basis of those facts—a method he himself has followed in his analysis and criticism of the theories of the western economists. In its absence, however, the book, with its occasional brilliant interludes, continues to be an interesting specimen of schizo-phrenia.

J. M. DATTA

THE SAYINGS OF PROPHET MUHAMMAD: *Edited by Muhammad Amin, Barrister-at-Law. Published by the Lion Press, Lahore. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1-4.*

The author, who has two more popular books on the life and wisdom of the Prophet, has collected 451 of his sayings on the various problems of human life and society, in this neatly got-up little volume. A nice picture of the Holy Mecca, the pocket size of the book and the salience of the sayings it contains make it all the more attractive and interesting for daily use. In the short introduction the editor quotes appreciative opinions of Draper, Dr. Lala Har Dayal, Bernard Shaw and Dr. Johnson on the prophet's wonderful power and influence on humanity.

According to the prophet, a perfect Muslim is he from whose tongue and hands mankind is safe, and no man is a true believer unless he desires for the brother man what he desires for himself. The Prophet teaches his Mumin or the faithful follower to strive always to excel in virtue and Truth, to be persistent in good actions and to help the fellow brother in the hour of need. He asserts that the enemy of Islam is he who does acts of infidelity and sheds the blood of man without cause. He wants his followers never to murder his own species, and never to commit adultry and plunder. It is just now badly necessary for the Indian Muslims to analyse their hearts and ascertain whether they have carried out these universal teachings of their Prophet in their lives.

The handy volume deserves a perusal from every English-knowing Muslim of India at the present time. The editor would have done well if he had classified the sayings under appropriate headings.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

BENGALI

BIRA-PUJA: *By Sm. Srila Devi. Parag Publishers, 169, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book contains thirty poems eulogising mythical, historical and modern heroes of India. The language is elegant and the rhythm graceful.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

HINDI

MRIDANGA TABLA VAADAN (Part III): *By Mridangacharya Govind Devraj Guruji. Published by the author himself from Burhanpur, C.P. Cloth bound. Pp. 12 + 466 + 6. Price Rs. 6.*

Obviously this voluminous work of nearly 500 pages (and yet the third volume of the whole book) is not meant for the students (of Tabala and Mridanga), for they could not get much enlightenment out of this work. Even the teachers might feel confused. Of course, they could take the information given in this work, as a supplement to their own knowledge. But the information is not worded clearly, and the author's knowledge of Hindi falls very much short of the requisite for attempting a precise and lucid essay on the subject.

That, however, goes only so far as the 12 prefatory pages are concerned. The 466 pages of the main text do not require any perfect knowledge of Hindi on the part of the author, for herein are given the various notations for playing the two musical instruments, Tabala and Mridanga. The text is well-planned, and the notations, some of them the author's own work, are really very good. Some of them bear the stamp of perfection. As a text-book, the book is perhaps the best available—though the text-book will not be very helpful to any except the teachers.

The author is "one of the very few leading Mridanga players, and knows his subject fully well, having been trained in a systematic and scientific method", but if he took the pains to write out this book, he at least should have made it more comprehensible, and should have taken the help of some professional writer to have his language moulded. His writing is defective both in grammar and in composition, and what with the general crowding in the opening pages (foreword, explanation for the high price of the book—quite unnecessary—, dedication, acknowledgments, contents, indication of the symbols occurring in the book, a biography of the author's preceptor, an elucidation of the science of playing the instruments, a note on the *tala*, a word to the teachers, and what not) the reader feels bewildered. The book is quite well got-up and printed, and one can have no grudge on that point or in the matter of price.

DOULATRAO PARSHURAM

HINDI EKANKI: *By Satyendra, M.A. Sahitya Ratna Bhandar, Agra. Pp. 202. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a valuable addition to the existing slender volume of scientific studies in literary criticism in Hindi liaterature. It deals with the one-act plays in Hindi literature and their writers and their theme and technique, along with analytical estimates of some of the well-known present-day essays and achievements in the field. Perhaps, for the first time we have here a detailed treatment of the

subject. And the author's name is a by-word for high-ranking critical acumen. An indispensable book for the college libraries and the college-going students.

RIYASTI JANATA KI SAMASYAEN : *By Baijnath Mahodaya. Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore. Pp. 61. Price twelve annas.*

A well-thought-out and suitably documented brochure on the problems of the people, living in the Indian States, and an earnest plea for solving them in the light of the sound political principle that real sovereignty rests in the people and is derived from them.

G. M.

MARATHI

ARYA VIRANGANA : *By K. B. Dongre, B.A., Retired Subah, Gwalior. Cr. Oct. Pages 227. Price Rs. 3.*

This very useful little book supplies critical lives of twenty-seven Indian Women of historical fame, both Maharashtrian and north-Indian. Some of these are certainly unknown to the average reader. In constructing the lives the author has followed the latest criticism of historical research. The book deserves to be welcomed by historical students and common readers alike.

G. S. S.

MITRA ANI MAITRINI : *By "Sahridaya." Published by Maharashtra Granth Bhandar, Bombay 4. Price Rs. 3.*

This little imaginary skit purports to reflect faithfully the life and behaviour of the lower middle class, English-educated folk, in the District and taluka towns of Maharashtra, covering in its unfolding their interests, inclinations, political proclivities, morals, likes and dislikes and the general want of discipline and self-respect in the popular institutions like the Municipalities, District Local Boards and Village Panchayats. The pen-pictures of Anandrao, Bhayyasaheb, Yeshwantrao, Sushila, Asha, Subhadra and others who constitute a circle of friends, true and otherwise, are skilfully and realistically drawn, Anandrao leaving his salutary influence on the reader, because of his high-minded altruism and humanity.

JANGLANTIL CHHAYA : *By S. R. Bhise. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 5.*

This is a novel, but it resembles more a study made for a Ph.D. thesis in Sociology. It is more an authentic report than an imaginary description of the conditions of life under which the aborigines of the Western Ghats in Thana, Kolaba, Poona and Nasik districts manage to live in spite of the forest contractors, money-lenders, land-holders and their subservient employees, who serve the ends of these exploiters of the Adivasis for a mere mess of pottage. The account told as a story of a few families in distress, rescued by the selfless workers of the Adivasi Seva Sangh reads as a chronicle of the altruistic activities of Mr. B. G. Kher, and his colleagues including the writer, while it throws a flood of light on the atrocious and inhuman ways of the exploiting sections of our society. This is the first novel of its kind because of its subject-matter and background, although, it must be said, that it lacks the engagingness of a novel. It also suffers from want of an elegant style of a finished novelist like Phadke, Khandekar, Madkholkar or Varerkar.

T. V. PARVATE

GUJARATI

VEDA PANCHAMRIT : *By Chandulal B. Patel, B.A. Vidyadhikari, Gondal. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 80.*

Mr. Patel is a close student of the Vedas and the Gita ; and he has projected a scheme through which to popularise the study of the Vedas in all its aspects. The work under notice is the first instalment thereof. It comprises (1) Riks in Sanskrit as well as (2) their Bhashya ; then (3) the meaning of the words and (4) their objects in Gujarati, winding up with the substances of the text in one stanza in English. It is a highly technical work, and we wish Mr. Patel god-speed in his difficult task.

ASHIANA DHARM DIPAKO : *By Mrs. Malatibai Bakre. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1944. Cloth cover. Illustrated jacket. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 3.*

This is the translation of a Marathi book, Mr. G. G. Talvalkar's Ashiache Dharmdeep. It opens with prayers in six sections. Vaidik, Baudh, Jaina, Christian Islamic and Zoroastrian. It treats of Dharma and Avatar, and has dissertations on certain philosophical problems and gives short lives and the life-work of Shri Krishna, Bhagwan Buddha, Bhagwan Mahavir, Jesus Christ, Hazrat Mohammad Paigambar and Asho Zarathushtra. It is a readable and informative work.

SADEVANT SAVLINGA : *Edited by Gokaldas D. Raichura. Printed at the Raichura Golden Jubilee Printing Press, Baroda. 1944. Thin illustrated paper cover. Pp. 24. Price four annas.*

Mr. Raichura, the editor of the well-known magazine *Sharda* and one of the collectors of Kathiawad's Folk Tales and Bardic Literature, has projected the publication of a cheap four annas series of popular Folk-lore Tales. This booklet is one of them. The story as to how Sadevant, a Rajput married prince, fell in love at first sight with Savlinga, the daughter of a Bania *mahajan* and how he married her by impersonating her prospective bridegroom is told here, lucidly and clearly. This tale was very popular in Gujarat, sixty years ago, but interest in it had faded. It is now revived.

(1) SORATHNE TIRE TIRE : *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1943. Second Edition. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 120. Price Re. 1-8.*

(2) CHARANO AND CHARANI SAHITYA: *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad. 1943. Paper cover. Pp. 209. Price Re. 1.*

(3) DHARATINUN DHAVAN : *By Jhaver Chand Meghane. Published as in (1). Thick card-board cover. 1944. Pp. 268. Price Rs. 3-8.*

Jhaver Chand Meghani's pen here treats of varied subjects, such as (1) journey in a small sea-craft, (2) literature relating to the life and life-work of the Bards of Kathiawad and (3) dissertations on Folk-lore, in a realistic and at the same time charming way. Most interested in the rescue and preservation of the Romance and Folk-lore of old Kathiawad, he has tried his hand in other directions too, and that also with equal success, but the object has always been unearthing and rescue of ancient local lore. The short coastal trip (1) was arranged with that view, the history of (2) the bards also hits the same target while his seven dissertations in (3) also are concerned with the same subject. All the three books have become popular, as they deserve to be and add considerably to our knowledge and store of literature bearing on this hitherto neglected subject.

K. M. J.



INDIAN PERIODICALS



Mind

The following article which forms a chapter of Rabindranath Tagore's *Panchabhuter Diary* or the *Diary of the Five Elements* has been translated into English by Indira Divi Chaudhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*:

Here I am sitting at midday in a room on the ground-floor by the river in the village: a lizard is ticking in a corner of the room: a pair of sparrows, intent on building a nest in the hole meant for the punkha-rope, are continually going backwards and forwards bearing tit-bits from outside and twittering busily; boats are passing along the river, their masts and portions of their swelling sails visible behind the high banks against the blue sky; the air is cool, the sky is clear; from the distant line of the further bank up to the little garden enclosed by bamboo-fencing in front of my verandah; the whole scene looks like a picture in the brilliant sunshine. Here I am, feeling quite comfortable; just as a child feels a sense of warmth of well-being and tenderness in its mother's lap, so a feeling of living and caressing and gentle warmth pervades my whole being from all sides, as I nestle close to the lap of old Mother Earth.

Then what harm is there, if I remain like this? Who is prodding you to take pen and paper and sit up? Where is the necessity of girding your loins all of a sudden and making a great show of recording your opinion on this or that matter and intimating your assent or dissent on certain other matters. Turn your eyes over there towards the fields and see how prettily a whirling wind has twirled and danced and passed on with its veil of dust and dry leaves! Standing straight and tall only on its toes, how it posed for a moment only, and then scattering everything to the wind how it rushed away, heaven knows where. And what was its stock-in-trade: a few wisps of straw, and handfuls of dust and sand, whatever came conveniently to hand; how pretty a game it played with these and with what alluring gestures and postures. Thus it dances away the whole quiet afternoon all over the fields. It has no object in view and no spectators. It has no opinions and no principles; it has no well-considered homillies to deliver on sociology and history. It blows a warm breath through those forgotten and forsaken things that are altogether unnecessary in this world, and arouses them to living beauty for a single moment.

If only I could gather together trifles in one breath like this with the utmost ease and spin them round like a top into a beautiful form and scatter them to the winds and depart. If I could create thus playfully and blow away my own creations. With no thought, no effort, no aim; nothing but the joy of dancing, the passionate urge for beauty, nothing but a living whirlwind. Unconfined fields, unclouded skies, unlimited sunshine,—in the midst of all these to take up handfuls of dust and create magic with them, merely out of the expansive delight of my own mad mind.

This I can understand. But to sit down and place one stone on top of another with the sweat of one's brow and raise up a mound of immobile opinions. In which there is neither movement, nor love, nor life,—only a stolid fame, which some admire open-mouthed and others push away with their foot, whatever its deserts may be. But can I give up doing so even if I want to? For the sake of civilization, man has over-indulged a part of himself called mind, like a spoilt child; so that even if one wants to get rid of it, it will not leave one in peace.

As I write I look outside and see a man wearing a *chaddar* on his head as a protection against the sun, going towards the kitchen with a sal-leaf-cup containing some curd in his right hand. He is like a smooth shiny jack-fruit tree, full of leaves and adequately nourished with mould. This kind of person fits in completely with the landscape outside. There is no hard-and-fast dividing line between the two. This man is living naturally in close communion with this vast life-giving and fertile Mother Earth; there is no contradiction or discord whatever within himself. Just as that tree is a custard-apple tree from top to bottom and doesn't bother its head about anything else, so is my rotund smiling Narayan Singh just a complete Narayan Singh from top to toe.

If some naughty child-god were to throw only one drop of mind into that apple-tree in fun. Then what a dire disturbance would ensure within its juicy greenwood life. Then its green leaves would become pale with thought like parchment, and from trunk to tip it would become wrinkled like an old man's brow. Would its whole body then become so thrilled with young leaves in Spring within three or four days? Would its every branch become so filled with clusters of round pock-marked fruit? It would stand on one leg the whole day and ponder: Why have I got leaves only and no wings? Why cannot I see far enough, though I try my best to stand so erect and high? What is there beyond that horizon? How shall I reach that tree on whose branches, those stars in the sky are blooming. Until I know for certain whence I come and whither I shall go, I shall shed my leaves and let my branches wither and stand stock-still and mediate. Until I can solve the question as to whether I exist or do not exist, or whether I am both existent and non-existent, there can be no happiness in life for me. How can I express adequately the joy that thrills me to the marrow on the day the sun first rises in the morning, after a long spell of rain?—and at the end of winter when a southern breeze suddenly springs up towards evening about the middle of *Falgoon* (February-March) then how I long for.—who will tell me what I long for?

This is the sort of thing that would happen. The poor thing would be done with the bearing of flowers, with the mysterious ripening of custard-apples. With trying to be something more than what it is, with longing to be something which it is not, it would become neither one thing nor the other. At last one day as a result of this inward travail it would burst open from trunk to top anl there would appear a magazine article, a critical review, an untimely disquisition on forest society; in which there would be neither that rustle of leaves, nor that shade, nor that vigorous, all-round completeness.

If some powerful evil spirit were to enter the bowels of the earth stealthily like a serpent and inject a dose of mind into all the trees and plants and grass and creepers on earth, through the hundreds and thousands of twining and twisting roots underground, then where on the face of this earth would man be able to soothe his troubled spirit? Thank goodness one does not find any meaning in the song of birds when coming into the garden, and does not see dry white monthly magazines, newspapers and advertisements hanging on every branch instead of unlettered green leaves.

Thank Heaven there is no thoughtfulness among trees. Thank our stars that the hemlock-tree does not criticise the Kamini tree and say in your flowers there is softness but no vigor; that the plum fruit does not say to the jack-fruit you consider yourself to be a big person, but I consider the pumpkin deserving of much higher position; that the plaintain doesn't say—I publish the biggest leaflet at the lowest price; and the yam doesn't prepare to compete with it by coming out with a still bigger one at a still cheaper rate.

Harassed by argument, harrowed by thought and tired out with speechifying, man attains a certain measure of calmness and self-control by looking upon the shining open broad outspread brow of the sky, unfurrowed by thought; by listening to the wordless murmuring of the forest, and the meaningless lapping of the waves; by plunging into the mindless unfathomable calm of Nature. The peaceful blue waters of this boundless ocean of non-mind are necessary in order to allay the fiery heat of that one spark of mind.

The fact of the matter is, as I have said before, that our mind has grown disproportionately big and upset our inner balance altogether. It is unable to find enough room for itself. It has become far bigger than is necessary for man's food and clothing and comfortable living. Hence, even after all his needs have been supplied, plenty of mindstuff is left over on all sides. So what can he do but sit down and write diaries, argue, become a newspaper correspondent, prove that easy things are difficult, make things appear to have a meaning which they do not really possess, renounce everything else in order to concentrate on something that can never be understood,—in short, do many other things that are much more reprehensible than these?

But the mind of my none-too-civilized Narayan Singh is proportionate to his body; it fits his needs exactly. His mind protects his life from heat and cold, from disease, ill-health and shame: but it does not fly about in all directions at all times with the speed of forty-nine winds. (supposed to be connectel with madness). This is not to say that once in a way a secret wind may not pierce his mental armour through a button-hole or two and blow him out a little; but that small amount of mental disturbance is necessary for his own healthy existence.

The Alchemy of Art

Self-sublimation ever was the aim of the true alchemist—the transmutation of the base in man into pure gold. Art is one formula of the process. Gurdial Mallik writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It is said that St. Francis of Assisi loved a certain lady passionately. This was when Christ had not yet wholly occupied his heart. But for some time, even after the Prince of Peace had claimed him as his own, the Saint's passion for the lady persisted. The result was an emotional conflict of agonising intensity. To resolve it, the prospective "bride of the Lord" prayed hard, but in vain. At last he hit upon a device—it came to him in a flash of inspiration—which extricated him from the piteous situation. One morning, when it was snowing, he slipped out of his warm bed and betook himself to a secluded spot. There, using his fingers as a brush, he drew in the snow a picture of his lady-love and poured into it all the pleasing, but disturbing, poignancy of his passion. No sooner was the sketch completed to its minutest detail than the Saint experienced a calm and a chaste joy akin to what he used to feel whenever, in the chapel, he worshipped Christ.

The sublimation of passion, *is* a vital problem in the school and at the shrine.

In a sense, the spirit of art is the art of the Spirit. The story of St. Francis, which forms the preamble to this essay, testifies to this truth. The first stage in his journey from the love of passion to the passion of love was a fund of strong feeling centred on one particular person, in reference to his own individual happiness, derived therefrom. The second stage was his own self-effacement for the purpose of absorption in someone else. The third stage was the conflict of his intense emotion for this person, *other than himself*, with the tense tugging at his heart-strings by a being greater than his own self and that of the other person. The fourth and final stage was the resolution of this conflict.

It is alchemy of art which is responsible for this resurrection of the self. For, any "creative activity"—and by the term is meant all such activity as helps to *create*, to carve and churn out, a unitary beneficial value or vision of Life from the medley of emotions and ideas —to be worthy of the artist and his art must compass a reconciliation and a concord between the particular and partial aspect, on the one hand, and, on the other, the universal and all-embracing aspect of Love or Light or Life.

The ministry of art is similar to the ministry of the midwife. It brings to birth, *i.e.*, makes patent, the latent divinity or unity of Life, whether in terms of passion or of principle.

The artist has first a flash of inspiration or of insight or the arousal of emotion from a particular point or person in the panorama of Life. Then he selects a medium to clothe his reaction or response thereto. The obstinacy and opaqueness of the material medium to the surging of the spiritual in him places in his way, later on, an apparently almost insurmountable obstacle, which serves the purpose of a solvent or a sieve, inasmuch as all that is foreign to the evolving accord between the two is burnt out or banished in the process. What remains as residue is as radiant as the sun, without caste or creed, though not without colour and cadence. The artist's creation has now entered the assembly of the All-pervading, All-purifying, All-perfecting Author and Artist of the Universe.

In short, the alchemy of art lies in its being an effective aid to the attainment of the sense of synthesis, of rhythm, which is the soul of beauty.

Swami Vivekananda and Modern India

Prof. K. R. Pisharoti observes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

None has done more to rouse up and to raise up the spirit of India—and this is essentially religious—from the lethargy into which it has fallen; none has expounded in clearer terms and in more practical form this sense of spirituality, handed down from the Vedic period in unbroken succession, the spirituality which forms the warp and woof of our very being—than Swami Vivekananda.

Swami Vivekananda is a stern realist and realizes more trenchantly than any one before him or after him, how we have fallen away from our high pedestal. We have lost our seriousness and practicality, our organising capacity and power of management; we have lost our honesty of purpose and cultural integrity; we have lost our sense of self-confidence and self-respect, our faith and love; and naturally enough we have degenerated into a nation of imbeciles—physical, intellectual, and emotional wrecks, worse, indeed, than hewers of wood and drawers of water. Time is rather past to give up our petty quarrels and petty differences; time is come to gather up our spiritual forces and achieve the national union of India. What we want today is strength, 'muscles of iron and nerves of steel and indomitable will.'

Ours was never isolated life, despite our natural geographical isolation; and, indeed, today no nation can live in isolation. Modern science has annihilated space and is in the process of annihilating time, for, even as it is, voice and form are being rescued from the hands of time, the destroyer. Isolation now is utterly impossible, and we cannot shut off foreign impacts and cultural contacts. In ancient days we assimilated whatever culture contacts we have had. Under the force of the impact from the West, we are giving up the traditional process of assimilation and introducing instead the unhappy process of imitation, and this has tended to produce a slave mentality. Let us, by all means, take whatever is good in foreign cultures,—the Grecian love of form perfection, the Roman love of precision, the English love of tenacity, or the German love of thoroughness. Let us receive in as rich a measure as possible the achievements of modern science and ameliorate the condition of the masses: let us accept the noble science of healing and alleviate the sufferings of our brethren; let us welcome that exuberant sense of freedom and personal liberty and do away with our social inequalities; let us cultivate their professional honesty and integrity and serve our fellow beings more efficiently. But let us not give up our sense of ethical and spiritual values: let us not practise duplicity to attain material ends; let us not convert honesty into a matter of policy and justice into a matter of expediency; let us not be deceived by the fads of social life and let ship. Let us hearken then to the warning of the revered seer: let us for ever be Indians.

The greatest service that Swamiji has done for us is to wrest religion from the hands of mystery-mongering priests, and philosophy from the hands of academic pedants and bring them once again within the reach of the common man.

Bernard Shaw at Ninety

John Stewart Collis writes in *The Aryan Path*:

Bernard Shaw reached his ninetieth birthday on July 26th. He has had a long run for his money. What

is the secret of his great success and of his long life? The answer is Self-discipline.

This may sound rather a banal half-truth. That it is one of his secrets I have no doubt whatever. I felt all the more convinced of it when I called upon him the other day at his flat in Whitehall Court, and after a lapse of eleven years looked again closely into that remarkable face.

The face and figure are so overwhelmingly Irish. I have often seen a similar figure and countenance in Ireland. Many a beggar on a desolate road looks just like the Bernard Shaw who might have been but was not. The same face—thin and high. The same triangular-set eyes, one misty and the other clear, one hard and the other soft, one kind and the other crafty, one sane and the other mad. And the same nose. With what ease could Shaw's nose have become bulbous and red with drink!

Every Irishman feels himself to be the playground of two mighty opposites within him: the spirit of inertia and the spirit of hard work, the spirit of day-dreaming and the spirit of realism. A fine harmony can be made from this tension. Shaw was afraid of the "twilight" strain and fled to London, and for twenty years never went a step further afield than Putney Bridge.

That fear is the fundamental explanation of his asceticism. It was all or nothing. He had to take himself in hand properly or not at all. So he became a terrific abstainer from aids to relaxation and happiness. His only happiness has been hard work. "I never put off attending a political meeting or finishing a piece of work to spend a gallant evening with a lady," he has said. He has dropped many similar remarks.

But he has merely dropped them by the way. He is really very secretive. He tells us little about himself. He refuses us the most interesting book he could possibly write now—his autobiography.

When I called on him I put the question, "Why do you not write your autobiography now?"

"I can never remember anything for more than about ten minutes," he said.

A mere evasion, of course. Memory is stored-up knowledge, and there is nothing to prevent him from dipping into his storehouse. *Everybody's Political What's What* is tantalisingly crammed with autobiographical dippings. Only fragments of what could be drawn on.

So I put the question—"In your own particular vein," I said, "as a narrator of incidents and a describer of queer people you have known, your Comic Muse is at its best. You have not used half your material. You have been content to throw down here and there gems of autobiographical incident. Is it too immense a job to do the thing on a large scale now?"

"I have written as much autobiography as is needed," he replied, "partly in prefaces and the like, partly on the proof-sheets of my biographers."

But that is no answer at all. He may have written himself out in other fields, but not in this. There is a big difference between what can be said in a biography and what can be said in an autobiography.

Not one-tenth of what we want to know about Shaw's early life has been told—not to mention those priceless objective descriptions of others which he could give us if he chose, and which always make autobiography especially fascinating.

The real answer is that he lacks final personal vanity. Also he has nothing to work off his chest. He has always been without personal anger, rancour, bitterness, or malice. The behaviour of people, even when he has been personally involved, has always been regarded by him in terms of natural history rather than as something to become morally indignant about. Human beings were to him natural phenomena which one should not wish to judge or dream of feeling hurt by, any more than one feels inclined to judge a giraffe or feel insulted by an ass. Most people are too unhappy to be kind. Shaw was always too gay internally to be unkind. That is what George Russell meant when he said that Shaw was "the last saint sent out from Ireland to save the world." Perhaps for such a person there is no stimulus to write an autobiography.

For many years it used to be the fashion to say that Shaw was an arch self-advertiser, always talking about himself. "He keeps himself before the public." As a matter of business perhaps. It was all platform stuff. He was careful not to reveal much of himself,

and never to wear his heart upon his sleeve (which goes down well in England). For true self-revelation we must turn to his Keegan and to his Caesar. We get hints too from his remarks about cruelty to animals and to prisoners.

To quote Russell again, he used to say that if ever there was an angel in human form it was Bernard Shaw, that no man he had ever known "was more of a suffering, sensitive soul." We need not be surprised at this if we believe that true sensitiveness starts where "sensibility" leaves off, just as virtue starts where virtuousness leaves off, just as heroism starts where heroics leave off, just as religion starts where piousness leaves off, and temperament starts where temperamentals leave off. "Shaw surrounded himself with a brass band," said Russell, "and adopted the pseudonym of G.B.S."

When a man has reached the stage of being known by his initials, when familiarity has bred initials, then he may be said to have conquered his public. But there are drawbacks. Those letters G.B.S. recall to my mind a certain incident which has always seemed to me perfect as an illustration of a once popular view f Shaw, as well as being a good symbol of the ways of eye-witnesses all the world over.

I was talking with a friend in Dublin about Bernard Shaw. My companion inveighed against the man's colossal conceit. "I saw him at a hotel the other day," he said. "His car was outside on the drive, and, believe it or not, just above the index number he had actually put a plate on which was inscribed in large lette 1 'G.B.S.'!"

My friend had seen "G.B."—the letters that cars from Great Britain carry abroad. But he had expected to see, he had wished to see, "G.B.S." And so—like a true eye-witness—he saw it!

Dairying in India Tomorrow

James N. Warner writes in *Indian Farming*:

India possesses 200 million heads of cattle of which one-fifth are buffaloes. The zebu is used principally for draft purposes while the buffalo is maintained primarily for the production of milk. There are three facts which confirm this. Firstly, in most parts of the country, the male zebu is better cared for than the female, while the female buffalo calf is given better care than the male. Secondly, whereas four out of five of our cattle are zebus, the buffaloes produce a little more than one-half of our milk. According to the *Report on the Marketing of Milk in India and Burma*, issued in 1943 by the Central Agricultural Marketing Department, Government of India, the average annual milk production of the buffalo is 1,529 lb., while that of the zebu cow is only 787 lb.; in each case these figures include about 300 lb. consumed by the calf. Thirdly, the buffalo not only produces more milk, but milk containing about 7 per cent of butterfat while only about 5 per cent is found in that of the zebu; furthermore, about 57 per cent of our milk is used for making *ghee* which is practically pure butterfat. The sole purpose of one sex of each of these animals, therefore, seems to be to assist in the reproduction of the species. Nature might have been a little more thoughtful and given us one species of which the male could be used for draft purposes and the female for producing milk. We have two species, however, either of which is potentially capable of serving both purposes to a greater extent than has yet been demonstrated.

Agreement with Domesticated Animals

Dr. Sam Higginbottom has said that when man domesticates an animal species, he enters into a bond whereby he will provide adequate feed, water and protection from enemies and diseases in return for a useful product or a useful service. It is my opinion that we have not only failed to fulfill this bond in our relationship with many of our domesticated animals, but have, by our methods of management, made it impossible for them to fulfill their part of the agreement. Denmark has, I believe, shown what can be expected in a short time if man does his part. The average annual production of milk per cow was increased in that country from 4,322 lb. to 7,260 lb. in 40 years. What can be done in India in increasing the average production of milk per cow, without sacrificing draft ability, is unknown. The results obtained in such places as Karnal and Patna with the Tharparkar breed and at Muttra with the Hariana indicates that yields of up to 5,000 to 6,000 lb. of milk or more a year do not necessarily reduce the draft ability of our animals.

Feed and Production of Milk

Dr. N. D. Kehar of the Imperial Veterinary Research Institute and Dr. Norman C. Wright of the Hannah Dairy Research Institute, Ayrshire, Scotland, give us figures which show that all the digestible nutrients available for our cattle is less than one-half enough to properly maintain them, exclusive of that required for growth, for reproduction or for the production of draft power or milk. Whereas a 500 lb. bovine requires 3·9 lb. of digestible nutrients daily, we can at best provide only 1·6 lb. They also show us that while such an animal requires 10 to 11 lb. of dry matter daily in its feed solely for maintainance, we can provide only 3·4 lb. at the present time. This is a sad state of affairs. Obviously we cannot expect our cows to produce more milk until they are much better fed.

*It is frequently stated that village cows will give up to 50 per cent more milk on an average if properly fed and cared for. It would appear, therefore, that adequate feed alone would make it possible to increase our production of milk from 800 million to 1,200 million maunds yearly. Village zebu cows are reported to have produced as much as 6,000 lb. of milk, and village buffaloes as much as 10,110 lb. in about one year. It is known that the producing capacity of a cow is, on an average, approximately halfway between the producing capacity of its mother and the producing potentiality of its father. If cows which are capable of producing only 1,000 lb. of milk are bred to bulls with a producing potentiality of 6,000 lb., their daughters may be expected to produce an average of 3,500 lb. under the same environmental conditions. Our cows are inherently capable of producing more milk; their food supply, among other possible factors, prevents them from doing so. The same may be true of draft power as well.

More Feed for Cattle

Any reduction in the proportion of our land now used for producing grain and other crops for our people in order that great quantities of feed might be provided for our cattle would only make matters worse than they now are. Better tillage practices, irrigation, the use of more fertilizer and the use of higher yielding varieties of existing or of completely new crops must be relied upon to give us the required feed for our cattle. The development of new farm implements or the redesigning of those now in use may, apart from better feeding, make the zebu a more useful draft animal. No one has yet undertaken to design implements particularly suited to the buffalo. Is it not reasonable to suspect that there are some possibilities in this? Why not use our cows for draft purposes? They do so in Europe and still get more milk than we do. Where horses are used as a beast of burden, mares which are used for breeding purposes, are regularly worked. The practice of using breeding bulls for hauling feed and manure about a dairy farm is considered a good management practice. We might investigate the possibility of working our cows, particularly those which produce very small quantities of milk and produce a calf only every 20 months or so. They might prove particularly useful in providing draft power at those seasons when it is most needed in the operations of the farm.

The number of male calves born equals the number of female calves. For breeding purposes, however, one bull can serve from 30 to 70 cows. Consequently, only a small proportion, that is one in thirty or so, of the male calves need be kept specifically for breeding purposes; the remainder may be used as bullocks. If those to be used for reproducing our milk stock were selected carefully on the basis of the production of their mothers, the average production of milk could, it would seem, be rapidly increased. That this can be done is indicated by the progress made in Denmark.

Cattle for Tomorrow

Our only dependable source of cattle for tomorrow is those we have today. If we are to provide the milk stock we will need in the new India, we must provide more and better feed for them and we must control their breeding. The control of diseases is by no means unimportant because it is not discussed here. It will play an even greater part in the future than it has in the past, and it has been extremely important so far. If we are to ignore the needs of our cattle, allow them to find their own feed—if they can, provide them no special protection against diseases, and allow them to breed in their own way, we cannot justify their domestication upon which the economy of our country so greatly depends. It is estimated, for example, that the market value of the milk produced each year is roughly equal to that of all rice, or three or four times that of all wheat. Dr. Wright, who gives us these estimates, states also that the value of cattle labour is about one-fourth of the total for all agricultural income.

Increase in Milk Production and Decrease in Cost

According to those who study human nutritional needs, each person should have 15 to 20 oz. of whole milk or its equivalent in the form of milk products daily. We now produce only about five to six ounces or one-third enough. The average farm cow in England or America produces from 4,800 to 5,500 lb. of milk each year. Surely it is not unreasonable to set as our goal for the India of to-morrow the production of three times the milk we now produce. This would give every person 16 to 17 oz. a day; it would involve a yield of 2,500 lb. a year by our zebu cows and 4,500 lb. by our buffalo cows. The cost of producing this milk cannot possibly be as high as that we now produce. If higher yielding fodder and grain crops are grown, feed costs will certainly be less than they now are; if higher producing cows are developed, a proportionately lower cost per maund of milk for maintaining the bodies of the producing animals will result; if much more milk is handled by distributing and processing establishments, surely the costs involved will be reduced.

Distribution of Milk

One reason for the present high cost of distributing milk is the fact that the consumer is not equipped to prevent the spoilage of milk without repeatedly boiling it, which is detrimental to its food value and to its palatability. It is necessary, therefore, that deliveries be made twice a day instead of only once. This practically doubles the expenses for labour and the equipment involved in transporting milk. If it were possible for the consumer to own a small household refrigerator in which to keep perishable foods, the cost of distributing milk might be only a fraction of what it now is. Incidentally, if milk were on hand in the home at all times more of it would be consumed.

Milk produced within our urban areas is expensive mainly because of the cost of the fodder consumed by the producing animals. Fodder purchased at the rates prevailing in the city bazaar will constitute 30 to 50 per cent. of the cost of the milk. Such bazaar rates are commonly twice as high as the actual cost of producing that fodder in the village areas, sometimes more. If those cows now maintained in our cities were moved to rural areas where fodder is less expensive, not only would milk costs go down but our cities would be more healthful. There are many milk producers living just outside our cities who handle very small quantities of milk upon which they depend for a livelihood. One may commonly see a man or a woman carrying a small head load of milk from distances as great as three or four miles. The return trip requires as much as four hours. If the trip is made twice a day, no time is left, after caring for the producing animals, in which the person may increase his or her income from other sources. Either the milk must sell at a price sufficiently high to provide that person adequate income or it is not provided.

Because the customer is unable to keep milk in his home it must be delivered just at the time it is required for the morning or evening meal. Since most people have their meals at about the same time there is only a small period, perhaps two hours at the most, in the morning and in the evening when most of the milk must be delivered. The small producer finds that he cannot satisfactorily handle a quantity of milk that requires more than that short time to deliver. Consequently he produces only that much, perhaps a maund or two a day. The dairy which distributes large quantities of milk commonly finds it necessary for this same reason, to hire one delivery man for every two maunds of milk handled daily. The handling of larger volumes on each trip made by the distributor and the making of fewer trips would bring about a noticeable reduction in the costs involved.

There are many other points that could be mentioned. Two of these are the selling of milk through retail shops from which the customers must take delivery themselves, and the transportation of milk from the rural producing areas to the markets by lorries, thereby increasing the amount of milk handled per man. Apart from certain countries where the value of milk as a human food is unknown or unrecognized, I know of no greater promise of development in dairy farming and the dairy industry than in India tomorrow.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Health of India

Under the above caption Major-General Sir John Megaw, K.C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retd.), President, India Office Medical Board and Medical Officer to the Secretary of State for India, 1933-39, delivered a lecture in the Royal Society of Arts, London with Sir John A. Woodhead, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. in the chair. In the discussion which followed, the chairman offered the following remarks, published in its *Journal*, March 15, 1946:

I am sure we are all grateful to the lecturer for a most interesting and thought-provoking address on the very complicated and difficult question of the health of India. Under-nutrition and mal-nutrition are unfortunately prevalent in many parts of the world, and are not entirely absent in this country; but they are widespread in India. Authorities have estimated that 30 per cent. of India's enormous population—now about 400 millions which will probably be 500 millions in 20 to 25 years—do not get sufficient to eat. A further proportion of the population, although they have sufficient to eat so far as quantity is concerned, live on an unbalanced diet and lack a sufficient intake of those protective foods so essential to the maintenance of good health.

It seemed to me that the lecturer made three main points and it may assist the discussion if I specify them. The first was that the improvement of nutrition in India is an essential part of India's health programme. The health of a population obviously cannot be good if it is not well and adequately fed. Medical relief, more numerous and better equipped hospitals, augmented medical services and improved public health arrangements in the shape of water supply, sanitation and other measures will not bring good health to a population which suffers from under- and mal-nutrition. The problem of nutrition in India is, therefore, a most essential feature of the health programme. India is, as you all realise, predominantly an agricultural country in which the majority of the cultivators live on the food they produce themselves or on that which their neighbours produce. Under-nutrition and mal-nutrition are due largely to an unsatisfactory balance between population and food production and I think the second point the lecturer wished to make was this: that in spite of all the efforts which should and can be made to increase food production, under- and mal-nutrition will not disappear if the population continues to increase at its present rate for many years longer. Ultimately there must be, if the standard of living is to be raised, a decrease in the rate of growth of the population. On these two points I think everyone will be in agreement.

The problem of population is a serious one. There are signs of over-population in many parts of India, though not in all; some provinces have not felt that pressure yet, particularly Sind and parts of the Punjab. But, as the lecturer has stressed, if the population continues to increase at its present rate, India will ultimately be faced with a deterioration in the standard of living and not an improvement.

The third point which the lecturer made was this: a check to population growth cannot be brought about without a great change in the outlook on life of the population, a change which will have the effect of bringing about a decrease in the birth-rate. In order to pave the way for that change he proposes that a Commission should be established with the duty of enquiring into the social and other customs which lead to the present rapid growth in population. There, I think, differences of opinion may arise as regards the steps to be taken.

I should like to refer briefly to certain aspects of the nutrition problem in India. There is, undoubtedly, scope for a large increase in the production of food and it is essential that now, and in the immediate future, every endeavour should be made to increase the area under cultivation by irrigation, by eradicating the deep-rooted weeds which not only affect adversely the yield of crops but which throw large areas of land out of cultivation; this is particularly so in parts of Central India, and so on. More land must be irrigated because an assured water supply not only almost doubles the yield but also enables land to be double cropped, a most important way of increasing production. Again, all other measures—there are many—must be pursued with the utmost vigour for increasing the yield of crops. Of these the more extensive use of manure is a most important one. India suffers from a lack of fertilisers and that lack handicapped severely the "grow more food" campaign during the war.

Industrialisation, though by itself it will not solve the problem of improving the standard of life in India, will assist towards that end. It will materially help towards a solution of many rural problems for it will relieve the pressure of the agricultural population on the land and will provide work for those not fully employed in the agricultural areas. I place industrialisation quite high in the scheme for the improvement of conditions in India.

I should like to remind you that in Britain the increase in population during the sixty years prior to about 1930 was much greater than that in India. Between 1872 and 1931 the population of England and Wales increased by more than 70 per cent., whereas in India the increase was only about half that figure. The increase in this country was practicable owing to the expansion of industry. There has been an illustration of that in India during the war. I am afraid that I have not figures showing how many men were taken off the land and absorbed into the Army and into the factories during the war years, but the number was very considerable, several millions, and it certainly had an effect on the labour available for agriculture in many parts of the country and on the agricultural wages paid in those areas. I have no doubt that industrialisation will provide one important measure of relief in India.

Another important factor is the maintenance of reasonable prices for agricultural produce. If there should be a repetition of the slump which occurred in the 'thirties and if agricultural prices should again fall to unremunerative levels I see little hope of better conditions. Indeed such a fall would be disastrous in the affect on the standard of living in India.

The last point to which I will refer is family limitation, and around that opinions will differ widely. It may perhaps be of interest if I tell you of the conclusions reached by the Famine Inquiry Commission, of which I was Chairman. Their view was that public opinion would not approve of a deliberate State policy of birth control. They considered that such a policy was at present impracticable, partly because, for religious reasons, public opinion was not prepared to accept such a policy and partly because the low economic condition of the poorer classes of the population, together with the fam-

tor of the expense of contraceptive methods made the widespread encouragement of birth control a practical impossibility. The Commission, however, saw no objection to the Government taking steps to spread the knowledge of birth control through clinics—health and maternity clinics—in charge of lady doctors who would be in a position to advise women who wished to limit their families either because their health would not enable them to bear a large number of children or because of a desire to space their children, with the object of giving each child the best care and the best education. That was the line taken by the Famine Inquiry Commission. The same subject has been examined by another Commission, the Public Health Commission.

India Citizenship Bill

In the *India Today*, July, 1946, published monthly by the India League of America, the League announces the following news:

The India Immigration and Naturalization Bill was passed by the Congress of the United States on June 27, 1946. This Bill became law when President Truman signed it on July 2, 1946. At the signing ceremony at the White House, several representatives of the Filipinos, Indians and members of Congress were present. The India League of America was represented at the ceremony by Sirdar J. J. Singh, president of the League.

The passage of this bill has been received with great acclaim by the press in India. Leading newspapers have editorially commented on this gesture of American friendship. The Government of India, conveying its appreciation of the active support of the United States Administration in a public statement said, "The new measure will be welcomed by all sections of opinion in India as a fresh evidence of the desire of the Government and the people of the United States to accord to India an equality of freedom with the other free nations of the world."

Dr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, writing to Sirdar J. J. Singh after the signing of the bill by President Truman said, "The Department is highly gratified that final action has thus been taken to remove an unjust discrimination against the people of India from the laws of the United States."

The India League of America wishes to pay special tribute to Representative Emanuel Celler for his earnest and untiring efforts in getting this bill passed.

A Hindu Speaks in Sympathy to Jews

Under the above caption, Dr. Taraknath Das writes in the *Palestine*, August 1946, over the Palestine affairs:

The terrible news from Palestine these days resembles the news that came from Ireland and India not so long ago. Its causes and its nature can best be understood in the light of those precedents—as can the prospects for ultimate Jewish freedom in Palestine.

The basic proposition to be remembered is that British imperialism—Labor imperialism it is now—has never made concessions unless it has been forced to. After the failure of the "black and tan" outrages in Ireland, Britain had to concede to the creation of an Irish Free State. This she had to do not only because the Irish patriots carried on their fight for freedom in their homeland but also because Irish-Americans in the United States made it clear to the Government of the United States that cooperation between the United States and Britain would be rendered most difficult and the agreements arrived at by the Washington Conference—including the Anglo-American Debt settlement—would be blocked if Ireland were not given full dominion status. It was thus through national and international action that the Irish won their

freedom. The Irish Republic flourishes under the leadership of Dr. DeValera, who was more than once condemned by the British as a common criminal, and even sentenced to death for his fight for freedom. DeValera is carrying on the fight to heal the sore of "the partition of Ireland," which was carried out by the British in accordance with their general policy of "divide and rule." It is, we can be quite sure, only a matter of time till there will be a United Republic of Ireland, free to control the destiny of her people.

For more than a century the British have done their best to spread anti-Indian propaganda all over the world in order to make continued domination of India easier. But a living nation cannot be kept eternally in subjection, and the movement for Indian freedom has survived despite all the attempts to suppress it. In recent years, in the name of preserving law and order, the British had placed tens of thousands of Indian patriots in British concentration camps in India; they had imprisoned, without trials, hundreds of thousands of Indian patriots. To crush the Indian nationalist movement, the leaders of the All-India National Congress—the truly nationalist and non-communal movement—were kept in prison for years without trial and in violation of the so-called laws of India, even of ordinances proclaimed by the Executive. But today the Congress Party is leading the nation toward freedom. The British Government, knowing the fact that it cannot keep India in subjection, has taken steps to lead India toward freedom. Lest there be any misunderstanding, it should be clearly understood that the British are granting the Indian nationalists their just demands because of the intensity of the struggle for freedom in India and also because Britain and America are conscious of the danger of any further increase of Soviet Russian influence in India and other parts of Asia.

Today Britain has violated her solemn promise to the Jewish people and to the world at large, as stated in the Balfour Declaration. Instead of aiding the Jewish people to develop their homeland, the British Government—a Labor Government violating its own election platform—has adopted all kinds of measures to thwart the hopes of the Jewish people for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and even to obstruct and prevent Jewish immigration. But the cause of Jewish freedom will be victorious in spite of the fact that today thousands of Jewish patriots are rotting in British jails and concentration camps. There will be a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine provided Jewish statesmen continue their struggle for national existence. On the fundamental issue there cannot be any compromise; opportunism never succeeds in the long run. The struggle for Jewish freedom should be carried on on a word-wide scale and within the frame of the fight for world freedom. The greatest responsibility, it is clear, lies with the Jews in America, the most considerable and powerful element of the Jewish world today. The Jewish leaders in America and the popular movement behind them are naturally for an American foreign policy which will be for world freedom and thus for Jewish freedom as well. In the past, and even today, Jewish leaders have advocated Anglo-American cooperation. America has been more than generous to Britain, whom she has saved from possible destruction in two wars during the last quarter of a century. Today Britain depends upon American support in world politics and world economics. But no decent Ameriran can support a British policy of terror and the violation of solemn obligations, as it is practised in Palestine against the Jews. Those who believe that the British reign of terror in Palestine must stop and that the American Government should use its influence with the British Government regarding the present situation, should, if need be, use their political power—the ballot—to bring about a change in American policy.

I may be asked whether I condone acts of terror by the Jewish Underground. My answer is: "Repression and injustice invariably give birth to violent reactions, as they did in Ireland in the form of the Irish Republican Army and in India in the so-called terrorist movement." In Palestine the terrorist movement is the result of the denial of justice to the Jewish people. It will disappear with the rise f freedom. This has been the case in every movement for freedom and nationalism. The Jews cannot be an exception to the historic law of violent reaction to repression practised under so-called legal authority.

The Jewish people, who have suffered persecution for ages and yet survived, will outlive the present reign of terror of the British. Their struggle will go on until the cause of freedom becomes victorious. They will, I trust, fight brute force with the higher moral force of non-violent resistance and the help of world public opinion. As for the Jewish Commonwealth itself, it will be founded on the rock of cooperation with, and friendship for, all peoples. Following the teachings of the Prophets, it cannot but become a champion of human freedom for all, irrespective of race and creed.

Palestine Day

On the occasion of the observance of the Palestine Day by the Muslims of India, an Indian Journalist writes in the *Middle East Opinion*, 8th July 1946 that "Indians pledge support to Palestine Arab cause":

President Truman's attitude towards Palestine has pained every peace-loving man in the world. It has now become evident that the Jew-obsessed American Government is determined to force the Arab world to adopt a course which they have avoided till now. The Arabs have left no one in doubt that they will revolt to the point of an all-out Jehad, if England or America tries to implement the recommendations of the Commission of Inquiry, which, according to Soviet views, had no sanction behind it.

against the findings of the Commission. Only one thing, which only I want to tell the Arab world a few of them know and realize, viz., that India will line up with the Arabs in their hour of trial. All Indian political parties have made it clear that they support the Arabs. Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah, the Muslim leader, was quite correct in declaring that the Muslim world will not take it lying down if these monstrous recommendations are sought to be implemented.

INDIAN CHRISTIANS SUPPORT ARABS

Rajah Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, an Indian Christian and a most respected Indian Liberal leader in a letter to "The Dawn" says that: "As one who has twice visited Palestine the last vacation being 1937, I sympathise with the Arabs in their dislike of the recent Anglo-American Commission's proposals. Christian Arabs, who form an appreciable minority in Palestine, stand shoulder to shoulder with Muslim Arabs in their fear of Jewish immigration on a large scale".

INDIA IS WITH THE ARABS

I want to assure the Arabs that Indians, irrespective of religion and political differences, fully support the Arab cause in Palestine. Last month, under the instructions of All-India Muslim League and Jamiat-ul-Ulema Hind, Muslim section of the Indian National Congress, Palestine Day was observed and meetings were held throughout India. A new feature of these meetings, a newspaper reporter says, "that Khudai Khidmatgars, Congress Muslims, Khaksars (non-Muslim Leaguers), and the Ahrars (Independent Muslims) also joined" the meetings organised by the Indian Muslim League. One of these meetings was addressed by the Congress Prime Minister of the North-West Frontier Province of India.

MUSLIM WOMEN ALSO STAND WITH THE ARABS

Muslim women of India have also protested against the findings of the Anglo-American Commission. In India women have been taking active part in politics since 1920. They have stood shoulder to shoulder with their men in the political struggle of their country. It is therefore not surprising that they should declare that "the Muslim women of India are with their Arab brothers and sisters", and "are prepared to help their Arab brothers in every possible way."

MUSLIM STUDENTS SUPPORT FREEDOM FIGHTERS OF PALESTINE

The students of the Muslim University of Aligarh passed a resolution stating that "This meeting of the Muslim University Union vehemently condemns the Anglo-American conspiracy against the Arab people the latest and the most shameless manifestation of which is the Palestine report issued by the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry. Imperialism in its attempt to bolster up reaction everywhere, is running roughshot over the sovereignty of the Palestine people.

"This meeting assures the freedom fighters of Palestine that any action they take to defeat the game of Imperialism will have the full support of the students of this University. The battle cry with which the Palestine students initiated their battle. "We will die so that Palestine may live, should not be abated".

The Muslim students of Agra, another important educational centre, declared that "The Agra Muslim students are prepared to sacrifice their lives for the freedom of the Holy land...."

The Sudan

In an exclusive interview with the editor of *Middle East Opinion*, Ismail Effendi Al Azhari, head of the Sudanese delegation now in Cairo, made the following replies to a questionnaire:

1. What are the definite results obtained by the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations, and its participation in these negotiations?

Reply: "Since its arrival in Egypt, the Sudanese Delegation has been able to contact all the Egyptian political parties and governing bodies, explaining to them the national aims and aspirations of the Sudanese people regarding the future relations between the two countries. These aims have already been published, and may be summarized as follows:

(a) Political union between Egypt and the Sudan under one Crown, with one army, and one foreign representation.

(*b*) The Sudan will have the right to an autonomous democratic government chosen by a freely elected representative assembly and responsible before it. It will assume the fuller responsibility of all internal affairs including a separate budget, the revenues of which will be derived from taxes, from custom dues, etc., raised in the Sudan. As regards the second part of the question, the Delegation has obtained the assurance of His Excellency the Prime Minister of Egypt that the Sudan problem will be tackled immediately after the talks on the evacuation of Egypt proper will have been terminated.

Besides, the majority of the members of the Egyptian delegation have given us the same assurance on the subject. It must further be remembered that all parties in Egypt are consistent on this point and have made it the basis of national demands.

2. How do you explain the Umma Party's hostile attitude towards union with Egypt and what this party represents in the general consensus of Sudanese public opinion?

Reply: The best reply we are able to give to this question is to quote a reference made to this party in a publication issued in March, 1946, by "Inside the Empire".

"There is only one separate political party authorised by the government. It is called the Nation Party, or Umma Party. One point is worth mentioning here. The Congress is not recognized by the Government as a political party. The Umma Party claims complete independence for the Sudan and advocates only friendly relations with England and Egypt. It accepts every Sudanese as a member, educated or illiterate, if he pays five piasters as a subscription for life, or if it is paid for him by the party.

"This party supports the advisory council, and was initiated by the Sudan Government, but indirectly, and is supported by it. It is patronized by Sir Al Sayed Abdel Rahman Al Mahdi. Its important members are big native chiefs of the native administration and high Sudanese officials who are government puppets and from whom the Sudanisation scheme is supplied. All are "yesmen". The party has a daily paper of its own".

3. Would it be possible, under the present circumstances, to obtain a free expression of the Sudanese people's opinion in a plebiscite and would the Sudanese accept the holding of a plebiscite so long as British forces occupy the country?

Reply: No plebescite can be carried out and have any value whatever unless it is made under conditions completely eliminating extraneous pressure on the people. Therefore, it is reasonable to expect that the Sudanese people will not accept the holding of a plebescite unless foreign influence in their country is first done away with.

4. What would be the attitude of the Sudanese in case of failure of negotiations, and what further action would the Sudanese take in the event of such break-down?

Reply: In case of a break-down of the Anglo-Egyptian talks, the Sudan, having linked its political destiny with that of Egypt, will synchronize its attitudes with that adopted by Egypt.

5. Do you feel optimistic after your stay in Cairo,

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NOTES

The London Conference

It is very difficult as yet to assess the value, either way, of the results of the recent hurried conference in London. The British Cabinet, in its attempt at mediation, has raised problems for both parties in trying to retain a non-partisan character for itself. In the statement it has issued, which is flashed in the daily press at the time of writing these notes, there are many factors that might raise fresh problems. It is not possible to discuss them all at this stage but we think a few remarks are called for regarding certain features. The new statement goes on to say :

> The main difficulty that has arisen has been over the interpretation of Paragraph 19 (5) and (8) of the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16, relating to meetings in Sections, which runs as follows :
>
> Para 19 (5)—These Sections shall proceed to settle Provincial Constitutions for the Provinces included in each Section and shall also decide whether any Group Constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and if so, with what Provincial Subjects the Group should deal. Provinces should have power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of Sub-Clause (8) below.
>
> Para 19 (8)—As soon as the new constitutional agreements have come into operation, it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the Legislature of the Province after the First General Election under the New Constituent Assembly.
>
> The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the Sections should, in the absence of an agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the Sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League, but the Congress have put forward a different view. They have asserted that the true meaning of the Statement, read as a whole, is that the Provinces have the right to decide both as to Grouping and as to their own constitutions.
>
> H. M. G. have had legal advice which confirms that the Statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the Statement, as so interpreted, must, therefore, be considered an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which H. M. G. would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should, therefore, be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly.
>
> It is, however, clear that other questions of interpretation of the Statement of May 16 may arise and H.M.G. hope that if the Council of the Muslim League are able to agree to participate in the Constituent Assembly, they will also agree, as have the Congress, that the Federal Court should be asked to decide matters of interpretation that may be referred to them by either side and will accept such a decision, so that the procedure, both in the union Constituent Assembly and in the Sections, may accord with the Cabinet Mission's plan.

It will be seen that this putting forward of the legal advice obtained by the British Cabinet may have the effect of prejudicing the Federal Court. It will also be remarked that no new interpretation of Para 19(8) has been made and therefore the question of "opting out" remains where it was. There can be no question, therefore, of any province being forced to remain inside any group, *per force and ad infinitum*. The most significant paragraph however is the following :

> There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except upon the basis of the agreed procedure. Should the constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which *a large section of the Indian population* had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon *any unwilling parts of the country*.

It will be seen that the effect of this statement cuts both ways. In effect neither Hindusthan *nor Pakistan* can be forced upon *any large section* of the Indian population, on any unwilling parts of the country.

Nehru-Wavell Correspondence

The terms of the Muslim League participation in the Interim Government have been made clear in letters from which extracts were released by Pandit Nehru. In giving the reasons that led to this release, the Government Note says:

> Certain correspondence between the Viceroy and Mr. M. A. Jinnah was published about three weeks ago. This related to the participation of the members of the Muslim League in the Cabinet. A number of letters bearing on the subject and more specially on the terms of the Muslim League's participation in the Interim Government were exchanged between the Viceroy and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Some extracts from these letters are now released to the press for public information.

Extract from the Viceroy's letter of October 4, 1946, to Mr. M. A. Jinnah:

> In a Coalition Government it is impossible to decide major matters of policy when one of the main parties to the coalition is strongly against a course of action proposed. My present colleagues and I agreed that it would be fatal to allow major communal issues to be decided by vote in the Cabinet. The efficiency and prestige of the Interim Government will depend on ensuring that differences are resolved in advance of Cabinet meetings by friendly discussions. A Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all.
>
> Since the basis for the participation in the Cabinet is of course acceptance of the statement of May 16, I assume that the League Council will meet at a very early date to reconsider its Bombay Resolution.

Extract from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of October 14 to the Viceroy:

> It is important for us to understand exactly how he (Mr. Jinnah) proposes to join and what these terms are to which he refers. Various statements in newspapers, and more especially in the official Muslim League organ, are disconcerting in the extreme. Our past experience does not encourage us to rely on vague and ambiguous phrases. These usually lead to misunderstandings and subsequent argument which is not edifying. It is desirable, therefore, to be precise in such matters and to know exactly where we stand.
>
> We know the terms of your broadcast in August last and I have seen your letter to Mr. Jinnah of October 4. I have not seen your letter to him of October 12. I trust that this does not contain anything beyond what was contained in the broadcast or the letter of October 4. If so, we should be informed of it so that we might know what the exact position is.
>
> As I understand it, the offer you made in your broadcast was that five places in the Interim Government could be taken by the Muslim League. In your letter of October 4, you made it clear that a Coalition Government must necessarily work as a team and not a joining together of rival groups which did not co-operate for a common purpose. Further you state that the basis for participation in the Cabinet must, of course, be presumed to the acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's statement of May 16.
>
> It seems to us much better that any possible misunderstanding should be removed at this stage so that, it may not come in our way later on. We have to face a difficult situation. So far as we are concerned we shall make every effort to work co-operatively and as a team. During the last six weeks we have done so with considerable success and to the advantage of our work. Almost every decision of ours, to whatever department it might have belonged, has been taken after joint consultation and agreement.
>
> This has made us to some extent jointly responsible for the working of the various departments and the burden of any particular portfolio has been shared by others. We propose to continue to work in this manner. How far the Muslim League members share this outlook with us I do not know. Any other approach would lead to friction and delay in the disposal of our work. In any event we think it necessary for us to know as fully as possible the terms to which Mr. Jinnah refers in his letter of October 13. If there is any variation or addition to them as contained in your broadcast and your letter of October 4, we should be informed of it.

Viceroy's letter of October 15 to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru:

> Thank you for your letter of yesterday. I enclose a copy of my letter to Mr. Jinnah of October 12. There have been no assurances or explanations to Mr. Jinnah that go beyond the terms of the broadcast and the letters of October 4 and 12.

Extract from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's letter of October 23 to the Viceroy:

> In my correspondence with you and in your letter addressed to me as well as to Mr. Jinnah it was made clear that the Muslim League's joining the Interim Government meant their acceptance of the long-term scheme of the Cabinet Delegation contained in the statement of May 16. I need not trouble you with references to this in various letters. It was pointed out then that a formal decision of the Muslim League to this effect would have to be taken by the council of the League as they had originally passed the resolution of non-acceptance. Nevertheless, it was made clear that the working committee of the League would itself recommend the acceptance of this scheme and the formality could follow soon after. It was on this basis that we proceeded.
>
> We suggest, therefore, that, these two points should be cleared up: (1) The Muslim League's acceptance of the long-term scheme as embodied in the statement of May 16, subject only to a formal ratification by the council of the League at an early date which should be fixed. (2) The approach of the League to the Interim Government and in particular whether Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan's and Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan's speeches recently delivered represent that approach or not.
>
> If this clarification is satisfactory the step to be taken is the allotment of portfolios. The second step cannot precede the first for it is dependent upon it and governed by it.
>
> From past experience you will appreciate how this clarification and precision are necessary in order

to avoid future trouble. This is all the more necessary because the Muslim League are not joining the Interim Government after an agreement with the Congress. Even as it is we welcome their coming in, but that coming in would have little value and in fact might even be harmful to all concerned if it was really a prelude to inner as well as outer conflicts.

Extract from H. E. the Viceroy's letter, dated October 23 to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru :

> I have made it clear to Mr. Jinnah, whom I have seen today, that the Muslim League's entry into the Interim Government is conditional on the acceptance of the scheme of the Cabinet Delegation, contained in the statement of May 25, and that he must call his council at an early date to agree to this.
>
> As I told you, Mr. Jinnah has assured me that the Muslim League will come into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly, with the intention of co-operating. He regrets and condemns, as deeply as you do, the recent disturbances in East Bengal.

Acharya Kripalani's Presidential Address

Acharya J. B. Kripalani, President of the fifty-fourth Session of the Indian National Congress which held its session at Meerut has been asked to wear the "crown of thorns" at a time when "our ship is nearing the harbour which has been so heavily mined." He said, "True, we have not yet achieved the goal of Purna Swaraj, but our representatives and leaders have broken into the citadel of power. This is not the end of foreign domination, but it is surely the beginning of the end, provided we know how to utilise our opportunities."

After giving a short retrospective account of the past six years, Acharya Kripalani explained the constructive revolution in the following words :

> I believe that if the Congress had not taken up the challenge of British imperialism in August 1942, we would not be occupying the position we do today. Nor indeed would the Muslim League and other minorities, though some of them may not like to admit the fact. True, we have not yet achieved our goal of Purna Swaraj. But our representatives and leaders have broken into the citadel of power. This is not the end of foreign domination, but it is surely the beginning of the end, provided we know how to utilise our opportunities.
>
> Our revolutionary movement, based as it is on non-violence, is unique in history. Usually political revolutions have aimed at the destruction of the old order. Their strategy has been designed to capture power. All constructive effort to remould the nation's life has been done after the old order was completely destroyed and power captured. This process has inevitably led not to one but a series of revolutions before things could settle down and constructive effort be begun. Not unoften, the process has led to civil war and ultimately to dictatorship. Both civil war and dictatorship have a tendency to defeat the aims of a revolution. It was so in the French and Russian revolutions.
>
> The Congress under Gandhiji's lead has avoided overemphasis on mere destruction or on the capture of power. It has, on the other hand, laid great emphasis on constructive programme. Its destructive and constructive programmes have been worked side by side for the last 26 years. Indeed, for Gandhiji the only effective preparation for civil disobedience is the intensive carrying out of the constructive programme. Now that Congressmen are at the helm of affairs in many provinces, and even at the centre we have some sort of a national Government, it should not be difficult to intensify our effort and realise the full possibilities of the constructive programme as enunciated by Gandhiji and accepted by the Congress.

He dwelt upon the problem of post-war industrialisation and said that we should not forget that decentralisation alone would help effectively to solve the problem of chronic unemployment of the vast majority of our agricultural population. In his opinion, our agriculture too must largely follow the pattern of decentralised industry.

Speaking on national unity, he said, "In a short time we shall be assembling to form a new constitution for India. Freedom, if not achieved, is surely in sight. The British can no longer deny it to us, whatever their intentions.

Of all the political virtues, unity is the greatest and the most important, provided this unity is not super-imposed by force but is natural and spontaneous.

At present the greatest danger to our freedom are the communal differences, specially between the two major communities, the Hindus and Muslims. The foreigner has taken the fullest advantage of those in the past. Today he finds it his last trump card. He is playing it cleverly and subtly. It is unhistorical, unscientific, unethnic and unnatural to think that the Hindus and the Muslims are two nations. Their interests, social political and economic, are identical. Their common points are innumerable. Their differences can be easily counted and are only skin-deep. The foreigner cannot distinguish the Hindu from the Muslim except by the accident of dress, and that too only if he is familiar with sartorial differences which change from province to province.

Even though the present alien rule has dwarfed Indian genius by an unnatural system of foreign education and the denial of all opportunities of initiative, yet by the mere fact of uniting India under one common misrule, it has released the creative energy of the nation in various fields of thought and action. There has been an Indian renaissance. To think of India then as divided into two nations, Hindu and Muslim, is retrogade and reactionary. It is dividing what nature and history have united.

Kripalani on Constituent Assembly and International Relations

In two brief and compact paragraphs, the Congress President gave an outline of the foundation of the future constitution of India. He said :

> We shall soon be meeting in the Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution of free India. It will be a democratic constitution and will be federal in character. We may not however forget that, in the administrative as in the economic field, centralisation, more than is absolutely necessary, is inimical to liberty. It is good, therefore, that the provinces in free India shall have the maximum autonomy

consistent with external and internal security. But some of our provinces are each as big as a country in Europe. There may be over-centralisation in the administration of the provinces, which too we must avoid. Long ago, how long history does not record, the Indian genius worked on the village and local panchayat. It remained our fort through many a turbulent period. Kings and dynasties fought and failed, empires rose, ruled, misruled and disappeared, but the villager's life maintained its even tenor, away from the din of battle and the rush of rising and falling empires. He had a village-state which protected his life and property and made civilized life possible. Progressively, we must delegate to the village panchayat's judicial powers in petty criminal and civil cases ; the local police too might be put under the charge of the panchayat. If we build upon this village unit of self-government, rehabilitate it to the altered conditions of today, we shall be working in consonance with the genius of our people. This is the natural and the easy way. Merely to copy the West should not be our object. We may also not forget that the West has made, more specially in the big countries, democracy complex and expensive. West has evolved the official red-tape which makes the democratic machinery cumbrous and slow-moving. All these drawbacks we must try to avoid in the new constitution that we may devise.

Our judicial system must be simple and effective. The law's delay and expense and complicity must be avoided. Also there must be ample provision made for the enjoyment of civil liberties. They must be protected even from the arbitrary action of a democratic and representative government. We may not forget that power corrupts even the patriot in office. Ample provision, consistent with the larger interests of the country and the masses, must be made for the protection of minorities. Their language and culture must have free scope for development. There must be absolute tolerance in matters of faith and religion. Every individual and every group must be free to propagate his and its ideas, consistently with the maintenance of peace and public morality.

Explaining his views on the International relations of India with the world, he said that the Congress had for many years taken keen interest in international happenings. With India's national struggle based on non-violence, she has naturally always stood for international disarmament, peace, co-operation and open diplomacy. India believes in a new world order based upon international goodwill and co-operation. India believes that these objects can be achieved by an international organisation consisting of free and equal nations.

"We believe that so long as imperialism exists, whatever international organisation is devised for peace, will inevitably be turned into an instrument of ambition by powerful and unscrupulous nations. It will not be based upon equality, justice and fair play but upon the might of a few dominant nations. There will always be the Big Three, Four or Five. That way lies danger. International thieves and robbers, even as ordinary thieves and robbers, sooner or later, and sooner than later, fall out among themselves, and when they do, they shake the very foundations of the earth as they have done twice within the last thirty years. As long as there are dependent nations, and peoples, so long there will be conflict and war.

A free India will have in the field of international affiliations, connections more natural and more suited to her geographical position than she has under foreign domination. As a matter of fact, up to now we have had no free connection at all. We were bound to the wheel of British international affiliations. Whoever was a friend of imperial Britain was India's friend ; whoever was Britain's enemy became automatically India's enemy. For the sake of British alliances and enmities, India was twice dragged into war at the cost of untold suffering and loss of life. Free India must cast off this heavy burden. We must have a foreign policy of our own.

Though we must develop and maintain equally friendly relations with all nations, our associations with our neighbours in Asia and Australia will naturally be closer. With China and Japan we have long historic and cultural associations. Even today, thanks to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who in the fitness of things is our foreign minister we have cordial relations with China. But we are so much separated from our next-door neighbour that no cable can come from China direct here. It has to come *via* London and takes often more than four hours. All this must be changed. As soon as a democratic Japan, free from its imperial nightmare, comes into existence, India must cultivate its friendship. We may not be obsessed with other peoples' prejudices, be they of the East or the West. We have also cultural bonds with Indonesia and the Eastern islands, which we must develop. Our trade can most profitably flow in these lands to mutual advantage. India and Australia have nothing to lose and much to gain by closer intercourse. Central Asia and the Middle East are other lands with which we have cultural contacts. A fourth of our population professes in common with the inhabitants of these lands the faith of the Prophet. We must renew these contacts and forge new links of friendship. With Soviet Russia too our relations must be closer. With all that we must keep up the connections we already have with the Western democracies.

There is an aspect of our international relation about which it is necessary, in the interest of peace, that we should make our stand clear. And that is that though we make no fetish of national sovereignty and are willing to subordinate its rights to the claims of world peace and co-operation on the basis of perfect equality between all peoples, we will not tolerate interference with the right of our people to choose their form of government or violation of the territorial integrity of India. Whether it is the presence of British troops in India against the wishes of our chosen representatives, or foreign-paid propaganda to create dissensions in our ranks, or the continued occupation of portions of our soil by the Portuguese and the French on whatever pretensions, it is a violation of those fundamental freedoms of which no nation can be deprived. If the British can quit India, as they have unequivocally promised to do, it is ridiculous for the Portuguese authorities to claim that Goa is part of their country thousands of miles away. We congratulate Dr. Rammanohar Lohia for having exposed the gross injustice and indignity to which our compatriots are subjected in Goa. The days of empires are over, and

today when even big and powerful nations are being obliged to give up their empires, it is time that the small nations, in their own interest, should gracefully withdraw from theirs and thus help to remove the main cause of wars between nations."

U. N. O. Security Council and India

The failure of India to secure election to the Security Council of the U. N. O. will be looked upon by the people of Asia as an event of major importance. The election of Belgium to the exclusion of India shows that the nations of Europe have not yet ceased thinking of politics in terms of the nineteenth century balance of power.

The United Nations' power for action is concentrated in the Security Council. The General Assembly of the United Nations is subordinate to the Security Council to even a greater extent than was the Assembly of the League of Nations to its Council. The extent of its subordination is indicated by the fact that the General Assembly cannot even make a recommendation on its own initiative concerning a dispute or situation which is being dealt with by the Security Council. This Council has eleven members, five permanent and six others elected for two years by the General Assembly. The five permanent members are China, Russia, France, Britain and U.S.A. Each member has one vote, in procedural matters any seven votes can decide an issue. But in other matters decision needs seven votes, the five permanent members' votes and two others.

The utility of a member on the Security Council depends among other things upon its military capacity to deal with an aggressor nation. The capacity and willingness of the members of the Security Council will be the best check against any form of aggression. The military strength of India and her economic potential have been amply demonstrated during the two world wars. It is a matter of genuine doubt whether Britain could have pulled through these two wars with American help alone and without the Indian military and economic resources at her back. On this score alone India should have had a seat in the Security Council.

India and China are the two great Asiatic nations who hold between them a third of the total population of the world. Addressing the first session of the United Nations' General Assembly in January last, Mr. Attlee had said, "Things that are discussed in conference here are the concern of all and affect the home and life of every man, woman and child." This denial of a place to India in the Security Council affects not only Indians, but by leaving China alone on the Council it weakens the representation of Asia on the Council.

India and the U.N.O.

India's claim to an adequate share in the administration of the U.N.O. was ably put forward by Mrs. Pandit in her speech to the Assembly. "As a country, geographically in a strategic position in the Indian Ocean with significant relations and cultural ties with her neighbours in Asia, the contribution she has made in resistance to aggression and the cause of human freedom and her role in world economy entitle her to a place in important organs of the United Nations."

It is unfortunate that India failed to secure election to the United Nations' Security Council, while small nations like Columbia, Syria, and Belgium were successful in this respect. This is not surprising. The Indian Delegation had acted with a spirit of independence which was sufficient to displease some of the big powers. Indian representatives at the U. N. O. have been fearless champions of human rights and international morality. Speaking at the Political Committee on M. Molotov's resolution seeking census of troops in enemy and non-enemy countries, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit declared that the Indian Delegation supported the Russian resolution and that "they are glad that the scope of the resolution has been extended to cover former enemy as well as non-enemy territories." "We support the resolution," said Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit, "because we feel it would facilitate implementing Article 43 of the Charter and because it will be a step towards the ultimate objective we all have in minds, namely, a scheme of universal and well-regulated reduction of arms." She further asserted in this connection that India was not happy about the employment of certain Indian troops in Indonesia and Iraq and that the new Indian Government had already insisted upon their early withdrawal.

When the question of new entrants to the U.N.O. was being discussed in the Political Committee, the Indian Delegation kept up its dignified spirit of independence in giving expression to its own views. "Among the applicants," said Mrs. Pandit, "there is in our opinion one country and one only, which is definitely not fitted to be a member of the United Nations. I mean Portugal." In her opinion Portugal had distinctly Fascist leanings. It had not only collaborated with Franco's Spain, but had also a thoroughly reactionary colonial policy, especially in relation to the Portuguese possessions in India. Mrs. Pandit regretted that Eire had not been recommended by the Security Council for membership of the U. N.O., though as a peace and freedom-loving country she was eminently fitted for that. Mrs. Pandit also wanted that Trans-Jordan should be a member of the United Nations. "Even if doubts regarding the degree of independence which Trans-Jordan has obtained were justified, we feel one should not stand in the way of Trans-Jordan's membership of the United Nations." In her opinion applications of Albania and Mongolia also deserved serious consideration. She expressed the Indian Delegation's satisfaction that Afghanistan, Iceland and Sweden were going to be admitted to the United Nations. She also expressed her feeling that if the General Assembly thought that the Security Council had refused to recommend a state for membership on inadequate or unfair grounds, then it was open to, and indeed incumbent on, the General Assembly to ask the Security Council to reconsider its attitude.

The Indian Delegation also expressed their opinion on the Veto system of the U.N.O. Addressing the United Nations' Political and Security Committee Mr. K. P. S. Menon said, "The Indian Delegation feels that the veto, however undemocratic it may seem in theory, is in its essence a reflection of the realities of the international situation." "In our opinion," he added, "what is needed is not to restrict the area of the veto but to regulate its use." He hoped that the Big Five would "come to a Gentleman's agreement regarding the use or, what is more important, refraining from the use of the veto."

It seems that the Indian Delegation has compromised on this issue. The Indian Delegation may

feel that they have shown a responsive gesture to the Soviet Delegation on account of the latter's valuable assistance on the question of India's dispute with South Africa. It should be remembered that the Veto as it stands does not operate merely against the combination of some big powers against one of themselves, but also protects the aggression of a big power over a small nation. M. Andrei Vyshinsky in a fighting speech in defence of the right of veto declared that "the United Nations cannot be powerful if the great nations cannot agree with each other. No one dares to repeat the mistakes of the League of Nations or the League of Vices and Mistakes." But is there any need of a U.N.O. if the great nations are always in agreement? The League of Nations failed because while it could bully small nations, it was powerless to check the aggression of the great. The Veto system of the U.N.O. is only a reproduction of the weakness which destroyed the League of Nations. With the veto in use and the balance of power doctrine in view, the U.N.O. cannot prevent a third world war.

South African Question at the U. N. O.

In arguing for the case against South Africa, which from the point of view of the Indians is the most important item on the agenda of the United Nations Assembly, the Indian Delegation have achieved commendable success. The Indian Delegation had to fight against a form of the Nazi theory of racialism as practised against the Indians and Africans by the Europeans in South Africa and South-West Africa.

General Smuts, the Head of the South African Delegation, spared no pains to justify his anti-Indian and anti-Asiatic measures. Speaking in the Steering Committee of the United Nations' General Assembly on October 24, General Smuts asked that the item on the provisional agenda, "Treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa," should be deleted from the agenda on the ground that Indians in South Africa being South African nationals, the issue raised was a domestic one of the South African Government and as such did not fall within the province of the U.N.O. But this demand of General Smuts was roundly opposed by the Russian and Chinese delegates who fully supported the Indian representatives on the ground that "all members of the United Nations had a right to take part in a debate whenever their proposals were under discussion." M. Andrei Vyshinsky, the Russian representative of the Steering Committee, pointed out that it was the "human rights" which have been violated in this particular problem. "This question," he said, "is not merely an internal problem. It is an international one. Actually it represents a breach of agreements between two States—South Africa and India—concerning the fate of Indian nationals in South Africa."

Justice M. C. Chagla conceded the point made by General Smuts that a large number of Indians have become nationals of South Africa. But "the issue is," he said, "whether the General Committee is competent to rule whether the Indian request should go on the agenda. It should go on the agenda. It is clearly laid down in the rules that the General Committee shall not have the right to decide any political questions."

After some discussions on this point in the Steering Committee ultimately the United States' proposal that a recommendation be made to the Assembly that the question should go both to the Political and Legal committees was approved.

On October 25, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit raised the question of Indians in South Africa in an eloquent manner. She said:

> We have brought before you the treatment of Indians by South Africa, a member-State and a signatory to the Charter. The way this Assembly treats and disposes of this issue is open to the gaze not only of those gathered here but to millions in the world—progressive peoples of all countries, more particularly non-European peoples of the world—who, let it not be forgotten, are an overwhelming section of the human race. The issue we have brought before you is by no means narrow or a local one, nor can we accept any contention that a gross and continuing outrage of this kind against the fundamental principles of the Charter can be claimed by any one, and least of all by a member-State, to be a matter of no concern to this Assembly. Bitter memories of racial doctrines in practice of states and governments are still fresh in the minds of all of us.

She also expressed her concern at the South African proposal that the mandated territory of South-West Africa should be incorporated by South Africa.

On October 30, M. Molotov in his speech to the United Nations' General Assembly strongly supported the Indian cause.

There was a vigorous contest between the Indian Delegation and the South African Delegation in the Trusteeship Committee of the U. N. O. General Smuts claimed that the peoples of South-West Africa desired incorporation into the Union. He tried to show that it is the international responsibility of the Union Government which "precluded it from taking advantage of the war situation by effecting a changing of the status of South-West Africa without proper consultation of all people in the territory itself or with competent international organs." "In any event," he held, "the United Nations' Charter by the use of the term *may* instead of *shall* in Article 77 excluded any obligation to place mandated territories under trusteeship and made the application of the trusteeship system to such territories a matter of voluntary agreement." He was confident that "implementation of the wishes of the inhabitants of South-West Africa is the course both prescribed by the U.N.O. Charter and dictated by the best interests of the inhabitants themselves." He went so far as to threaten that if the Assembly did not agree to the incorporation of South-West Africa then no other course was left to the South African Government "than to abide by the declaration it made at Geneva that it would continue to administer the territory as heretofore as an integral part of the Union and do so in the spirit of the principles laid down in the mandate."

General Smuts also thought that it was improper for Indians to speak against the racial policy of the South African Government, when they had depressed classes in their own country and had so much communal hatred and riots amongst themselves.

Sir Maharaj Singh, the Indian delegate, opposed the South African incorporation demand mainly on the ground that there was no prospect of non-Europeans being treated fairly by the South African Government.

Speaking from personal knowledge of the treatment of the Africans by the Europeans he pointed out how discrimination was made against the Africans in every sphere of life. "There is nothing," he said, "to show that the African population of South-West Africa ever really understood the great issues involved—that they understood the trusteeship system . . . The answers given by tribal chiefs indicate that the nature and objectives of the trusteeship system were not clearly placed before them." He further said, "Additionally many natives were not consulted or were opposed to incorporation and according to newspaper reports, protests from within and without South-West Africa continue to be made. He pointed out that the wishes of the Africans in South-West Africa could not be freely expressed. Due to the educational policy of the South African Government, the number of natives able to appreciate the difference between incorporation and trusteeship was infinitesimal. Moreover, not a single African figured in the long list given in one of the Union's own statements of legislative and executive officers in South-West Africa. Only very recently native representatives in the Council of the Union, in view of their ineffective and advisory status and in disgust at the unfulfilled pledges made by the Union Government adjourned *sine die* as a protest and threatened to resign.

Sir Maharaj Singh was amazed that the Union Government dared to refer to African representation. "The Africans," he said, "have only seven representatives out of 200 in the legislature and even then can only be represented by Europeans and this for a population which is 75 per cent of the whole." He gave the estimate that "Government expenditure on the education of over 7,000,000 Africans in 1940 was £900,000 against £7,000,300 for 2,250,000 Europeans Provisions in respect of old age pensions, hospitals and houses were also similarly based on a policy of discrimination against the non-Europeans. Indeed, Senator Basner, a representative in the South African Senate, recently described the social services to the Africans as being inadequate to a point of indecency. "Let a Committee," proposed Sir Maharaj, "composed of two Europeans, two Americans, two Asiatics and two Africans from outside the Union, visit South Africa and report on the conditions of Africans in the territory to which it is proposed to incorporate South-West Africa and hear their views regarding their treatment."

As regards caste system, Sir Maharaj pointed out that the Field Marshal had "not the remotest idea of conditions prevailing in India." "Every caste," Sir Maharaj said, "has the same legal, political, municipal and civic rights as any other." The Indian delegation, for instance, had 20 members in it belonging to three different creeds and many castes and yet they enjoyed absolutely equal rights. Moreover, "at present in every Cabinet of India, including the Central Government there are one or more members of the so-called Depressed classes working and ruling on absolutely equal terms with the other Ministers and entrusted with important portfolios. Their franchise qualifications have been deliberately lowered. In public services, quotas have been fixed for them on a higher percentage than for others." Lastly, Field Marshal Smuts' reference to communal riots in India could not help his cause. For it was said in reply that "most nations at the threshold of independence passed through such struggles."

In the opinion of Sir Maharaj, "South-West Africa should be placed forthwith within the trusteeship system of the United Nations." He also asked the Committee to recommend that "in determining the terms of agreements, the administering authority for the trust territories under Chapter 12 of the Charter should as a rule be the organisation itself."

It is pleasing to learn that in arguing against South Africa, India was fully supported by delegates from Russia, U.S.A., China, Egypt, Denmark, Norway, Mexico, Syria, Bolivia, Yugoslavia, Haiti and Czechoslovakia in the Trusteeship Committee of the U.N.O.

After much discussion the Trusteeship Committee agreed to appoint two sub-committees to examine all the items on the agenda and rejected a proposal of Field Marshal Smuts for the appointment of a single sub-committee. On both these sub-committees India has been represented.

In her speech to the General Assembly on October 26, Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit pointed out that it was for the first time that an Indian Delegation had been "briefed and accredited by a National Government" of India to speak to an International Assembly "with a full sense of responsibility and authority vested in that government by the confidence and sanctions of our people." "India," she added, "has not yet played a sufficiently effective part in this Assembly. She desires and intends to do so."

India Wins at the U.N.O.

The South African issue came up for further discussions in the General Assembly and the Joint Legal and Political Committee of the U.N.O.

After a heated discussion for some days the Joint Legal and Political Committee of the U.N.O. adopted, in spite of powerful opposition by South Africa in co-operation with the U.K. and U.S., a resolution jointly sponsored by France and Mexico. This resolution reads :

> The General Assembly having taken note of the application made by the Government of India regarding the treatment of Indians in the Union of South Africa and having considered the matter : first, states that because of that treatment friendly relations between two members states have been impaired and unless satisfactory settlement is reached these relations are likely to be further impaired ; secondly, is of opinion that the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between the two governments and relevant provisions of the Charter ; thirdly, the Committee, therefore requests the two governments to report at the next session of the General Assembly measures adopted to this effect.

The Indian resolution on this point was very much similar to this French-Mexican resolution, the difference being mainly in the fact that while the former definitely stated that "the Union Government's discriminatory treatment of Asiatics in general and Indians in particular constitutes a denial of human rights and fundamental freedoms and is contrary to the Charter," the latter only stated that "the treatment of Indians in the Union should be in conformity with international obligations under the agreements concluded between

the two governments and relevant provisions of the Charter."

The Indian resolution was withdrawn and the French-Mexican resolution was allowed to stand.

Field Marshal Smuts tried to persuade the members of the U.N.O. to agree to his suggestion that the matter be referred to the International Court of Justice. If he had succeeded it would have turned the Indian issue from a political into a legal one. But as a matter of fact, India's case against South Africa is primarily political and to evade it by a legal dodge is to deny the very purpose of the U.N.O. of "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." Justice Chagla was perfectly right when he pointed out that the General Assembly was quite competent to deal with the Indian complaint, for, it was a political body. Besides, as he further said, "It would be fatal for this body to allow the Court of International Justice to be dragged into politics."

However, India finally won her case when the French-Mexican resolution came up before the General Assembly. It was carried by 32 votes against 15 with 7 abstentions. The South African amendment referring the Indian dispute to the International Court was defeated by 31 votes to 21 with two abstentions. Delegates from Russia, Phillipines, Panama, Egypt and Poland warmly supported India's case, while U.K., Belgium and Netherlands spoke in favour of South Africa.

Sir Hartley Shawcross, the British delegate, was chief spokesman on behalf of South Africa. In a vehement speech, he supported South Africa's stand for referring the dispute to the International Court. Appealing to the delegates to treat the matter "coldly and dispassionately," Sir Hartley declared, "The question is not what are the merits, but what are the powers which we possess in this matter. This is not a matter to stir up our emotions."

The Russian Vice-Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky, said that there had been no denial of the existence of discriminatory legislation in South Africa. He referred to the Laws of 1904 and 1908 limiting residential areas in which Indian could live which he termed as "actual ghettos." He also referred to the immigration legislation of 1913, marriage laws which forbade the marriage of Europeans and Indians, legislation which denied franchise to Indian women at a time when White women were given a vote and also to "Law 18 of 1924 which prohibited any Indian from walking on sideways." He continued, "South Africa—the accused—under the weight of arguments presented now had no way out. The South African delegation was therefore shifting the matter from a political level to a legal level. The British representative Sir Hartley Shawcross had proved to be a good lawyer for South Africa having shown unquestionable ability which might, however, have found a more suitable application. It is quite obvious that the complaint of the Indian delegation is of an international character within principles of the United Nations and most specifically of the General Assembly, which must definitely assent to that particular interpretation of the case. I feel that it is founded on political grounds as well as on social grounds." Referring to the Cape Town Agreement of 1927, M. Vyshinsky went on: "How can we possibly say that this is an internal question? How can we possibly argue that it is not an international question?"

M. Vyshinsky declared that he disagreed with F. M. Smuts' interpretation of the Charter in the Article dealing with domestic jurisdiction.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit in her reply said that Sir Hartley Shawcross' speech had shattered the Indian hope that the British Commonwealth would at least remain neutral in this controversy which vitally concerns one of its most important members. But he had spoken in a manner which India considered as entirely partisan, however full of dialectical skill it might be. She said, "I shall only deal with two points: Sir Hartley made the suggestion that any resolution passed by this Assembly by a narrow majority is not obligatory and therefore he suggests that we should get a decision of the International Court. What is obligatory about the decision of the International Court? Is this all the respect that members of this great organisation are going to show to resolutions passed by this Assembly if the decisions happen to go against them? The second point is a reference by Sir Hartley to the unfortunate but I hope temporary differences which exist in India and which are much in evidence in the American press today. I regret that I must say that Sir Hartley has not shown good taste in referring to these differences which he knows have been brought about largely by the role the British Government has played between various elements in our country in the long history of Indo-British relations. He has ferred to these differences with evident and unconcerned glee. I leave this Assembly to form its own view on this. India is struggling for freedom and at the same time grappling with her internal difficulties with every hope of overcoming them."

The resolution was then put to vote declaring that it was an "important question" which meant that a two-thirds majority was required to get it passed. Voting on the South African amendment first took place. The amendment was defeated by 31 votes to 21 with two abstentions, the two abstainers being Afghanistan and Bolivia. The French-Mexican resolution was then put to vote and it received the requisite two-thirds majority with 32 for and 15 against it with seven abstentions. Among those who abstained were Denmark, Sweden and Turkey.

This is India's most signal victory at the U.N.O. U.S.A. and U.K's support for Smuts in his advocacy for racial discrimination against the people of Asia has probably been the most notable feature of the South African debate. The high hopes that Asiatic nations had placed on these "arsenals and champions of democracy" have proved totally false at the first touch of reality. It is hardly a year since World War II was over and the delegates of U.S.A. have tacitly disowned the "Four Freedoms" declaration which emanated from their own country. As for Britain, it is strange that the representative of a Socialist government, that is apparently doing all it can to forge new ties and to eradicate old evils, should thus give the lie direct to all the claims of his government that the British Empire would henceforward be a Commonwealth of Nations on terms of equality with each other.

Why the Jamiat Opposes the League

The *Tribune* has published an article written by Pir Ali Mohammad Rashidi in which he has explained the reasons why the Jamiat is opposing the League. "A good deal of confusion exists," the writer says, "as to

our stand *vis-a-vis* the forthcoming Sind Assembly elections. Being Muslims ourselves, why are we opposing the League ? Why is it not possible that we should throw in our lot with the League ? Are we really a branch of the Congress ? If so, why ? And finally what do we propose to do in the event of our success in the elections ?" These are the questions that have been agitating not only the mind of the writer but the minds of the people as well, and therefore the learned Pir has sought to answer them. Discussing the question from the viewpoint of a prominent Muslim dignitary, he says :

"Why can we not see our way to rejoin the League ? I am convinced that the Muslim League has scuttled itself and that whatever it has been doing of late constitutes but the last kicks of a dying monster. Both in the all-India as well as in the provincial field it has failed at any rate : its contribution in the cause of freedom or human progress has nowhere been such as should enable any decent citizen of the modern world to feel proud of. We are after all not living in the stone age ; intellectual evolution of mankind has reached a pitch where nature herself is unable to conceal from the human eye many of her once incomprehensible mysteries. Man can see through everything and can judge it by certain positive standards. The age of camouflage is gone. Certainly it is not a religious body of Muslims in the sense that the code of life which is being followed by the high pontiffs of the League is not the code of life laid down by Islam. Things forbidden in Islam are the things most favoured by the League hierarchy. To facilitate comparison, visualize an ideal Muslim conforming to the standards set up by the Holy Quran and then compare him with the highest League leader. The disparity would be simply staggering.

Piety, austerity, simplicity, urge for freedom, love of peace, good and just government, spirit of sacrifice, humility, justice and feelings of good neighbourliness were once the essential attributes of a true Muslim. It is mainly in Bengal and Sind that the League has had its own way in implementing what it stood for. What is our experience there ? If what is being done in these two provinces in the name of Islam is really what Islam holds out to humanity, it cannot be regarded a religion but a curse. But far from it Islam envisages everything diametrically and fundamentally opposed to what is being done under its garb by our League friends. Nay, the doings of the League leaders I dare say constitute an organised and open revolt against Islamic values. Such a body by no stretch of imagination can have any pretensions to being a religious body of Muslims."

The Pir next discusses the claim of the League as a political body and its ideas and methods of achieving Pakistan. He writes :

Is it then a political body ? What is its politics ? Is Pakistan the be-all and end-all of its existence ? If so, what is Pakistan ? Has it ever been defined ? No. Does it envisage the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth ? No. On the contrary, that idea has been strongly repudiated by Mr. Jinnah himself in the course of his address to the League Legislators' convention held at Delhi in April last. Does it imply establishment of separate sovereign States of Muslims? Certainly not. Because on June 6 the League by its express resolution had accepted the Cabinet Mission's Plan which, while turning down the League demand for division, had upheld the principle of undivided and united India invested at its centre with all the attributes of sovereignty. The later performance at Bombay was a mere moonshine ; it was only an expression of monetary anger over denial of jobs in the Interim Government. Now that these crumbs have been actually thrown at it, the Bombay decision has evaporated into thin air and the nation reverts to the same sorry position created on June 6. That is all about Pakistan.

Besides, it created disruption in India and prevented India's freedom in 1942. In 1946, in spite of its betrayal by the British, it has joined the Interim Government, *not because the British or the Viceroy had granted it Pakistan or any other concession but because, scared by the Congress members of the Interim Government, the Viceroy wanted some refractory and discordant elements within the Cabinet whose presence there would ensure full play of his powers of veto.* Can such an ideal appeal to any Muslim's sense of self-respect ? Will such a state of voluntary degradation in any way conduce to the achievement of India's freedom or of even Pakistan ? A Muslim's true role is never to submit to slavery in any form or shape. To work for the continuance of a Viceroy's veto is the most humiliating job that can be assigned to a member of a slave nation in the year 1946. And what is the price which this slave has paid : The Cabinet Mission Plan which means massacre of every idea and ambition that he once cherished.

To the sad story of sabre rattling at Bombay followed by an abject capitulation a month later, as also Yusuf Haroon's prowls in Paris to get a glimpse of Molotov have only added insult to injury. It has convinced the world that the modern Muslim of India is merely a bully and deserves only to be treated as such. He lacks self-confidence and strength of character, he is incapable of making sacrifices, he lives merely on his wits.

Viewing with great disapprobation the rampant corruption and oppression in the Governments under the League, the Pir says, "No more glorious has been the League's role in the field of provincial administration. Sind's corruption and oppression and Bengal's Noakhali furnish the most outstanding examples of the conditions it is out to create. It is a slur on Islam to have such governments functioning under its holy banner. Is that what you want to bring about if and when Pakistan is established ? Thus in every field the League's failure has been a colossal and complete one. Confusion and capitulation at the Centre and corruption and moral and administrative degeneration in the provinces have been its only contributions. Are we still to hang on to it ? Under these circumstances the only alternative left with any sincere Muslim is to hold on to the Muslim Jamiat which stands for free Islam in a free India and for clean and pure conditions in the provinces."

The Rehabilitation Problem in Bengal

It seems to have dawned at last on the stalwarts of the League, that the continuity of communal tension and disturbances is equally bad for the prospects of Pakistan as it is for that of Nationalist India. A new

note has, therefore, crept into their utterances of late and exhortations to their followers. Though it is rather late in the day, still we would welcome this change of attitude, if we could but see any signs of their words being translated into deeds. In Bengal, we have not yet seen any vestige of an attempt by the League Ministry, or their masters of the League High Command, to restore confidence or to render aid in the task of rehabilitation to the Hindu section of the population. All the energy, resources and all the sympathy—whatever the extent and quality—at their disposal seem to be reserved for the Muslim refugees from Bihar. The treatment meted out to the Hindu sufferers in Bengal by its League Government can only be termed as miserable, miserly and insincere in the extreme, when it is compared to the efforts of the Congress Government of Bihar in its dealings with the Muslim sufferers of that province.

Here in Calcutta, the home city of this paper, there are large areas, such as Park Circus, Entally, Beniapukur, etc., where the Hindus still remain dispossessed of valuable house property, although months have passed since August 16th. The few that did venture back to their hearth and home have had to retreat hurriedly under continued threats of molestation by the hooligans of the locality who have been left in complete control of those areas. The promises and proposals of the officially sponsored peace committees have proved to be miserable eye-wash only, in the experience of the dispossessed. Therefore, we are forced to conclude, until concrete evidence to the contrary be forthcoming, that there is no change of heart in the League administration of Bengal, the protestations of their mouthpieces notwithstanding.

If matters be such at the very nerve-centre of the Government, it does not take much to imagine how things stand in the outlying Eastern areas of the province. With the press gagged and communications rendered difficult and dangerous through the action of hooligans, there is a virtual news-black-out over those tracts. The little that trickles through the slender channels left is anything but reassuring. Officialdom seems to be reluctant in the extreme to take any action, be the cause pure in capacity or be it from more sinister motives. The only hope of the Hindu of East Bengal lie in Mahatma Gandhi's experiment. If that fails and he is left to the tender mercies of the League administration, with its present constitution and mental calibre, then he is lost indeed !

The following extracts from the *Harijan* of December 1, give the reasons that led to Gandhiji's experiment :

> I find myself in the midst of exaggeration and falsity. I am unable to discover the truth. There is terrible mutual distrust. Oldest friendships have snapped. Truth and *ahimsa* by which I swear, and which have to my knowledge sustained me for sixty years, seem to fail to show the attributes I have ascribed to them.
>
> To test them, or better, to test myself, I am going to a village called Shrirampore, cutting myself away from those who have been with me all these years, and who have made life easy for me.
>
> From all accounts received by me, life is not as yet smooth and safe for the minority community in the villages. They, therefore, prefer to live as exiles from their own homes, crops, plantations and surroundings, and live on inadequate and ill-balanced doles.
>
> How long this suspense will last, is more than I can say. This much, however, I can. I do not propose to leave East Bengal till I am satisfied that mutual trust has been established between the two communities and the two have resumed the even tenor of their life in their villages. Without this there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan—only slavery awaits India, torn asunder by mutual strife and engrossed in barbarity.

It is needless to say that there has not been any marked change in the situation as yet, thanks to the supine indifference of the authorities. The solution to the problem has been rightly given by Mahatma Gandhi in his talk delivered at Chandpur on November 7, to a group of workers, as the following extracts from the same issue of the *Harijan* would show :

> "What goes against the grain in me," Gandhiji told them, "is that a single individual can be forcibly converted or a single woman can be kidnapped or raped. So long as we feel we can be subjected to these indignities, we shall continue to be so subjected. If we say we cannot do without police or military protection, we really confess defeat even before the battle has begun. No police or military in the world can protect people who are cowards. Today you say, thousands of people are terrorizing a mere handful, so what can the latter do ? But even a few individuals are enough to terrorize the whole mass, if the latter feel helpless. Your trouble is not numerical inferiority but the feeling of helplessness that has seized you and the habit of depending on others. The remedy lies with you. That is too why I am opposed to the idea of your evacuating from East Bengal *en masse*. It is no cure for impotence or helplessness."
>
> "East Bengal is opposed to such a move," they replied.
>
> "They should not leave," Gandhiji resumed. "Twenty thousand able-bodied men prepared to die like brave men non-violently might today be regarded as a fairy tale. But it would be no fairy tale for every able-bodied man in a population of 20,000 to die like stalwart soldiers to a man in open fight. They will go down in history like the immortal five hundred of Leonidas who made Thermopylae." And he quoted the proud epitaph which marked the grave of Thermopylae heroes :
>
> *Stranger ! Tell Sparta, here her sons are laid,*
> *Such was her law and we that law obeyed.*
>
> "I will proclaim from the housetops," he continued, "that it is the only condition under which you can live in East Bengal."
>
> "But here we are a mere drop in the Ocean," remarked another friend resuming the discussion.

Gandhiji replied that even if there was one Hindu in East Bengal, he wanted him to have the courage to go and live in the midst of the Mussalmans and die if he must like a hero. He should refuse to live as a serf and a slave. He might not have the non-violent strength to die without fighting. But he could command their admiration if he had the courage not to submit to wrong and died fighting like a man.

Inter-Provincial Migration

Sir Walter Gurner, Relief Commissioner for Bengal, raised the question of inter-provincial migration at a Press Conference in Calcutta. He said that there had been an influx of refugees into West Bengal from Bihar and there were 16,000 refugees at Asansol. Some of them were also going to Dinajpur and the movement was continuing. Sir Walter pointed out that under the Government of India Act, migration within India from or into a Governor's or Chief Commissioner's province was a subject for the Central Legislature. No indication had yet been received from the Central Government of any policy which they proposed to adopt in the matter, Sir Walter added. He said that while the Bengal Relief Department were taking no steps to attract refugees from Bihar into Bengal, they must undertake all measures possible to deal with the situation arising from the migratory trend and would arrange for such measures as appeared necessary to meet any further development. Bengal's League Government has already earned a notoriety for its dual policy in all spheres of administration, the dividing line being that of communal discrimination. Only a few days ago, the refugees from Noakhali were told that any further relief to them would be stopped if they did not return to their respective homes within a week. But in the case of Bihar, Sir Walter expressed his eagerness "to arrange for such measures as appeared necessary to meet any further development."

This problem of migration has been still further aggravated by the League's latest demand for exchange of populations. Migration of whole groups of people from one administration to another without any certainty of finding any means of livelihood is most certainly a problem which has to be tackled by some administration, Central or Provincial. Any person from any province of India should undeniably have the right to settle in any other province, but that must be done along recognised channels, that is either by the acquisition of property by normal methods or by securing a useful means of livelihood. Where persons in large groups leave their homes where they have had habitat for generations, and migrate to a new location with an unknown and indeterminate future before them, they are likely to become a burden and to cause distress to the inhabitants of the new locality. For this means an increase of pressure on the soil and enhancement of the strain on the finances of the province that receives the immigrants. This is particularly true for Bengal where the pressure of population on land is already exceedingly high and whose public finances are probably the weakest in India at the present moment.

Sir Walter Gurner has thrown the responsibility on the Centre. If the Centre accepts the responsibility, they must make necessary laws and regulations for the control of such wholesale movement of populations or, in the alternative, it should draw the attention of the provinces concerned to their responsibilities in the matter. In the case of Bihar refugees, the Government of Bihar finds no reason for this exodus to Bengal. The drastic action against lawlessness and the vigorous action for rehabilitation has already infused confidence in the hearts of many of the refugees who have moved back to their old homes. This sincere attempt to create confidence in the minds of the refugees in Bihar stands in sharp contrast to what is happening in Noakhali.

In the absence of any statement from the Centre, free scope will be given to the mischievous propaganda that is trying to disrupt still further the already strained inter-communal relationships.

Exchange of Population

Addressing a Press Conference at Karachi on November 25, Mr. Jinnah has suggested exchange of populations as a preventive for communal disturbances. He said, "In view of the horrible slaughter in the various parts of India, I am of the opinion that the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population to avoid brutal recurrence of that which had taken place where small minorities have been butchered by the overwhelming majorities."

This idea has been described as fantastic by most of those who lead public opinion in India. Gandhiji said he could not think of it. The most pointed reply was delivered by Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, a Liberal leader, in the following words:

> The scheme of exchanging populations, advocated by Mr. Jinnah at a Press Conference in Karachi is *hopelessly impracticable*. Mr. Jinnah's scheme of establishing Pakistan in the Punjab with the 48 per cent of non-Muslim population and in Bengal with 42 per cent non-Muslim population and in Assam with the non-Muslim population in a majority was highly fantastic and impracticable. His new plea for exchange of population, if practicable, is a counsel of perfection but unfortunately, it is still more fantastic and impracticable than the original Pakistan scheme.
>
> Are the Sikhs in the Punjab, with their Gurudwaras and religious places like the Golden Temple at Amritsar, to be turned out from their homelands? And where are they to be located? What is to become of their estates and properties and fertile lands in the Punjab? Where are the Muslims in the Bombay presidency to be transferred and what is to become of their business and commercial interests in this presidency? Where are the Mullaji Saheb and his *borah* followers to be transferred? Where are the Aga Khan and his *khoja* followers to be sent away? Will the Chinoys, Habibs, Munjees, Rahimtoolas, the Yusuf and Killedars agree to leave this presidency and go to what are styled as the homelands of the Muslims in the Punjab? Where is the room for establishing in the Hindu majority provinces the 42 per cent non-Muslims of Bengal and 48 per cent of non-Muslims of the Punjab? Is the Muslim minority population of the Hyderabad State to be transferred and where? Is the minority Hindu population in Kashmir to be transferred and where? Is the Hindu minority of Sind to be transferred and if so, where?

The exchange of population now advocated by Mr. Jinnah is a hopelessly impracticable scheme. The real position is that but for the cleavage and antagonism created by politicians there has really been no antagonism or cleavage of interests between the two communities. They have lived in peace together for centuries. Even in the worst phases of recent disturbances in various parts of the country, there have been splendid examples of Muslims at great personal risk protecting their Hindu brothers and, *vice versa*, Hindus protecting Muslims. Instead

of magnifying differences and representing that members of one community are the enemies of the other community and are out to destroy them, it behoves leaders of both communities to strive to restore harmony and remove misunderstandings. To advocate the exchange of population is certainly not a move calculated to bring about such harmony.

There has been much discussion about the dissimilarity of language, custom and way of life between Muslims of different provinces. The Pathans of the Frontier are much more akin to the Hindus of that place than to their co-religionists in Bengal. Apart from practicability the very idea of huddling a number of motley inter-provincial groups of Hindus and Muslims, uprooted from their ancestral homes and familiar surroundings, in unfamiliar places, is bound to lead to complications of a still further antagonistic nature. World history provides ample evidence to show that religion cannot provide any cement for the unification of different languages, customs and ways of life. If that were possible, Europe, after nearly two milleniums of Christianity, would not have been divided into so many warring states.

League Administration in Bengal

The Muslim League Government of Bengal have amply demonstrated how the resources of a Government can be used in favour of a section of people against the interests of the other. In Bengal, nearly three-fourths of the total revenue of the province is contributed by the Hindus but these resources are being used against them. The best example of the misuse of governmental machinery for communal ends is provided by the Calcutta Police. The Calcutta Police is a force meant to maintain law and order in the city. It has no connection with the Bengal Police. Muslims form only 24 per cent of the population of Calcutta, but under the League Administration they have come to occupy almost all the key-positions in the city's police.

The Calcutta Police force is composed with the Commissioner of Police as the head and Deputy Commissioners, Assistant Commissioners, Divisional Detective Inspectors and Officers-in-charge of Police Stations. The Commissioner has the following sections under him, each in charge of one or more Deputy Commissioners: (1) Head Quarters, North District, South District, Port Police, Detective Department, Special Branch, Public Vehicles Enforcement Branch and Security Control. A few additional posts of Deputy Commissioners have been created since the August riots, *viz*, (*i*) Deputy Commissioner, peace, (*ii*) Special Officer for holding inquiries into the riots, and (*iii*) Additional Deputy Commissioner for the North District. The composition of the Deputy Commissioners up till recently was as follows:

1. *Head Quarters*: European
2. *Receivership*: Hindu
3. *Peace*: Muslim
4. *Special Officer*: European
5. *Detective Department*: Hindu
6. *Enforcement Branch*: Hindu
7. *North District Town*: Muslim
8. *North District Suburbs*: European
9. *South District, Town and Suburbs*: Muslim
10. *Port*: European
11. *Public Vehicles*: Hindu
12. *Special Branch*: European
13. *Special Branch, Additional*: Muslim
14. *Security Control*: Two Europeans

The European Additional Deputy Commissioner for North District Suburb has since been transferred and both Town and Suburbs of this District have once again been placed under the charge of the same Muslim officer. A number of public complaints against this officer ventilated in the Press had led to the appointment of the Additional Deputy Commissioner, and after the agitation had died down the latter has been quietly removed. Of these Deputy Commissionerships, four, *viz*, (*i*) Head Quarters, (*ii*) North District, (*iii*) South District and (*iv*) Special Branch Additional are the most important. The first controls the Armed Police, the second and the third control all the 25 Police Stations of the City which maintain law and order and investigate crimes. and the fourth controls the detection machinery. The first is a European and the remaining three Muslims.

There are 17 Assistant Commissioners of whom 8 are Hindus, 6 European and 3 Muslims. Of the Assistant Commissioners only four are concerned with the maintenance of law and order and investigation of crimes. Of these, two are Hindus and two Muslims.

There are seven Divisional Detective Inspectors for the investigation of crimes. They held jurisdiction for three or four police stations according to the importance of the stations. Of these 7 D.D.I's, 5 are Muslims and only 2 Hindus.

Next come the Officers-in-charge of the police stations. The maintenance of law and order, as well as the investigation of all cognisable offences is vested in the two District Police Staff. Calcutta is divided into two districts consisting of 24 Police Stations and an outpost, which is also treated as a full-fledged Police Station. There are two stations in the Port Police, their jurisdiction being mainly the Hooghly river and its eastern bank. The 25 district police stations are under the two Deputy Commissioners, North and South. There are 12 stations under D.C. North and 13 under D.C. South. Each of them has two Assistant Commissioners under them, one for the Town and the other for Suburbs. Each A.C. has six police stations under him, the seventh being under A.C. South Suburbs. The Deputy Commissioners of the two Districts are the supreme heads of administration, maintenance of law and order, investigation of crimes. They are also justices of peace. They have first class magisterial powers so far as the discharge of an accused in custody is concerned.

The population, under the following stations, is predominantly Hindu: A, B, C, D, F, I, M, N, T, U, V. Of these the Officers-in-charge of five stations, B. C. I. U. V. are Muslims. Under the following stations, the population is predominantly Muslim: J, O, P, Q, R, W and W. Op. All the Officer-in-charge of these seven stations are Muslims. Under the following stations, the population is mixed: E. G. H. K. L. S. X. The Officers-in-charge of three of these seven stations are Muslims. Thus fifteen out of twenty-five police stations have Muslim Officers-in-charge in a city where the Muslim population is only 24 per cent. It will also be noticed that in all the Muslim areas, the Officers-in-charge are Muslims. In areas where Muslims are in minority, many Muslims have been posted as Officers-in-charge, but not a single Hindu officer has been posted in a Muslim area.

Of the Divisional Detective Inspectors' jurisdictions, three are in predominantly Hindu areas, three Muslim areas and one mixed. The two Hindu D.D.I's are posted in charge of two Hindu areas, the remaining five Muslim D.D.I's having been posted to hold charge of all the three Muslim areas, the third Hindu area and the mixed one.

Just before the riots, an experienced Hindu officer had been posted as Deputy Commissioner, North. He succeeded in restoring order within a few days and in order to achieve this success he had to be hard on the Muslim hooligans. This was apparently not liked by the League Ministry. This officer was removed and a junior and inexperienced Muslim was posted there. The hooligans probably took this change as a victory and riots broke out again from the very day this new officer took charge.

Serious allegations were made in the Bengali press of partial treatment by the Muslim officers on communal lines during and after the riots in the matter of the recording of complaints, investigations, arrests and granting of bail to persons taken in custody. There were wholesale arrests in Hindu localities on a mere pointing of the finger by any Muslim complainant while for murderous assaults in a Muslim locality nobody was arrested. Muslim complainants were brought from their homes or Relief Centres in police lorries under armed guards for recording of their complaints and identification of the accused and then escorted back to their respective places of safety. No such help was afforded to the Hindu complainants and the Police stations in the Muslim areas, all under Muslim Officers-in-charge, were thus rendered inaccessible. The Deputy Commissioners of the two Districts being Muslims, the Hindu officers had to serve the Muslim complainants in this blatant discriminatory fashion. It has been openly alleged that Hindu complainants had been driven away from the police stations or had been studiously kept unattended for hours together in such a manner that they had to leave the premises in despair or disgust. When cognisance had to be taken under pressing circumstances, no action was taken to arrest the offenders. There have been public complaints of very serious nature against Muslim police officials, but no action has been taken against them.

The efficiency of the entire police force has been sacrificed in order to achieve communal ends. Most of the Officers-in-charge of police stations were junior and inexperienced men, mostly drawn from the rank of Assistant Sub-Inspectors officiating as Sub-Inspectors. Previous custom was to post senior Inspectors in charge of big stations mostly, others not being below the rank of senior Sub-Inspectors. The lowering of the standard had to be made in order to enable Muslim officers to hold key-posts among police stations. Burrabazar and Jorasanko Police Stations are not only the two biggest in Calcutta, but they are the two biggest and the most important stations in the whole of India. Both of them were manned by officiating Sub-Inspectors or A.S.I's, *i.e.,* men of the fourth rank in the police force equivalent to head-constables. The risk of leaving such big police stations in charge of officers of this description seems to have been realised during the disturbances. Recently nine Inspectors have been posted to take over charge as Officers-in-charge of nine stations, but the remaining 16 stations have been left as they were.

Both of the two District Deputy Commissioners have been Muslims for about six years past. Since the disturbances, when their communal leanings and their tactics in the matter of postings for the achievement of communal ends were exposed, there was a public demand for the replacement of at least one of them by a senior Hindu officer. The postings at police stations are done by the Police Commissioner as a matter of routine on the recommendation of these two District D.C's. It was only after the disturbances, when the utilisation of the entire police force for communal purposes came to light, that this demand for having a Hindu D.C. began to grow strong. But no attention has been paid to this just and fair demand of the Hindu citizens of Calcutta who form three-fourths of the City's population. This just demand, if conceded, would have removed a good deal of suspicion from Hindu mind and would have greatly helped in restoring general confidence.

The Police Administration of Calcutta is not an isolated phenomenon, it is really a *replica* of Bengal's Administration under the Muslim League Government. Inefficiency, corruption and communal partisanship are at a premium. Efficient and honest officers have been relegated to routine jobs in order to make room for the communal hot favourites. An impartial inquiry into the working of the police stations of Calcutta since August 16 last may reveal that many of them have been virtually converted into offices of the Muslim League.

Jinnah Through Chinese Eyes

The *Bharat Jyoti* publishes a *Free Press* report from Chungking which states that the formation of India's first Interim National Government and the recent elevation of the status of India's and China's diplomatic legations to that of Embassies has stirred China. The *Chinese Press* working at the time of a civil war and reserving more space for war news and domestic political tension, still continues to follow closely developments in India, including the communal riots.

The Chinese press generally sympathises with the Congress, but at the same time it seems to recognise the Muslim League as representing the entire Muslim population of India. But beyond that it condemns unreservedly the terrorist tactics of the unlawful elements of the Muslims and the intransigence of Mr. Jinnah. For instance, a prominent Shanghai daily, *Chinese Press,* wrote editorially on October 26 :

> The appeal made by the Muslim League President Mohammad Ali Jinnah two days ago, shows that he is at last beginning to 'talk sense.' In his appeal, to both Hindus and Muslims, Jinnah says that the communal riots in Bengal and elsewhere have discredited Indians before the eyes of the world. In the same breath, he asks his followers to 'stand by the principles of Islam, to help restore order and redeem the fair name of Islam,' by protecting the weak and showing complete tolerance, which is all well said after the damage is done, but why did not Mr. Jinnah come out with the same before the riots, when lives still could have been saved.

In our previous editorials we have pointed out that Jinnah's bellicose utterances could lead to only one thing—wholesale murder. And they did. Had

Jinnah seriously considered the consequences then, many an Indian woman would not now be a widow, and many a Indian child an orphan. But Jinnah refused to think, refused to see reason. Now he is trying to worm his way out of a discreditable situation, trying to cry over blood which was shed, *thanks to his irresponsible leadership.*

Let Jinnah remember that he is an Indian first, a Muslim only after. When all Indians realise that their nationalities are stronger than their religious ties then, and only then, will there be peace. Let Jinnah stop harping about religion and get down to the task of uniting India in body as well as soul. And that means deeds, not empty words, especially words after the damage has been done.

Badshah Khan Through Tory Eyes

Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, also known as Frontier Gandhi and Badshah Khan, is one of those selfless workers who have dedicated their lives to the cause of Freedom. He is more an organiser and worker than a speaker. On more than one occasion, the President's Chair of the Indian National Congress was offered to him, only to be declined. He prefers the silent worker's life to that of a leader. During the past few weeks, he delivered a few home thrusts to Lord Wavell and through him to the British politicians of open or secret conservative leanings. Since then, the attention of a section of the British has been focussed on him and the British weekly *News Review* has produced a characteristic slanderous life-sketch. Here is an extract from it :

> At one time Gaffar Khan was Britain's biggest headache on the Frontier; with the Fakir of Ipi, merely providing a sideline in good hunting and useful training for inexperienced young British officers. The restless son of a well-to-do landowner from Charsadda, Gaffar was educated at the loyal Edwardes Mission School in Peshawar's well-guarded Cantonment ; never a bright lad, he failed his Matriculation examination and was barred from a Government post.
>
> For a time he did sporadic welfare work in frontier villages, but after serving a prison sentence in 1919 for criticising the Government, he became embittered. A year later he was arrested again and charged with importing Russian stick bombs ; this arrest angered him still more, for it interfered with his riotous marriage ceremonies.
>
> By 1923, he had joined hands with Congress and organised the Red Shirts to fight for India's complete independence. His sizable army had a printed "Red Shirt Infantry Training Manual," two large training camps, a special flag, and plentiful supplies of a collapsible short-barrelled 16-bore shot-gun sighted for lethal bullets.

Outlook in Hyderabad

The second despatch of the special Hyderabad correspondent of the *Independent* has been published. We had dealt with the first one in our last issue. In this one, he has discussed the present political situation. The State Administration have announced a Scheme of Reforms, which has been on the anvil for a number of years and which has not been introduced yet for one reason or other. The aspirations of the people of the State have not been satisfied by the proposed reforms. Two features of the Reforms Scheme deserve most attention, *viz*, that it has provided parity of representation for the Muslims although they form only 12 per cent of the population, 85 per cent being Hindu, and that it has introduced joint electorates but at the same time provided means for nullifying it. Much advertisement of this joint electorate has been made by the authorities. The *Independent* correspondent writes :

> This joint-voting is not an absolutely free voting in which both communities could exercise common franchise in favour of a Hindu or a Moslem candidate. The provision which negatives the principle of joint-voting is that if a candidate secures the majority of votes of his own community, he shall be deemed to have been elected whatever the number of votes polled by him from among the other community.
>
> Let us take an hypothetical illustration. Suppose there are 220 voters in a constituency, of which 200 are Hindus and 20 Muslims. There are two seats—one for a Hindu and one for Muslim. If candidate M (Moslem) secures 11 votes from his own community (presuming that all voters go to the poll) and secures no vote from the other Hindu community he gets elected in preference to another Muslim candidate who may secure 9 votes of his community and say, almost all the 200 votes of the Hindu community.
>
> Why should a Muslim, who can command 11 Muslim votes in his pocket, bother about approaching his Hindu brethren for support, which, in fact, is the quintessence of the joint-electorate ?
>
> And why again, should a Hindu commanding 101 votes in his pocket care to approach his Moslem brethren for co-operation and goodwill when their voting does not affect his election at all ? Why, he can continue to be rabidly anti-Muslim and yet get into the Legislature. And *vice versa* with a Muslim candidate.
>
> This is nothing but separate electorate pure and simple. It is more sinful and sinister because it comes like a lion in the sheep's clothing.
>
> Then there is the strong nominated official block in the Legislature which will have to do the bidding of His Master's Voice.
>
> And further again there is the question of the powers of the Legislature. There is a long list A, of subjects which cannot be discussed. There is another list B which can be discussed, but no decision in the form of resolutions can be taken on them. And there is the list C, in which specified subjects can be discussed and recommendatory resolutions passed which the Government will consider. Nothing can be done if the advice tendered by the Legislature is rejected.
>
> There will be a Member of the Executive Council from among the Legislators, not necessarily enjoying the confidence and support of the House. That he is a member of the Legislature is enough qualification.

This is only a cursory review of the proposed Reforms. They are patently absurd. Both the All-India Congress Committee and the Hyderabad State Congress have registered their emphatic protest against them. Any attempt to push them forward is bound to meet with stiff opposition.

We are yet to come across a worse travesty of the principle of joint electorates. Since his assumption of office by Sir Mirza Ismail, he is carrying on negotiations with the leaders of the State Congress. The correspondent reports that nobody in Hyderabad wants the end or destruction of the House of Asaf Jah. On the other hand, all his subjects—Hindus and Muslims alike—want it to prosper. The only demand of the State Congress is that the undiluted autocracy must yield place to constitutional monarchy and the Nizam of Hyderabad must remain content in conducting himself like the King of England.

Arab Bloc Wants Full Freedom

Writing in the *New York Times,* Clifton Daniel says that the Arab States in the Middle East want neither British control nor Soviet hegemony. They want to steer a middle course which will bring them full freedom. Profiting by the rivalry of the big two, they are playing their cards so nicely that even Arab Palestine is expected to have its independence very soon. Members of the Arab League for the conference on Palestine do not look to the meeting as an occasion for compromise. They are charting their way along a well-defined path towards a fixed goal—independence for Arab Palestine.

Clifton Daniel writes :

> Policy for Palestine is part of the diplomatic strategy of the newest and weakest of the worlds regional blocs, seven independent states around the eastern end of the Mediterranean. That strategy eventually may be a deciding factor in the struggle between East and West for control of the Mediterranean basin, which at the moment is centred in Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey. Their geographic position athwart the Suez Canal and atop the world's largest oil reserves is the strongest card the Arab States have and they are playing it for all it is worth.
>
> The aims of the Arab bloc are simple, clear and direct—full independence and an opportunity to restore their ancient greatness ; their tactics are more complicated and less sure.
>
> First of all, the Arab States are playing the familiar game of all small nations, perhaps the only game possible for countries that have not the strength to impose their will upon others ; to grab off whatever the Great Powers may let fall in the excitement of their own competition and to trade their strategic position and resources for concessions from their big brothers.
>
> Whatever concessions the Arab States have so far won have been gained by such tactics. World War I gave them their freedom from the Turks. The threat of World War II helped to produce the British White Paper of 1939 stopping Jewish immigration into Palestine. Intervention of the British against the French turned the trick of independence for Syria and Lebanon in 1945.
>
> They are currently playing upon the fears of Russia in their efforts to persuade the British that it would be better in the long run to evacuate Egypt on Egypt's own terms and to reject Zionism's bid for the Palestine State rather than incur the hostility of the whole Arab world.
>
> The second Arab device is to confront the Great Powers constantly with their past promises, the promises of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations Pact and to demand that those pledges be fulfilled in favour of them. The threat of an appeal to the United Nations Security Council is being held over the heads of the British in the negotiations for a new Anglo-Egyptian treaty. The principles or machinery of the United Nations pact have been and are being continuously invoked in support of the Arab nationalist aim. They have expressed much more faith in the Security Council than any one else in the world and thus have placed the onus on the Security Council itself of proving its *bona fides* for the maintenance of world security.

Mass Awakening in Kathiawar States

The seventh Session of the Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad has concluded its sitting. Darbar Gopaldas Desai presided. Thousands of men and women of all parts of Kathiawar participated. The last session of the Parishad was held nine years ago. The proceedings of the session commenced with the opening of the Constructive Works Exhibition by Sj. J. C. Kumarappa who made a plea for an entire reorganisation of Indian economic life on the lines of the Gandhian economic programme. Next came the Harijan Sammelan under the chairmanship of Sm. Sarala Devi Sarabhai. In this meeting veteran Harijan workers discussed the various problems connected with the eradication of untouchability in Kathiawar.

Inaugurating the session of the Parishad, Sj. Morarji Desai made a strong plea for the union of 200 Kathiawar States with the ultimate view of merging into a greater Gujarat Province, consisting of Gujarat, Baroda, Kathiawar and Cutch.

In his presidential address Darbar Gopaldas Desai attacked the Attachment Scheme launched in India by the Churchill Government and as an alternative put forward a strong case for a Union of Kathiawar. He explained how it was impossible for Kathiawar to progress when it was disrupted into 200 small independent administrations. He said :

> The thirty lakhs of Kathiawar people must be under a democratic Union Government, the constitution of which must either be framed by the people or with their consent. That constitution must be based on democratic principles and should recognise the sovereignty of the people. It will be necessary to transfer law and order, provincial finance, provincial communication including railways and ports, planning, trade and commerce, development of agriculture, water courses, irrigation, central marketing, co-operation, higher education and provincial health and sanitation to the Centre if we desire to bring Kathiawar in line with British India.

This Kathiawar Conference is yet another proof that even in a choking atmosphere of suppressed civil liberties, the democratic freedom-loving elements are rapidly gaining in strength. Unless an amicable settlement is quickly reached by the Rulers with their people, a grim struggle and a bold bid for freedom in the Indian States in the foreseeable future can easily be visualised. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the All-India State Peoples Conference, stated in the plenary session of the Meerut Congress that he had seen

a confidential document indicating a move to form a confederation of 562 Indian States in order to negotiate with the future Central Government. Dr. Pattabhi referred to the other schemes for a merger of a number of these States and said that this attempt was in no way in the interests of the people. It was not being made with their consent but merely in consultation among the Princes themselves. He warned the Princes that this kind of merger would lead us nowhere but would make the problem more intractable. He declared that the people of the States would never recognise the Negotiating Committee, going to be set up under the May 16 plan of the Cabinet Mission, unless their representatives were included on it. The Congress is now fully alive to the problem of the Indian States. Freedom cannot come only for a part of the country, the whole of India should get it.

British Indians in French India

The position of Indians in the Portuguese possessions of India is now widely known. The treatment of Indians in the French possessions of India is also not always happy. British Indians are subjected to various discriminatory laws in French India. Although the laws are not against British Indians specifically as such, it defines *foreigners* so as to include Indians from British India although for generations they might have been in the French possessions, paying taxes and owning properties. This has been revealed by Mr. S. Vijay Raghavan, former Joint Secretary of the British Indian Association, in a statement to the press.

British Indians in the French possessions form one-third of the population which is estimated at more than three lakhs. This one lakh of British Indians are without franchise even in municipal elections; they cannot be employed in government or quasi-government departments. They cannot become office-bearers in any government recognised association. They cannot attest any document as witnesses in the office of the Registrar of Assurance or Notary Public. They cannot sue a French subject without depositing a sum towards the cost of the suit beforehand, etc.

The British Indian *foreigners* were subjected to a poll tax in 1938. To protest against this tax the British Indian residents formed an association and requested the Government of French India to accord the necessary sanction for the same, as the French law prohibits the formation of association by British Indians without government permission where the members of the association exceed 20 in number. The then Governor, M. Bonvin, refused permission on the plea that *foreigners* should not form an association. Such is the condition of one lakh British Indians resident in French India. It has also been mentioned by Mr. Vijaya Raghavan, the publication of a prominent journal of French India was twice stopped by successive Governors during 1944 and 1945 for the only reason that its owner and editor was a British Indian.

M. Baron, the present Governor of French India, has recently left for France. On the eve of his departure he told Press representatives at Karachi that his mission in going now to France was to develop friendship between French India and the rest of India. The outcome of his mission will be watched with keen interest in this country. Republican France's imperialist intrigues in Morocco, Syria and Indo-China have greatly lowered the prestige of France, the pioneer in the revolution for the attainment of equality, fraternity and freedom.

Planning of World Crop Census

Experts from six countries met with agricultural statisticians of the Food and Agriculture Organisation in an informal conference at Washington to discuss the preliminary steps towards co-ordination of the agricultural census work of the various nations. The conferees will work out suggested tables and schedules of agricultural information to be submitted to the governments of the world for their criticism and suggestions.

The conference was called by H. R. Tolley, director of FAO's Economics and Statistics Division, who pointed out that the objective is co-ordination of agricultural census work rather than an attempt by FAO to conduct an independent world census. Citing the need for a greater body of comparable information on the world's crop acreage, production of principal commodities and other basic facts. Tolley said, the aim is to get as many nations as possible to take agricultural censuses in 1950 and to get agreement on the provision of certain fundamental data on a uniform basis in an effort to clarify the statistical picture of world agriculture.

FAO's function, Tolley explained, would be to work with governments to put the census data on a comparable basis, and to compile and publish statistics based on figures from the individual nations. The International Institute of Agriculture, whose functions are being taken over by FAO, played a similar liaison role in connection with the agricultural censuses in 1930 and 1940. It published world figures based on the 1930 studies, but the war intervened before it could publish the 1940 figures.

Conferring with FAO statisticians today were experts from Canada, China, France, Peru, Poland and the United States, who were invited to participate as individuals rather than as government representatives. For a successful crop census, India and the U.S.S.R. representatives ought to have been included.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture announced that estimates for world food production in 1946-47 indicate that production will be about seven per cent larger than the previous year's low output and may slightly exceed the pre-war average. The Department's Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, in a report based on information from throughout the world, warned, however, that careful utilization of food supplies will be necessary to prevent another acute food shortage next spring.

The Department also announced tonight that the world's 1946-47 cotton crop is now estimated at 22,050,000 bales of 500 pounds gross, which is the smallest crop since 1923-24, with the exception of last year's.

In a breakdown of world food production, the report estimated wheat and rye production at 12 per cent larger than in 1945-46 and about 96 per cent of the pre-war average. It was pointed out, however, that depletion of stocks partly offsets the gain and that bread-grain supplies probably will continue to be short in relation to need.

Corn crop for 1946-47 was estimated at about 5,500 million bushels, which would be the largest world crop on record—about eight per cent above last year's crop. The bulk of the increase was attributed to the large

U.S. crop. The quality of the U.S. crop, the report stated, is good and larger quantities should be available for export this year than last.

In other areas, drought damage was cited as responsible for smaller-than-average corn crops in Europe and Russia, and smaller acreage for the below-average crop in South America.

Livestock products are expected to show little increase in 1946-47, but larger supplies of fish are partially relieving meat shortages in many areas.

The rice harvest in major producing countries, it was reported, may be somewhat larger than the previous year, but below average mainly because of smaller acreage. Unfavourable weather in some of the exporting countries, where the greatest acreage reductions have occurred, will restrict exportable rice supplies in the coming year to about last year's level or about one-fourth the pre-war average.

The Middle East will have adequate food supplies for its needs and exportable quantities of cereals, fruits and nuts. Although larger crops than last year are expected in the major Far Eastern countries, large imports of cereals and some sugar will be needed in the area to avoid distress in deficit countries.

Further recovery in food production is indicated in the Soviet Union, but output still is below pre-war, according to the report. Food production in the United Kingdom and Eire is likely to be significantly below last year's because of crop damage caused by excessive wetness at harvest time.

The report said that the most pronounced increases in food production for 1946-47 have occurred in areas devastated by the war as well as in those stricken by drought last year. However, production level in such areas is still far below average, necessitating continuing urgent food imports.

Among the factors stimulating the demand for food imports are the desire to increase stocks sufficiently to meet day-to-day distribution problems, the desire to increase rations to the level at which physical strength can be maintained, and world population increase of seven per cent.

Sagotra Marriage Bill

The Central Assembly spent the entire sitting on November 7 discussing Dr. Desmukh's Bill on Hindu Marriage Law as approved by the Select Committee. The Bill permits marriage between persons of the same *gotra* or *pravara* or different subdivisions of the same caste.

The debate on the Bill was lively. There was apparently freedom of speech for the Congress members. Mr. Gole opposed the Bill, whereas Mr. Balkrishna Sharma and Mr. Gadgil supported it. Mr. Rajagopalachari supported the Bill and explained his reason for doing so. He, however, did not indicate whether he was speaking for the Government as a whole. He spoke convincingly on the need for a liberal outlook as the best way of preserving religion and culture.

Mr. Gadgil clinched the issue by remarking that the significance of *gotras* had gone and only symbols had remained. Mr. A. Ayangar tried to steer a middle course. He said that the law was probably needed in some parts of the country and not in others. He, therefore, suggested that its applicability to provinces should be left to the discretion of the provincial governments. Reformers won and the House passed the Bill without amendment.

It is to be hoped that the measure will go through the Council of State and become law in a short time. Orthodox Hindus regard any change in Hindu Law as a blow to the root of the Hindu Society. It is, however, becoming increasingly clear with the fast moving events that Hindu Law is no longer a mere object of antiquity and reverence. It must keep pace with the changing times. The taboos and restrictions which might be justified when they were introduced are now no better than fetters on the Hindu Society. Enlightened reformers are, therefore, trying to bring Hindu Law up-to-date so as to keep the Hindu Society intact under modern conditions. The Hindu Law Committee has produced a code which would also be taken up by the Central Legislature at no distant date.

Women's Right to Inherit Land

An indication that the Government of Madras were contemplating the amendment of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act so as to enable a Hindu woman to claim a share in her husband's agricultural lands, was given by Mr. K. Bashyam, Minister for Law, speaking at a meeting of the History Association of the Queen Mary's College, Madras. The subject of Mr. Bashyam's address was *Hindu Law and Women's Rights.*

The speaker referred to the leading role the women of India had played in the political, economic and social sphere of the country, from the Vedic times down to the present day and added that the dictum of Manu in respect of women's place in society was wrongly interpreted by some latter day commentators and subsequently led to the enactment of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Act. Legal experts had attempted to limit the operation of the law to income from property other than agricultural, as in their opinion, the Act was passed by the Centre and that the latter had, therefore, no jurisdiction over a provincial subject like agriculture. The Madras Government were trying to remove this defect by enacting necessary amendment to the Act shortly.

Proceeding Mr. Bashyam dwelt at length on the rights of the Hindu woman in regard to her husband's and father's property and made a detailed reference to the *Woman's Estate* by which a widow (if her husband died without leaving a male issue) was entitled to enjoy the fruits of her husband's property (barring agricultural land), but not allowed to sell or dispose of the property under ordinary circumstances. She possessed such proprietary right over her *stridhana* and this could be disposed of in any manner she pleased.

It is a pity that the passage of the draft Hindu Code in the Central Legislature is being delayed. Instead of passing such piecemeal legislations affecting property rights independently by the Provincial Assemblies it would have been far better if the Hindu law were made uniform all over the country. This was the very purpose of the Hindu Code and its object would be defeated if the Provincial Legislatures moved in a different way.

Secondary Education in C. P.

The High School Education Board, Central Provinces and Berar, had recently appointed a small

Committee with Dr. U. S. Jha as convener and Dr. H. C. Seth and Mr. V. R. Rajwade, as members to formulate the principles on which secondary education should be reorganised. The draft report of the committee has been adopted by the Board and has been published for eliciting public opinion on it. The scheme presupposes an entire change in outlook towards high school education on the part of the pupil, the guardian, the teacher and others concerned. The Committee thinks that this change of attitude demands shifting of attention from subjects and examinations to the harmonious development of the pupil with reference to himself and his society. The Committee believes that the men who can effectively carry out this new responsibility are the teachers, but in order to share this responsibility properly, he must have two kinds of training :

(*i*) He should re-study his subject with a view to have up-to-date information in it and also to appreciate its fullest significance in the light of the new purposes.

(*ii*) He should be acquainted with the more scientific idea of the technique of teaching which shall ensure learning and building of character on the part of the pupils, to go together.

Such a teacher shall have : (*a*) decent wages, (*b*) leisure to study and think and contact his pupils, (*c*) freedom to try experiments relating to his profession and (*d*) some 'say' in matters relating to his school.

These should be 'multilateral' schools to suit the wide range of courses which the scheme provides.

The new scheme will require (*a*) a new set of text-books, (*b*) good supplementary literature, (*c*) books especially designed for the use of teachers, (*d*) reference books for teachers and pupils, (*e*) books on wide range of topics to suit pupils of different stages and (*f*) books on technical courses.

In the Committee's opinion, the present high school education is defective, because, (*i*) it has no definite aim or purpose except that of preparing the pupils for the University education or Government service ; (*ii*) the student's needs, capacities and attitudes find insufficient emphasis and he is taught and trained merely for success in examinations with the result that the quality of successful candidates is deteriorating day by day ; and (*iii*) the schools do not adjust themselves to the needs of changing life and thus falling behind modern times have failed to train the pupil for the society in which he must live.

The following principles of reorganisation have been recommended by the Committee :

The present high school course should continue to be of seven years' duration. In the first three classes of the high school a wide field of interests and activities both practical and academic may be provided to enable pupils to discover their own special aptitudes and talents and given them a broad basis for further training. The high school work proper should commence in the fourth year and in the last three years of the course, greater specialisation in a limited number of activities should be attempted. The high school courses should centre round some central activity which would reflect the major interests of large groups of pupils on the one hand and nation's vital needs on the other. This principle suggests three broad categories of activities, *viz*, the academic, the scientific and the technical. It is suggested that the academic may be subdivided into two subordinate centres of emphasis, *viz*, (*a*) The academic or the purely literary, and (*b*) the social studies. These give the following main courses :

I. Academic Course (literary curriculum)—(*a*) literary course, (*b*) social studies course.
II. Scientific course.
III. Technical course.

It is necessary that each of these courses must include in it some elements of the other two. The medium of instruction in all high schools shall be the mother-tongue of the pupils, English being a compulsory second language. Physical education should be compulsory and some form of literary and artistic appreciation and music should form part of the scheme of education. The most important factor is, however, willing co-operation of the pupil in his work without which all educational effort is a waste. It is also necessary to provide for passage of pupils from one type of course to another at a reasonable stage.

It has been recommended that the curriculum should be well-adjusted and well-balanced in respect of time and the field to be covered. The pupil shall study the courses laid down in the subjects mentioned against each stage and course. The period of time assigned for each subject is only a rough guidance which is adjustable in accordance with the special needs of the school.

The Committee has sought to overhaul the system of examination. It is of the opinion that the Board should hold only one examination and that at the completion of the high school education, other examinations being held by the school itself. The Committee divides the examinations into three parts : (*i*) Examination of the school record of the candidate, (*ii*) Practical and oral examination by the Board, and (*iii*) Written examination. A systematic record of the pupil's work for the entire period of his stay in the school may be maintained containing statements of his studies, his social qualities and his health.

The Committee's report, as published in the *Hitavada* and from which the above summary has been prepared, indicates that the educationists of the Central Province have approached the problem from the widest national standpoint. Instead of waiting indefinitely for the introduction of the Sergeant scheme on an all-India basis, the provinces would do well in forging ahead.

Redrawing of Provincial Boundaries

The question of redrawing of provincial boundaries has begun to attract notice but has not yet received the attention that it deserves. The modern provincial border lines of India are not sacrosanct, they were drawn by the British according to their convenience. There are a number of distinct cultures and languages in this country and each one of them had found the amplest opportunity to develop its own cultural and literary wealth within the framework of a common geographical and national unity. Unity amidst diversity

is the keynote of India's millennium-old social and cultural history. Creation of provinces by the British Rulers in India generally followed these lines but not always. Time is fast coming when a thorough redrawing of all provincial boundaries along cultural and linguistic lines will be needed.

With this fundamental point in view, the provinces should be so created that they may become self-supporting economic units not dependent on subventions from the Centre. At present there are eleven Governor's provinces, four Chief Commissioner's provinces and 650 Native States. They will all have to be grouped and arranged in such a manner that economic groups and units can be created as far as possible on the basis of cultural and linguistic unity. A united Karnatak, united Kathiawar and similar new provincial units may be the natural outcome.

Bengal's case deserves special attention in this connection. Bengal is the biggest province of India and its size and topography is such that administration of this province has become a very complicated problem. The districts of this province can be geographically divided into two broad regions, the wet districts of eastern Bengal and the dry districts on the west. The northern districts occupy an intermediate position. Even modern means of communication makes it difficult at times to maintain full and constant touch with the districts. As a result, the district officers have to be given powers wide enough to lead to gross abuse, if false standards are set up in the selection of personnel. Want of drive and vision and lack of quick action by the district authorities may prove extremely disastrous as has actually happened in Noakhali. The incompetency of the District Magistrates and the communal-mindedness of the Superintendent of Police, both of whom took no preventive action, when there were sufficient warnings of what was coming very soon, was one of the prime causes of the Noakhali disaster.

Apart from administrative reasons, political causes are sufficient to warrant a division of Bengal and creation of two provinces out of it. Since 1943, when League assumed power, the League Government of Bengal hav demonstrated a totalitarian tendency and it has not concealed its intention to squeeze out the Hindu population from the province. The League press has already served quit notices on Bengali Hindus and has asked them to look for home in Madras, Bihar or any other province. Eastern Bengal districts have a clear Muslim majority, the northern districts have slight majority in their favour and in the six western districts, the Hindus are in a majority. Attempts are being made now to convert these districts into Muslim majority areas by settling Muslims in those places. The entire resources of Bengal, three-fourths of which is contributed by the Hindus are being used against the Hindus. The fate of a Hindu minority in the Muslim majority areas of Bengal—oral assurances of Mr. Jinnah notwithstanding—has been made quite clear in Noakhali. If the Bengali Hindus do not stand now to maintain their own homeland against the onslaught that has already begun in full force, they run the risk of becoming a race of homeless wanderers in no distant future.

A national from Orissa or Assam has today better security in Bengal than a Bengali Hindu today. The Western Bengal Hindu, under the present system of Administration cannot save the East Bengal Hindu from gradual extermination while in his desire to remain within a united Bengal he is himself going down. Division of Bengal into two provinces will provide the East Bengal Hindu with a sure refuge and at the same time a fountain head of strength. Western Bengal under the Congress can become the most effective check against oppression on Eastern Bengal Hindus. Under Provincial Autonomy, the Centre is already powerless to intervene and with the new Constitution, the Centre will be still more weak.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya

The venerable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has passed away on November 12 at Benares. Pandit Malaviya embodied in him the traditions of India in a remarkable manner. He represented, as few others have done, the true type of integrated personality. In the Benares Hindu University, he has a monument which will last for generations to come. He realised at an early date that those who want to take to politics and uplift of the country must devote the whole of their time and energy for that. This was realised and acted upon by another leader of India, Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Before the time of these two great sons of India, politics was regarded as a recreation after the day's arduous work at the bar or at the counter or a "three days' picnic during the Christmas recess" as Acharjya Prafulla Chandra Roy described it. Malaviyaji gave up his lucrative practice and courted poverty so that he might devote his whole attention to the country's cause in its multifarious aspects. His has been a life of selfless dedication to the services of his motherland.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was born at Allahabad, in his ancestral house, on the 25th December, 1861. He came of a family of orthodox Brahmins, that was marked for its erudition and scholarship in Sanskrit, who had migrated from Malwa in the sixteenth century. His education rested on a Sanskrit classics foundation acquired in two Sanskrit Pathsalas. Later he entered an English school and after passing the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in 1879, he entered the Muir Central College at Allahabad from which he graduated in 1884. Seven years later he obtained the law degree of LL.B. while acting as a school-teacher and a journalist.

Pandit Malaviya spent many years of his early life to journalism. He joined the *Hindusthan* in 1887 and after ably conducting it for nearly three years, he became the editor of the *Indian Union* followed later on by the Hindi weekly *Abhyudaya*. He gave up active journalism after he joined the Allahabad High Court as an advocate in 1893, but one part of his life remained tied up with this first love. The *Leader* of Allahabad came into being mainly through his efforts and until a few years back he was the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the *Hindusthan Times* of Delhi.

Malaviyaji's connection with the Indian National Congress started with its second session, which was held at Calcutta in 1886 under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji. This connection with the Congress remained active for sixty years, being terminated only with his death. On several occasions he was constrained to go against the accepted policy of the Congress, since he was a person who could not subordinate his conscience and reason to the dictates of popular emotion, and later events have proved that Pandit Malaviya's judgment was right on most of these. One such occasion came in 1929 when Congress members of the Legis-

latures of India were called upon to resign their seats. This vital mistake, on the part of the majority leaders of the Congress, that left the field open and clear for the reactionaries under the patronage and tutelage of the British Raj, was opposed by him. Again he vehemently opposed the knock-kneed and extremely futile attitude of the Congress to the Communal Award at the Patna Session in 1934. But withal he was always a stalwart upholder of the Congress cause, as he proved more than once by open defiance of the Government's orders. He was elected President of the Congress in 1909, 1918, 1932 and 1933, the last two sessions being initiated by him as a challenge to the Government.

In his political life, Malaviyaji had thus been an adherent of the Congress and with a wonderful steadfastness he always kept himself on the side of the Congress in matters of general principles affecting the welfare of the country. His regard for the Congress surpassed his regard for any individual leader of it, probably with the sole exception of Mahatma Gandhi. Even a few days before his death, when he had lost consciousness, he muttered the name of Gandhi. On the background of popular mind, however, Malaviyaji figured and loomed large as the last Elder Statesman of Hindu India. Standing fast in the deluge of foreign cultures, both European and Islamic, Malaviyaji never allowed the sands to shift from under his feet. He had proved to be almost an aggressive champion of Hindu faith and culture but at the same time he extended toleration to all those that differed from him or followed other religions.

The Benares Hindu University will remain as an everlasting monument of his devotion to the cause of his motherland. He planned for the establishment of a real University with "real professors, real lecturers, a living curriculum and a definite aim." The same idea had struck others too but it was left to Malaviyaji to carry it into perfection at Benares.

The end of an extremely fruitful life, full of endeavour and strenuous all-out devotion to the cause of the uplift of the masses of India, came at Benares on November 12, almost on the threshhold of his 86th year. He had been ailing for some time, and the news of the Noakhali outrages gave a mortal shock to him, from which he could not recover. Thus ended a gifted life, truly noble in its absolute self-devotion, transparent sincerity, ascetic simplicity, and austere and Brahminic disregard for personal gain.

A Distinguished Educationist Passes Away

Principal Bhuban Mohon Sen passed away on the 29th October, 1946, at the age of 61 at his Khulna residence. Principal Sen was a bright scholar, an inspiring teacher and a keen sportsman. Having taken his Master's degree in History in 1910 from the Calcutta University, he joined City College, Calcutta, and served there for eight months, after which he joined Assam Educational Service and became Professor of History, Cotton College, Gauhati, and afterwards the Head of the Department. As student and later as professor, he was fortunate to have come in intimate contact with eminent educationists like Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and the late Dr. J. N. Dasgupta and Dr. [illegible] Maitra. He was born in Assam and later had been in service there for long thirty-one years. He filled a large space in the intellectual life of the college he served and was associated with many of its beneficial reforms and extra-curricular innovations. He left an indelible impression on two generations of Assamese youth by his work and worth and was the most impressive personality within and outside class-rooms. He was a pioneer in the field of Assamese history. He is rightly called a maker of modern Assam.

Vae Victis?

In the ancient and mediaeval times, War meant slaughter, plunder and rapine, followed by territorial domination or enslavement at the hands of the victor. Modern civilization has attempted to do away with as much of "barbarous" practices as possible. But human nature being what it is, not much had been achieved hitherto beyond encasing all the horrors attendant on war and conquest within abstruse phrases and complex legal terminology. Even after the end of this latest of "wars to end warfare," we are constrained to remark, the interests of the vanquished seem to receive little consideration, if any at all. Mass transference of technical works equipment has been reported before in the press, and the subjoined extract from the U.S.I.S. will show that technical brains are being taken away as well from the vanquished. We hope humane considerations will prevail at least in the most democratic of all nations, when the passions generated by war have subsided.

> Some 280 German and Austrian scientists have been in the United States for the past year working with Americans in research and experimental fields, the War Department has announced. The announcement pointed out that the knowledge brought by these scientists has been of inestimable value to American industry and science and may save two to ten years in American research. Because of the contribution these scientists have made to military research, the Dep rtment said, it is now planned to increase their number to 1,000 as soon as arrangements can be completed to transport them.
>
> All of the scientists came to the United States voluntarily and are in the custody of the War Department. Although still working on Government research only, some may be released for employment in private industry and educational institutions. All the Germans were carefully screened for reliability before being brought to the United States. Many of the scientists have displayed interest in becoming U.S. citizens and are studying English.
>
> The work of the foreign technicians covers electronics, supersonics, guided missiles, jet propulsion, fuels, lubricants, optics, synthetics and similar important phases of applied physics and chemistry.

The above concerns the brains of the vanquished. As regards the brawn, the following is illustrative. The prisoners concerned were captured prior to July 1945.

"The United States has asked France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg to repatriate a total of 674,000 German prisoners of war captured by U.S. forces.

Belgium and Luxembourg have advised the Secretary they can complete repatriation by July 1947. The Netherlands has expressed accord with the program. No formal reply has yet been received from France. Of the total remaining prisoners, France has 620,000, of whom about 280 000 are on farms, 40,000 in coal mines and the remainder employed in various occupations. Belgium has 40,000, the Netherlands, 10,000 and Luxembourg 4,000 such prisoners."

THE LION THAT WAS TAKEN FOR A LAMB

By St. Nihal Singh

I

Some weeks previous to the outbreak of the war I was spending a few days in a peaceful spot. Along the northern bounds of the tea estate flowed Jumna—to us of the Motherland the Sun-God's radiant-bodied daughter. Just behind the further river bank, the earth uprose in a step—a giant's step.

My host was a young man from an eastern district of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Poetry was his passion. Poetry pulsing with life though pinioned in the printed page. He and I gave much of the day to beseeching Surya Bhagwan to imprint on the photographically sensitive film in our cameras images of the exquisite beauty that stretched out in all directions round about us.

On a Sunday or (was it?) some other day marked red in the calendar, he drove me out in his car near to a point from which we could board a flat-bottomed boat and be carried across Jumna's breast. The river was none too wide at that time of the year. But beyond the ribbon of bluey water there lay a waste of sand.

So I had taken it to be. Foolishly. The moment I began to walk over it I became conscious of the fact that I had been the victim of my own faulty observation. The way lay over stones—not sand.

Had the soles of my feet not been paining me almost intolerably I would have detected beauty in those stones. Not one upon which my eye lighted was unshaped or even ill-shaped. All angularity had been chiselled away by Surya's daughter. She, it must be remembered, is, on her mother's side, the granddaughter of the divine architect of the gods—Visvakarman. She had, moreover, painstakingly polished each stone.

At the moment, however, I was conscious only of my feet. They became more and more tortured—and torturing—the farther I ploughed my way across that stone-strewn waste. Illimitable, it seemed to me. Would it ever end?

II

As if to provide me with distraction from that torture, a young man heaved in my direction. He proceeded with the deliberateness that we try to hide under the cloak of accident but somehow do not manage wholly to cover it up.

He was tall and willowy. His almost tubular body was clad in clothes that had been fashioned by a skilled hand in the European style. Round his head was wound, with considerable care, a small, white, muslin turban. From the middle of the forehead a tiny triangle of red showed beneath the snowy folds.

The length and the litheness of his body had impressed me as he had jumped off the bus which had brought him to Jumna's bank and boarded the ferry-boat. He looked to be a head taller than his companions—perhaps 15 in number.

After a little manoeuvring he made sure that he had [illegible] me. He then told me that his fellows and he were [illegible] advantage of the holiday to make a pilgrimage to Paunta Sahib.

"You will find the Sikh shrine situated in a lovely setting," I said. "Particularly the place where Shri Guru Govind Singh used to sit with the poets ranged in front of him. High above the breast of the river, it commands a wide, wide view. The countless crests of the low mountain range in the near distance look as if they were the sharp-pointed teeth of some giant's saw."

"So you have been there before?" he remarked, rather than asked.

"More than once," I added.

He and his companions were going there for the first time. It would be "too bad," they felt, that they should be so near the sacred spot and not perform the pilgrimage to it.

We talked, for a time, of the Indian Military Academy, where they would soon be finishing their training. Then the conversation turned to politics, as it does in every slave country and many a country that is not slave.

Forgotten now were the feet that had been torturing me. Also the stones that were torturing them. My interest was concentrated upon noting the views that were being expressed by the young men. Upon them and their compeers, the responsibility for the Motherland's defence would soon fall. What they thought, therefore, mattered. It made me oblivious of all save that which was being said.

As we were nearing Paunta Sahib, the discussion was developing into an argument. The cadet with the tall, lank figure was saying, in a voice that had become strident and would soon be shrieky:

"The worst thing about you politicians is . . ."

III

I had heard those words before. Heard them many times. They had, however, fallen from white men's lips.

How was it, I asked myself, that this denunciation should be emanating—explosively emanating—from a brown man's mouth.

How was it, moreover, that this brown man should set himself apart from my companion and me—likewise brown men? In a caste by himself. A military caste. What had made this man—and, to a hardly less extent, his fellows—echo Kipling and his crowd?

I made it my business to find out. I did find out.

I had noticed that the way some of these young men spoke English was somewhat peculiar. So I asked if they had gone from the University to the Academy. No. They had not. They were "Army Cadets."

Then I remembered that the system of selecting young men for training as military leaders was not quite the same in India as it was elsewhere. In Britain, Canada, the United States of America and other countries, where the people are sovereign, such training is given generally to boys in their late teens or to young men just out of their teens, more or less fresh from high school or college. They enter an academy specially designed for this purpose.

There their academic education is, if necessary, strengthened in certain essential respects. There [illegible]

supplemented with instruction in all branches of military art and science. In itself of a highly objective nature, the instruction is reinforced by practical training in tactics and strategy.

While the mind is thus quickened and developed, the body is energized and disciplined. In movement, it must be equal to any situation that may arise in the field of action. The fibre must be capable not only of severe exertion under extreme stress, but also of endurance through a period of privation that may prove to be protracted, as well as trying.

When, in 1932, it was decided by men astride India —astride Indian destiny—but not one of them an Indian, to set up in Dehra Dun an Academy for a similar purpose, admission to it was regulated by a system not entirely identical with this. Only a portion of the entrants were to be of the type that entrants are in other countries. Another portion was to be recruited from the "Indian" Army—from the low strata of that Army.

Neither in respect of age nor of education could there, in consequence, be certainty of anything like homogeneity. But then, the military system in India—especially since the "Sepoy" Mutiny of 1857—had been built upon castes and clans. The "big guns" of the G. H. Q. knew something of these castes and clans—or rather, the unlettered sections of them. They knew little, however, of the University-bred Indian. He was suspected of being an agitator. A poisonous agitator. Kipling's "Babu," in fact.

Those fellows from the Army were, however, safe. Ever so safe.

IV

Among the "hand-picked" young Indians (to use a Canadianism) included in the batch with which the Academy at Dehra Dun was started, one bore the name of Mohan Singh. He had been bred, born and reared in God's open country—not in a sink of (political) inequity that towns in India are, in Kiplingized eyes. Orphaned early in life, poverty had kept him from college. He had thus been insulated against being charged with sedition.

With the modicum of education that his guardian —an uncle—could provide with great but loving sacrifice, he entered the "Indian" Army. Even that N. C. O.-dom that is glorified as the Viceroy's Commission was not his. He had to content himself with the sepoy's (*sipahi's*) status. Also the private's—an Indian private's—pay,—not much in those days—and with quarters that not even an apologist for the military authorities could call spacious or beautiful.

He was, however, intelligent. Ambitious. Industrious, too. Bound to get on anywhere—in any condition.

But he was not bumptious, as those pestiferous, town-bred, college men were deemed to be. While determined to rise, he knew his place—particularly the place of the private *vis a vis* his officers—the King's Commissioned officers, Britons, with hardly an exception, in those days. Just the man to be given the opportunity to acquire education and to get into the Indian Military Academy.

When he got into that Academy, he felt as if he had been translated to the seventh heaven. In a book* in which he has poured out his heart, he tells of the joy—and the pride—with which his admission there filled his whole being. "How proud, glorified and dignified I felt," he writes, "when I joined the Indian Military Academy as one of the pioneers in 1932." (P. 61).

This exaltation was to be expected because of his "struggle to rise from a private soldier to the rank of a commissioned officer." (P. 61). There was a deeper cause. The conditions in which our people had been kept for nearly nine decades had given a false value to the lowest rung of the commissioned rank.

A second lieutenance, to which graduation from "that great military Institution of India" would lead, was esteemed as a great achievement. It was, in itself, not much in the military hierarchy (as it really is in India). Above it is rank and rank and then rank—ending with the Commanding-in-Chief of all the defence forces.

I do not blame Mohan Singh for attaching, at that time, an unduly exaggerated value to his incorporation in the company of cadets. Situated as he was, he could do no other. Nor could any of his fellows.

I must hasten to absolve him from any culpability for what happened soon afterwards—his joining in "fun and frolic." He had discovered that with the exception of "some very decent officers," whose "number was very small," the men who were to be to him the prototypes were "arrogant, conceited, snobbish." They swanked and swaggered. Most of the officers indulged in "debauchery"—indulged in it "freely and proudly." He found that "women and wine" were regarded as "the most important part of their profession." (P. 61).

However natural may be the mode of day to day life prescribed at the Military Academy to Britons who have created it—created it by themselves, wholly unaided by Indians, or at least by Indians of equal status—it is highly artificial so far as their Indian charges are concerned. Now that we are promised a new system. I counsel the authorities—especially the Defence Member of the Government, for the first time an Indian—to ponder Mohan Singh's revelations. If, upon enquiry, he finds them of substance, he must act.

It is, in any case, necessary to ordain a regime more in consonance with Indian ideals, habits and customs—more within Indian financial and economic capacity. There never was any call for stream-lining Indians into Englishmen. None now, at any rate.

V

I was vouchsafed the opportunity of seeing Mohan Singh, along with his fellows, at the "Passing-out Parade." He was, in truth, a lamb. An exceedingly neat, well-behaved lamb. A frisky one, too. Not, however, on the parade ground. Only in secret. Of his frisking about I came to know only after I read this book.

What turned this lamb into a lion—a lion whose roar has been heard by us all—whose roar has been heard outside India, too?

The *Leaves From My Diary* do not answer that question directly, much less conclusively. They are concerned almost wholly with the lion in a cage. The Lal Q'illa at Delhi was "the cage" for a goodly part of the time. Few men and women from Britain in search of romance in this Empire see, or at least see with a seeing eye, the dungeons recently used as "cages."

* *Leaves From My Diary* by General Mohan Singh. Free World Publications, Lahore. Price Rs. 2.

There is little in the book of the scene in Malaya. This Malaya was dark and dismal. Here Britons, and all the people in their train, including Indians and Australasians, met, in December, 1941, a disaster blacker than any in British naval or military annals. Those who had not died or who had made good their escape, were captives in the hands of the aggressor, who, only a few decades earlier, was regarded as inferior, but who now was triumphant—for the time being.

It is quite clear that, upon arrival in Malaya, Mohan Singh was intoxicated with a sense of his own importance. He was a Major. He had a Major's pay. Also the overseas allowances. And only a few years earlier he had been a private . . . !

A jolly, roystering Major was he. Turbaned, bearded and brown was he: but with the notions and habits and mannerisms of behaviour and speech that he associated with British officers. How far he had travelled away from the ideas and ideals that his uncle had instilled in him in his boyhood can be deduced from this episode :

Sad news came to him shortly after he had reached Singapore. A child borne to him by Shrimati Jaswant Kour—his wife, likewise village-bred and brought up and, strangely enough, also reared by an uncle—had died. What was the effect the news of that bereavement had upon him? To this question propounded by himself, he answers, on page 49: "It mattered nothing and I celebrated the loss with wine."

VI

Here is a ray of light that broke upon Mohan Singh after he found himself a prisoner in Japanese hands :

"In the absence of the Britishers in Malaya, I did not hear of any racial conflicts amongst the Chinese, Malays and Indians. There was complete unity amongst Indians. Today I hear different reports. This is because external exploitation breeds inner disunity. Wherever an alien people rule, the rulers do their utmost to keep the sons of the soil divided." (P. 47).

Thoughts of this description occur again and again in the *Leaves From My Diary*. In one place Mohan Singh illumines this situation as only a man with military training and experience can :

". . . The main principle of fighting lies in dividing the strength of the enemy and striking first one and then the other, eventually crushing both. In India, the British have mainly relied on this principle and have achieved amazing success. In other words they have hoodwinked us and have succeeded in dividing us into two water-tight compartments. By remaining divided both the compartments are at the mercy of the common enemy (Britain) but by uniting they can easily defeat him. It is up to our leaders to choose between the two—unity or disintegration; the former good for both, the latter injurious to both." (Pp. 55-56).

The transition through which his mind passed while he was out there in Malaya makes him denounce separatists of all creeds—his own as much as the Pakistanists. "I am a soldier," he says. "I see things not through Congress, Akali or League glasses but only from the point of view of a soldier and of an Indian soldier at that." (P. 52).

In his view :

"No religion is in danger. It is the portion of its self-styled custodians that may be in danger. Religion should unite and not divide us. Unity means freedom. Disunity prolongs slavery. And the creators of disunity are the agents and instruments of slavery." (P. 46).

When he writes thus, he has, in mind, the Sikhs who think of themselves as a community instead of a section of the community, as well as the other Indian dividers of Indians. He states in so many words that the "political ideologies of the Sikhs," as explained to him, ". . . do not suit" his temperament. (P. 30). So far as he himself is concerned, he would like to associate himself with something higher—something that affects not just a community but a "wider sphere of mankind." He fears that some Sikhs may consider his "attitude visionary and devoid of reality but" he is determined to "follow the road" marked out by his "conscience." (Pp. 30-31).

VII

Another ray of light that burst upon Mohan Singh while he was in Malaya fell athwart our social conditions. We "suffer at the hands of Europeans" who treat us as "dirty niggers," he says, "because of our sins." He thus explains these sins :

". . . If we treat our own kith and kin as if they were 'dirty dogs,' why should not the Europeans mete out to us the same treatment? Today we Indians are all 'Harijans' in our own country; only the English and their satellites, the Rajas and Nawabs, are the Brahmans. If we had given a square deal to our brothers, victims of a most unreasonable and shameless social system, we could have faced the world as befit the greatest criticisers the world has ever known, and General Smuts and his like would not have dared insult our national honour. But we pay little or no heed to those Ghetto Acts of our social structure which condemn millions of our brothers to the status of slaves for ever!" (Pp. 52-53).

He counsels us all to "become one and" to "do all that in us lies towards that end." He feels that "it is still not too late." (P. 53).

VIII

Clear-cut and cogent are Mohan Singh's ideas as to what we have to do in India to re-order life here. "We all suffer," he says, "at the hands of vested interests, whether they be British, Hindu or Muslim." He is quite sure that "there is very little to choose between a Hindu Raja and a Muslim Nawab." In his view, "both flourish on the exploitation of the masses." Nor is there anything to differentiate "a Hindu bania" from a Muslim landlord. Both remorselessly "suck the blood of the poor."

He would have us realize that the "fight today is between Hindu and Muslim vested interests," but "it has unfortunately been given the colour of a struggle between Hindus and Muslims." This not without design: for, in his opinion, it "suits the vested interests in both the camps, who are exploiting our religious sentiments in order to achieve their own selfish ends." (Pp. 83-84). It is his ". . . earnest desire and hope to see a united India built with the willing co-operation of all who live in it." (P. 54).

Free India would be "a great source of inspiration for all subjugated peoples who are struggling to attain freedom," he declares (p. 55). It must not, however, be content to be merely a source of inspiration. On the contrary, "once free ourselves, we must work for the freedom of the mankind."

Our freedom, once it is won, has to be safeguarded. This he points out, would be backing "moral force" with "physical force." (Pp. 55-56). With the soldier's bluntness he writes :

> ". . . The happy combination of both of these will ensure us our rightful place in world politics. By rightful position I do not mean what the Germans and other big powers meant by it. We should not make the mistakes which our forefathers made, we should be peaceful but not weak and we should never remain a helpless prey for aggression. We have learnt what it means to be slaves." (P. 56).

IX

No work this for a frisking, frolicsome lambkin !

The *Leaves From My Diary* make it plain that "fun and frolic" lost their fascination for Mohan Singh as soon as dire necessity shut out from his view all save freedom. This is what he himself says of his aims :

> ". . . I have committed no crime against any individual or any people. What I wanted and worked for was the complete eradication of slavery from India. It was indeed an attempt to restore to nearly one-fifth of the (entire) human race, the status of *free* men and women." (P. 19).

Through "an irony of fate," he adds, "that sincere desire" of his was considered quite a big crime by those who posed as "the great standard-bearers of the freedom of India." Despite all the suffering that was apportioned to him—and terrible suffering it was, as will be evident to any reader of this book—he has not become soured against humanity—not even against Britons. To quote him :

> ". . . I bear no enmity or ill-will against any one of them. But the hatred and bitterness against the (imperialist) system has not diminished an iota." (Pp. 19-20).

As he wrote on 17th April of this year, to his comrade Rajuji (Colonel D. S. Raju).

> ". . . Any people fit to be free cannot be kept in bondage for long. We, normally, get what we deserve.
>
> "To yield silently to injustice and slavery is, in a way, to assist injustice and slavery in the world. A follower of Truth must learn to revolt against evil and sin. . . .
>
> "Nature has given to Indians all that a man requires. We are inferior to *none*. Why, then, are we slaves today ? Our slavery is not the cause but effect of certain ills and evils rooted within us. Our outer plight is due to inner decay.
>
> "I am certain we are going to be free soon. But to retain freedom for ever we must eradicate those causes which brought us our present slavery.
>
> "We must purify ourselves." (P. 82).

I have no doubt that in the freedom that, I hope, will soon dawn, the author of these words will be assigned a part worthy of his sacrifices and strivings in liberty's cause. In the meantime, I am happy that he has given us these *Leaves* to read and to ponder. We owe deep gratitude to the Giani Gurmukh Singh Mussafar for persuading "Mohanji" (as he is called by his comrades) to publish them. This "Wayfarer" (Mussafar) is, himself, a man of sterling worth, who has striven mightily in the cause of freedom and in striving has undergone much suffering.

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A LESSON FROM MR. CHURCHILL'S ZURICH SPEECH

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Watumull Foundation, Visiting Professor of Public Affairs, New York University

I

EVERY Indian patriot and statesman, who claims himself to be an Indian and feels proud of his Indian heritage, should carefully read Mr. Churchill's great speech* delivered at Zurich on September 19, 1946. In this, Mr. Churchill advocated that Europe must stop her civil wars and European States—specially France and Germany—should take the leadership in forming a Federated United States of Europe. This is the only way left to bring about peace and security in Europe and resurrection of European culture.

Mr. Churchill, during the course of his speech, praised the late M. Briand's vision for a United States of Europe and the work done by my colleague Professor Count Cudenhove-Kalergie. He suggested that such a federation of Europe will be a regional organisation which will strengthen the concept and organisation of the United Nations. He felt that without further delay there should be a Council of Europe organized to further this objective.

II

In the past the British Government was opposed to the formation of any United Europe which was once the objective of Napoleon, and recently of Hitler. In the past, it was the attitude of the British Government that such an organization would become powerful enough to check British predominance in European continent. A United Europe was opposed to British policy of "Balance of Power" in Europe. But with the change of circumstances, Balance of Power in Europe has been virtually destroyed, because today Soviet Russia has become the most and only dominant Power in Europe. It has absorbed most of Eastern Europe including Poland, Czechoslovakia, Eastern part of Germany, part of Austria, Hungary and the whole of the Balkan Penin-

* Reproduced in our Foreign Periodicals section.

sula. This mighty Soviet system has been trying to bring France, Italy and Greece into its fold. This development has forced the British statesman Churchill to envisage the idea that the Atlantic community including Germany should unite into a United Europe. This idea is not a new one. It has been advocated by Count Coudenhove-Kalorgie, Walter Lipmann and many others long before it has been taken up by Mr. Churchill. But Mr. Churchill's advocacy gives a special international significance.

Already the Communists of the world have seen in this programme an attempt to unify the West against Soviet East. It may not be a programme to isolate Soviet Russia ; but it is certainly a defensive programme against any further Soviet penetration of Europe.

III

For India, there is a lesson in Mr. Churchill's new stand. Mr. Churchill was a bitter anti-Communist and he was the soul of the programme of intervention of Western Powers against the Soviet State in Russia. This was in 1919-21 and afterwards. But when Germany under Hitler became strong and made a virtual alliance with Soviet Russia, Churchill became an advocate of friendly understanding with Soviet Russia so that, Soviet Russia and Germany would be separated. During the World War II, Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission to Moscow was for this particular purpose. When Germany and Soviet Russia became enemies, because of the conflicting interests of these powers in Eastern Europe as well as the Balkans, Mr. Churchill was the first man who extended a helping hand—an alliance—to Mr. Stalin, so that, Britain's the then foremost enemy—Hitler's Germany—would be crushed with the combined strength, Anglo-American-Russian Powers and their satellites. Until Germany was defeated Mr. Churchill made concessions to Russia at Moscow, Teheran, Yalta and other conferences. But today Soviet Russia is challenging British position in Europe and Asia and Mr. Churchill is anxious to create a new bulwark against any further Soviet expansion in Europe. He wants a United Europe co-operating with the British Commonwealth of Nations and the United States. A statesman adopts different tactics under different circumstances, to gain his one objective—*preservation of the interest of the State.*

There is another interesting lesson in Mr. Churchill's new proposition—warring nations can and should unite for self-defence and self-preservation. To every student of history, it is clear that Europe in every century has had more wars than any part of Asia or other parts of the world. India is as large as all of Europe except Russia and it has a population of 400,000,000. Although India has been invaded by various peoples from time to time, the people of India did have fewer wars than European peoples have had amongst themselves. India has been united on various periods and there is no reason, whatsoever, in spite of the insane demands of a selfish minority for partition of India, against the consolidation of the Federated Republic of the United States with which component parts—ancient States and provinces—will have autonomy and *every citizen will enjoy equal rights.*

This United States of India is the heart and the centre of the vast region from the Suez Canal to extreme regions of the South-East Asia. This United States of India must not only develop her immense power to protect herself from any evil force of disruption inside and forces of aggression from outside, but she should be the defender of Asian Independence and World Peace with Justice and Liberty for all peoples.

Mr. Churchill pleads for the rise of a resurrected and rejuvenated Europe which will offer peace, prosperity and joy to 400,000,000 millions. In this we find a lesson for a rejuvenated free Greater India which will be a factor for Peace and Freedom in the world of tomorrow. *"Arise, Awake, struggle and wait not till this goal is attained."*

New York University

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BRITAIN'S DUAL OPIUM POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.

II

OPIUM AND REVENUE IN BRITISH FAR EAST

Coming back to the first of the two explanations offered by the Temperance Movement for the opium policy of Great Britain in its colonies and dependencies, *viz.*, utilising opium addiction for revenue producing purposes, it is proposed to say something about the situation in two well-known and prosperous Crown colonies before dealing with the case of India.

In the Straits Settlements at the tip of the Malay Peninsula having Singapore as its capital, the manufacture and distribution of smoking opium became a Government monopoly from the beginning of 1910. The representative of its British administration to the Opium Committee of the League of Nations according to *Minutes : Fifth Session*, p. 139, said that, from that time, the monopoly had been utilised to discourage opium smoking by gradually reducing the number of licensed opium smoking-rooms and, in that connection, mentioned that these had numbered 503 on the 31st December, 1909 and 211 in 1922. It was also stated by him that, with the same end in view, successive increases in the wholesale and retail prices of smoking opium had been introduced.

Stimulated by this two-fold "discouragement," the consumption of smoking opium showed an upward tendency as is evident from what appears on page 140 of the above mentioned *Minutes*. This went hand in hand with an increase in the revenue from this source.

Year	*Opium consumed in pounds*	*Opium revenue*
1918	131,255	$15,706 741
1919	141 728	$17 511 229
1920	151,322	$19,983,054

It is unwillingness to inflict dry and uninteresting statistics on the reader which stands in the way of giving similar information for the whole period starting from 1910 but it is an undeniable fact that, during all these years, the revenue from all sources was much above the total expenditure and therefore there was no deficit which had to be made up by facilitating opium smoking.

Rev. Dr. Connolly of Singapore writing in the *Bulletin of the London Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade* observed in April, 1923, that

> "The British-Malay Government are committed to a policy of gradual suppression of the opium traffic. Official pronouncements are on record of its disapproval, but conscience has been too easily satisfied by public expression of contrition. The administration and the country benefit by an opium tax, which now exceeds in the Straits Settlements 48 per cent of the total revenue. Like an epicurean ascetic, the administration derives pleasure from its profession of a virtue, and profitable revenue from the toleration of a vice. Approximately 14 million dollars is to be collected this year from the Government sales of opium. This represents net profit to the state."

Towards the end, certainly because as a conscientious Christian he must have felt humiliated by the doings of his countrymen, Dr. Connolly said that

> "Great numbers of Chinese artisans used no opium when they entered Malay from China, but contracted the habit under the British flag."

The British Colony of Hongkong had been importing opium in large quantities from the time when India commenced exporting it. At one time, the monopoly for the sale of opium was leased out from year to year. This was replaced by Government monopoly in 1914. Under the Hague Convention of 1912, it had been agreed that to put down opium smoking, the nations which had signed and ratified it would not ship or export prepared opium used for smoking. The British administration of Hongkong organised its own factory and got round the Hague agreement by importing raw opium and preparing it for smoking.

A glance at pages 138 and 166 of the *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Opium Committee* of the League of Nations will show that between 1916 and 1922, the amount of prepared opium was never less than 300 chests of 140 pounds each and that in 1918 it amounted to 539 chests. Part of this prepared opium was consumed in the colony itself and the rest smuggled, principally into China, where its consumption was illegal.

As to the reason for this monopoly, a reference to pages 47, 50 and 51 of the *Hongkong Blue Book* for 1921 will show that in 1920, opium revenue constituted 29 per cent and in 1921, 22 per cent of the total revenues. The following extract from page 227 of the *Colonial Office List* for 1923 is also interesting :

> "*Revenue* : About one quarter of the revenue is derived from the Opium Monopoly."

One wonders whether the administrators in charge of such a flourishing centre of British commerce, so favourably situated for ever-expanding industry and trade could not, if they had so desired, have devised some tax or other which would have yielded the amount received from the opium monopoly. But the will was not there and so the administration continued to "control," to "regulate" and to tax opium till it was put out of action by the Japanese. Let us hope that it has learnt wisdom and that it will not feel any hesitation in changing its opium policy.

Royal Commission on Opium

The efforts of the British Temperance Movement which had public support so far as its opposition to the India Government's monopoly in opium was concerned, and the agitation conducted by educated Indians had, at last, their effect in the form of a resolution passed in the House of Commons calling for the appointment of a Royal Commission in 1893. In addition to a consideration of the export trade to China, a matter which does not concern us here, it was asked to

> "enquire into the extent and effects of opium consumption in India, and to consider whether the production and sale of the drug otherwise than for medicinal purposes should be prohibited."

The recommendations of the Royal Commission on Opium were definitely accepted by the British Government and have been given effect to all along by the British administration in India. In regard to the question of the prohibition of the use of opium for purposes other than medical and scientific, it said :

> "We do not feel called upon to express any opinion on the course adopted by the Government of India (in the matter of supplying opium for purely intoxication purposes), or the motives by which they appear to have been actuated. . . . Taking the view of the question that we do, we are content to leave it to the administrative experience of the Government of India to decide . . . the desirability in the case of a drug specially liable to abuse, of raising revenue by a high restrictive price, rather than by a larger and cheap supply."

In effect, this amounted to giving unstinted support to the British administration's adherence to its old policy. Lest the reader should be misled to believe that there was a change in this attitude when the British administraiion in beahlf of India signed the Hague Convention and ratified it, it is necessary to add that such steps for the reduction of the export of raw opium as were taken by it were very largely, if not exclusively, the result of the pressure of non-Indian public opinion which had found expression in the recommendations of the League of Nations of which India was a member.

The British administration could not fail to realise that it would occupy an awkward position if it refused to accept the Hague Convention and the other suggestions of the League for here an international question of policy was involved and it had no desire to court harsh criticism as an uncivilised and selfish government ready to increase its revenues by selling this drug to nationals of other countries. At the same time, we have to make allowance for the change in the outlook natural to those belonging to the twentieth century with its more progressive ideas in regard to our duty towards other nations.

But when Indians asked for the total prohibition of poppy cultivation, the response made by the British administration was quite unsympathetic. In fact, when

a feeler to this effect was put forward at the League of Nations by a member the reply given was that

"The internal consumption of opium is a matter which entirely concerned the British and Indian Government and that it is not an international question."

In other words, its spokesman said, in so many words, that while the British administration would indirectly support all steps against the non-medical and habitual use of opium in countries outside India because it admitted, of course in a roundabout way, that it is detrimental to public and private interests, it would not allow any interference with its opium policy inside India.

Opium and Revenue in India

The British administration has always insisted that it is "uniformed and impatient idealism" to attempt the prohibition of opium because

"Even if it was possible to suppress the cultivation of opium in India, geographical and political limitations would place it beyond our power to prevent illicit import (from the Indian States, etc.) and consumption on a serious scale."

The inference is that as the smuggling of opium and its non-medical use cannot be prevented, it might as well be used as a means of adding to the revenues of India. The world at large is informed that various steps have been taken to discourage the use of opium in excessive quantities. In that connection, attention is drawn to the fact that the cultivation, manufacture and sale of opium are conducted as a monopoly under the direct supervision of responsible officers of the British administration and that every step relating to the control and output is scrupulously and systematically regulated till it has attained the highest pitch of efficiency.

It has been shown elsewhere how the British executive in Burma in explaining its adherence to the Government monopoly stated that it was its duty to "provide for" what it was pleased to characterise as "the legitimate requirements" of the opium addicts of that country, implying that theirs was a practical solution of a difficult problem of administration. The British administration in India too has claimed that its approach to the opium problem in our motherland has been realistic and it has sought to base this claim on the highly efficient and successful methods it has adopted for controlling the manufacture and distribution of opium.

That this is not the whole truth is clear from a letter which appeared in British Temperance journals about the middle of 1893 and to which the attention of the Royal Commission on Opium was drawn by Sir Joseph Pease, M.P., in his evidence tendered on the 8th September, 1893. The following extract from the letter in question supports the view advanced here :

"In travelling, by the mail train on the State railway between Bombay and Ahmedabad, for the whole distance of 800 miles, a curious advertisement confronts the passenger. It is in three languages, English, Marathi, and Gujarathi, and informs him that at Ahmedabad he can obtain ten tolas of opium (at a time) at the licensed shop, just outside the station."

This is clearly high pressure propaganda conducted by the British administration for promoting the sale of opium. Further, the location of the shop and the availability of the drug in such large quantities, it may be argued, constitute encouragements to the consumption of large amounts of opium and the creation of new addicts, all for the sake of the revenue.

The disastrous consequences of the approach of the British administration to our opium problem were pointed out by the Rev. Herbert Anderson, Secretary of the Baptist Mission in India and of the Calcutta Temperance Association who, on page 9 of his *Excise Administration in Bengal,* said in 1921, that

"The Government shelters itself under the delusion of doing a legitimate trade, but by that very policy it has fastened the shackles of a habit condemned by Hindu and Moslem authorities alike on the community at large, and the chain gets longer and stronger every year."

The very fact that no attempt from any official quarter has even been made to refute the contention that there is a continuous increase in the number of addicts is sufficient proof that there is substance in the views of Rev. Mr. Anderson quoted above. In that connection, the attention of the reader may be drawn to the following extract from a statement made by the official nominated to represent India at the Opium Conference at Geneva :

"It is, and always has been, the desire of Government to suppress excessive indulgence (in opium)."

This may be construed into an explanation, though indirect, of the extension of the opium habit among a constantly increasing number of people though at the same time, it is only fair to add that successive increases in the retail price have been responsible for the consumption of smaller doses.

The worthlessness of this argument in support of the British opium policy may be easily realised if we remember that, in the view of experts who have made a special study of narcotics and whose opinions have been either mentioned or quoted elsewhere, the consumption of even small amounts of this drug is responsible for physical, intellectual and moral damage added to which is the fact that, once the habit is acquired, no matter how small the dose, it is almost impossible to give it up.

"Legitimate Trade" of the British Administration

The British administration, in the view of the Rev. Mr. Anderson, adheres to its opium policy because of its desire to engage in "legitimate trade." This "legitimate trade" is the opium monopoly of the Central Government which exports part of the opium manufactured and, after keeping in stock what is not immediately needed, sells the rest to the Provincial Governments thus engaging itself in what has been rightly called wholesale transactions. The different Provincial Governments, in their turn, sell their opium to licensed vendors at rates fixed by them thus avoiding direct contact with the consumers. The amounts sold to them though not very large, are still large enough to be regarded as wholesale transactions, their excise revenue, in other words, their profits, consisting in the difference

between the price paid by them to the Central Government and the price at which the opium is purchased by the licensed vendors. A second part of their excise revenue is derived from the fees paid by the licensees which are determined in auctions held among vendors every year.

There is present the feeling, not always given expression to publicly by officialdom, that here it is merely meeting a genuine need and as there is no direct touch between it and the opium addict, it cannot be held responsible for the injuries due to the habitual use of this narcotic.

Dr. H. F. MacNair, Ph.D., Professor of History and Government, St John's University, Shanghai, China, is the author of *Modern Chinese History: Selected Readings* in which appears a letter originally published in the *Chinese Repository* for January, 1837. Signed by one who concealed his identity under the *nom-de-plume* "A British Merchant of Canton," it is a devastating criticism of the fallacy underlying the assumption that wholesale transactions in deleterious articles like opium and the like have the effect of transferring the responsibility for such damage as may be caused by their habitual use either to the retail vendor or the consumer or to both. In driving home his contention that the wholesale dealer in drugs is as guilty as the retail vendor, the writer of the letter said:

> "The saving clause . . . is that it (opium trade) is not a *vulgar* one. It is a wholesale trade. Sales are made in thousands of dollars' worth. The amount is gentlemanly. Single balls (of opium) would be low. Sales by retail would be indefensible . . . That which, sold in chests, is commerce, and to be applauded, becomes vulgar and mean when doled out in smaller lots. Admirable logic! with which one may hug one's self, satisfied that it is nothing more than 'supplying an important branch of the Indian revenue safely and peaceably.' . . The trade may be a profitable one—it may be of importance to the Indian Government, but to attempt a defense (sic) on the ground of its not having a dangerous and pernicious influence on health and morals, is to say what cannot be borne out, by fact or argument; and what all who reason on the subject, cannot but feel to be an impotent attempt to defend what is, in itself, manifestly indefensible."

British and French Attitudes

The major colonial possessions and dependencies of France lie in Africa and Asia. Opium is consumed in some of them, one of these being Indo-China which has a large Chinese population and where the French Government has established an opium monopoly on lines familiar to us in India. It started an anti-opium campaign in 1907 when the consumption was 111,000 kilos. The last measure known to the present writer was taken in 1919 as the result of which the average for the years 1919 and 1920 was reduced to 60,000 kilos. It is admitted that, up to that time, the aim of the French Government had been not to prohibit opium but to reduce its consumption within certain limits and, at the same time, to draw a revenue from this source, on the ground that successive increases in the price of the narcotic would reduce the amount consumed.

The French Government, however, adopted a stronger, and in the view of prohibitionists, a more praiseworthy attitude when, in the language of the French delegate at the Opium Committee of the League of Nations, Madagascar, the Reunion Islands, Tahiti and Caledonia were "threatened with an outbreak of the opium scourge." Starting with the gradual reduction in the quantities made available to its subject peoples, it prohibited the consumption of opium from 1922.

So complete was the success of the Prohibition campaign that by 1923, only 40 addicts were left in these areas, the rest having either broken off their habit or left for places where they could indulge in their vice without any interference. According to the *Minutes of the Fifth Session of the Opium Committee*:

> "The Colonial Ministry had recently received a request from the doctors in Tahiti for permission to import, as an exceptional measure, a certain quantity of opium for the use of 40 addicts whose state of health was said to be suffering gravely by reason of its complete suppression. The French Government had categorically refused to grant this permission."

Lack of space has prevented any quotations from the statements issued by the French administration of Indo-China on the opium situation. But in all of them as well as in those concerned with the steps taken for the prohibition of opium in Tahiti, Caledonia, etc., it invariably refers to its policy as comprising successive stages of a 'struggle,' a struggle against old and well-established custom, a struggle against well-organised and clever smugglers, a struggle against an injurious habit.

The very significant language used by the French delegate "opium scourge" in reference to the reappearance of opium consumption in its four island possessions very clearly proves that the French administration realised the misery and degradation which follow drug taking and was ready to safeguard its ignorant charges from them. Whatever else may be said of the French administration, it cannot be charged with hypocrisy for unlike its British counterpart in India, it has never attempted to defend its opium monopoly on the plea that it is good for the people consuming it or that it has been in use for hundreds of years.

The Indian Conclusion

It would be quite incorrect to assume that the attention of the agents of the Crown was never drawn to the necessity of having anti-narcotic legislation for India on the same lines as those in Great Britain.

It may not be known to many that, as early as 1868, the House of Commons had passed a Pharmacy Act under which, among other things, narcotics could be sold only by duly qualified druggists and with a label showing them to be poisons and that the preparations of Indian hemp, classed under dangerous poisons, could be sold only to persons known to the seller or introduced to him by some such person, entry being made in a register of the particulars of each sale, etc.

The provisions relating to opium in this Act were generally considered by British medical men as more or less unsatisfactory and their laxity had been referred to by coroners' juries again and again. This explains the passing of the Dangerous Drugs Act referred to previously.

All this has been said by way of placing before the reader the fact that, in the memorial presented by the Anti-Opium Society of England in November, 1892, to the Earl of Kimberley, Secretary of State for India and Burma, the following suggestion was made :

> "We would urge upon your Lordship to request the Indian Government without delay to prepare and adopt such regulations under the Indian Opium and Excise Acts as may be found best suited to adapt to the requirements of British India the fundamental principles that the sale of poisonous drugs is to be restricted to medical and scientific use, and that discretionary powers for such sale should be entrusted only to responsible and carefully-selected persons, who possess adequate knowledge of the deleterious properties of these drugs, who can readily be called to account for any improper use of the discretion conferred upon them, and whose remuneration in no degree depends on the amount of their sale."

There might be difference of opinion in regard to details but it cannot be denied that the above suggestion, in its broad lines, with necessary additions and alterations if accepted and given effect to in 1892, would have practically solved our problem of drug addiction. No attention was paid to this request and what, from the Indian point of view, is still more regrettable is that Great Britain to safeguard its own people later on passed the Dangerous Drugs Act leaving the colonial races living under its flag unprotected.

A consideration of the facts set forth previously leads to the conclusion that the British administration is one of those that, for the sake of avoiding difficulties in devising new taxes likely to yield as much revenue as that obtainable from narcotics and which, at the same time, would not cause discontent, has made the non-medical use of opium and its derivatives comparatively easy in its oriental possessions and thus far appears to have been uninfluenced by the wastage of human life involved in the policy. At the same time, it has overlooked the fact that the British nation, whose agent it is, has sought security for itself through legislation prohibiting any except their medical use under the supervision of properly qualified and responsible physicians. In effect, the British nation, ultimately responsible for this policy, has been persuaded not only to approve of, but also to adhere persistently to, the very illogical and, therefore, untenable position that while opium is harmful to itself, it is harmless to its oriental subjects.

The inconsistency just referred to has sometimes been explained by the uncharitable as being due to insensitiveness to Indian misery and degradation natural enough in an alien administration. This impression was strengthened during the Second World War when the Congress vacated office and the Provincial Governors, under various pretexts, suspended the operation of the Prohibition laws enacted by popularly elected and representative ministries.

The Demand for Equality

What, from the point of view of the British administration, is most undesirable is the strengthening of an Indian public opinion opposed on principle to a traffic, which, according to the London *Times*, is always accompanied by physical ruin and moral degradation, a public opinion which resents keenly still another instance of discrimination, a Dangerous Drugs Act to protect Britons and none to protect Indians and with the British administration ready to oppose or water down such a measure if it is sought to be introduced unofficially. And yet the peoples of both the countries are subjects of the same empire and, at least theoretically, are entitled to the same consideration.

It may be that the Indian resentment at this differential treatment is due to many factors one of which certainly is the feeling that the happiness, prosperity and even the life of the Indian addict are not regarded as sufficiently valuable to outweigh the loss in revenue inevitable if legislation of the English type is introduced in our motherland. But back of this is the firm conviction that this indifference to his welfare is really due to the British feeling that the Indian is an inferior and so he does not count—a belief for which the attitude of at least some Britons is responsible. This resentment expressed more than once, but not very clearly from the point of view of the present discussion, amounts practically to a demand for equality of status, something recognised more than a decade and a half ago when, in the last para but one of the first volume of its very valuable report, the Simon Commission observed :

> "With all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment."

It is contended that the laws against drink and drugs passed by the Congress ministries during the period 1937-39, while undoubtedly due to their concern for the welfare of the masses, a sentiment injected into them by Mahatma Gandhi, were also motivated by the urge, may be unconscious, of giving the same protection against stimulants and narcotics to their own flesh and blood which the British people enjoy in their own homeland so far as narcotics are concerned and which their agents in India have so far and so consistently denied to their fellow-subjects.

Our Next Step

The one fact that Indian nationalism has realised is that even if the policy of control of the Government traffic in opium succeeds in eliminating addiction, India would, in the absence of full-blooded Prohibition, still have to face and solve the problem again for such is its fascination for a certain type of individuals that if this narcotic is procurable, it is bound to be used for non-medical purposes. It is therefore that as soon as the Congress has come into power, it is again proclaiming a war without quarter against drink and drugs. And, in doing so, our largest and most influential political organisation, the first to prove unmistakably its love for the masses of India, relies on the heartening words of Condorcet, "Nature has set no limits to the hopes of mankind" which, if it only toils and suffers, must ultimately attain the goal, however high, it has set before itself.

(Concluded)

THE CHITARAL ROCK TEMPLE

A Jain Vestige of the Ninth Century in Travancore

BY K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

OF great antiquity and historical importance is the Chitaral Rock Shrine situated five miles to the north of Kushithura, a tiny and unpretentious village on the Trivandrum-Nagercoil Road, in South Travancore. Chitaral was in days of yore a place of pilgrimage most sacred to the Jains. Jain groups had their habitat in Travancore in early times, but disappeared consequent on certain historical circumstances which had their origin outside the State. Jainism which made its appearance in Malabar during the days of Asoka has left its stamp on the temple architecture of Kerala. The temple at Chitaral which was originally a Jain Shrine was, later on, converted into a Hindu Temple and an image of Goddess Sree Bhagavati was installed there. Today the Jain tradition associated with Chitaral has been entirely forgotten by the people who regard the Shrine as a genuine Hindu temple. A number of old epigraphs in the Tinnevelly District go to show that Jainism was once prevalent in South Travancore and the adjoining districts and that some of the well-known Jain teachers and devotees hailed from Chitaral, a place which was then famous as Tirucharanam and the seat of a thriving Jain Monastery.



Some of the images sculptured on the face of the Chitaral rock

The Sree Bhagavati Temple at Chitaral is built at the foot of a huge rock. The rock itself comprises the rear side of the shrine, the other three sides being enclosed by massive walls. The ruins of the original Jain temple perched on the summit of the Chitaral rock attract both pilgrims and tourists. The ruins which are most imposing evoke sacred and austere memories. The Jain Shrine at Chitaral which has been ascribed to the 9th century, illustrates that the creative genius of the Jains asserted itself in architecture.

The Chitaral rock is a sacred relic of the past. On the face of this huge rock have been sculptured many exquisite images which are avowedly Jainistic in origin, demeanour and deportment. The distinguishing features of these granite images are bald heads, clean shaven faces, a tier of three umbrellas over the head and the absence of holy thread and garments. These characteristic indications prove that the images are of Jain *Teerthankaras* or deified heroes. The images are masterpieces of the sculptor's art. Beneath some of the images are found valuable inscriptions in *Vattezethu*, an old script which was once popular in Kerala. Some of the finest images of Jain Saints are noticed on the upper half of the rock facing the west. E. B. Havell considers that though the Jain sculpture is "very noble as art," "Jain figure sculpture seems to lack the feeling and imagination of the best Buddhist and Hindu art." This criticism is applicable to Jain images at Chitaral, which are distinguished by a certain formalism and rigidity. Only the "fixed, immutable pose of the ascetic absorbed in contemplation" has been made the subject of sculpture in stone in the Jain Shrine at Chitaral. The figures are treated conventionally, the shoulders being broad, arms hanging straight down to the lap and the waists small. The images symbolise the complete spiritual abstractness of *Yatis* absorbed and motionless during penance. The full contemplative expression on the face of the images proclaim, the genius of the sculptors. Here and there are seen well executed and lovely images of Goddess Sree Bhagavati and attendants which must have been of a later origin and carved at the time of the construction of the shrine dedicated to the Goddess. There are over thirty Jain images sculptured on the face of the huge Chitaral rock. All these images which are in a sitting posture appear to be replicas in different sizes of the principal images of Jain *Teerthankaras* inside the central and southern compartments of the rock-cut hall of the Shrine. The two large images in the rock-cut hall are seated on elevated stone plinths. The Hindus, however, regard these images as those of Maha Vishnu.

Chitaral is famous for its inscriptions on huge rocks. A number of lengthy inscriptions of great historical and cultural importance are witnessed here. They throw much light on the religious and cultural history of the State. Some relics of exquisite mural paintings are also noticed in the Chitaral Shrine which is nearly eleven centuries old. The murals are conceived and



A general view of Chitaral

executed in a highly conventional style and are delicate in treatment. Their nobility of expression and perfection of line recall to the mind of the connoisseur of art some of the finest frescoes of Ajanta.

A beautiful rock spring, the waters of which form a pretty pool, shoots up in front of the Sree Bhagavati Shrine. A magnificent panorama stretches before the sightseer who ascends the Chitaral rock and surveys the charming landscape around. At a distance he sees the jagged outline of the mountains enveloped in mist. Gleaming pale green lakes and fields, winding rivers and irrigation canals, clusters of pretty villages nestling amidst dense cocoanut and palmyrah plantations, and the tall spires of Churches and lofty Gopurams of temples rising up here and there amidst a landscape of arcadian jollity and exuberance, greet the tourists' vision at this delightful spot. A beauty spot where historic, religious and picturesque elements combine to afford many charms to the pilgrim and tourist, Chitaral is an ideal place for enjoying a quiet holiday, for the most greatly prized amenity granted exclusively by Nature here is peacefulness.

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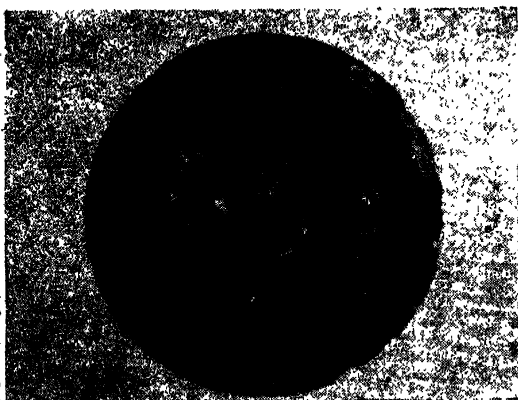
THE ART OF GANJIFA CARDS

By S. I. CLERK

The game of Ganjifa seems to have been invented in about seventh century A.D., or even earlier. Today too, it is being played in various parts of India under different names with different cards and rules. A great centre of manufacture of the Ganjifa cards today is Savantwadi near Belgaum in the Bombay Presidency. Other centres are Jaipur, Lucknow, Amritsar and Bengal. In Savantwadi, the artisans these days manufacture the French cards in Indian style, *i.e.*, round cards bearing the signs of diamonds, clubs, hearts, spades, with kings, queens, knaves and aces all painted and lacquered by hand.

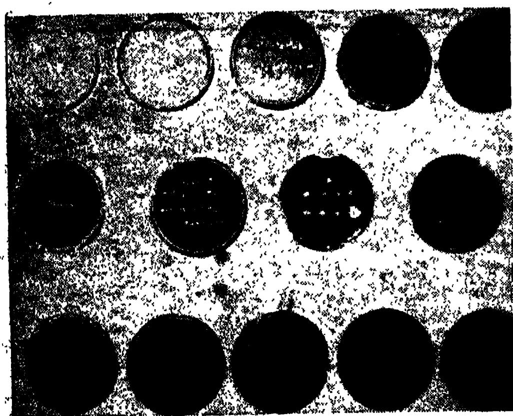
Ganjifa is as complete a system as that of our present-day popular French cards is. It is based on the ten *avatars* or incarnations of Lord Vishnu (*Vishnapur* or *Dasavatar*). Thus there are ten suits each named after one *avatar* and bears his name, *e.g.*, *Matsya* (symbol fish, colour red); *Kurma* (symbol tortoise,

colour red); *Varaha* (symbol boar, colour yellow); *Narasinha* or man-lion (symbol lion, colour green); *Parashurama* or Rama with axe (symbol axe, colour brown); *Rama* (symbol bow and arrow or Hanuman, colour yellow); *Krishna* (symbol *chakra*—disc or cows,



A big size card depicting human figures

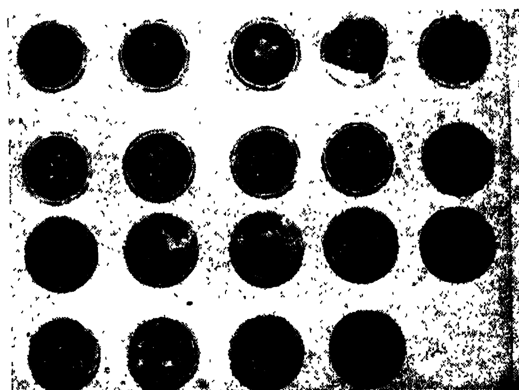
colour brown); *Buddha* (symbol conch, colour black); *Kalki*, the future avatar (symbol swords or white horses, colour black). Each suit consists of twelve cards of which the first ten are plain and in numerical order, and the last two cards are picture cards, one being the Pradhan or minister, represented by one or two horsemen and the symbol of the suit, the other being the avatar himself. The entire pack thus consists of 120



The big size cards (size 2")

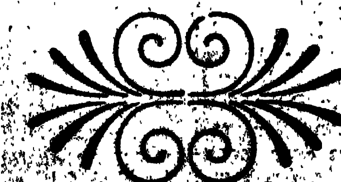
cards. Of the numerical cards in the first five suits, the highest value is given to the ten and so on in descending order, the one being the lowest. In the other five suits this order is reversed, the one (ace) being the highest. Of the picture cards, Rama is the highest.

The painting on the Ganjifa pieces has preserved right to the present day the fragmentary style of the early Rajput drawing. The colour used in painting these cards is glowing, almost comparable with enamel, even though the surface is dead matte. All colours are pure. The use of gold colour, which is probably foreign to indigenous tradition, occurs only during the later period. The composition is architectural, not calligraphic as in Jaina painting. The paintings have vigorous expression akin to that of primitive art. The drawing of the figures on these cards is peculiar; the corners of the eyes are extended to meet the ears, but unlike the figures in Jaina paintings, the further eye in *profil perdu* does not project beyond the facial outline. The animal drawings on these cards are also very interesting. They remind us of the wooden toy animals of gay colours which only a few decades ago were very popular in our country.



The small size cards (size 1·5")

Ganjifa cards are circular varying in sizes. Mostly they are made of lacquer, leather, ivory or even gold and silver with enamel inlay. In our collection there are two kinds of cards, one with a diameter of two inches, the other with 1·5 inches. On one side of the card is the picture or the numerical, and the other side is painted Indian red with a yellow circular border line. These cards are probably about a hundred years old. They are made from the pages of old discarded books of accounts. About five circular discs are used to make one card. The final lacquered card is stiff and durable. This use of old books of accounts as well as the fact that the drawings on these cards are crude, show that these cards are made in home, probably by the womenfolk in their leisure hours. Thus what we see in the paintings on these Ganjifa cards is not the touch of an accomplished craftsman but a genuine folk-art. Even then, in spite of the apparent crudity, these paintings are vigorous reminders of the exquisite charm of the early Rajput school of painting.



SMALL CITIES AND TOWNS OF THE UNITED STATES

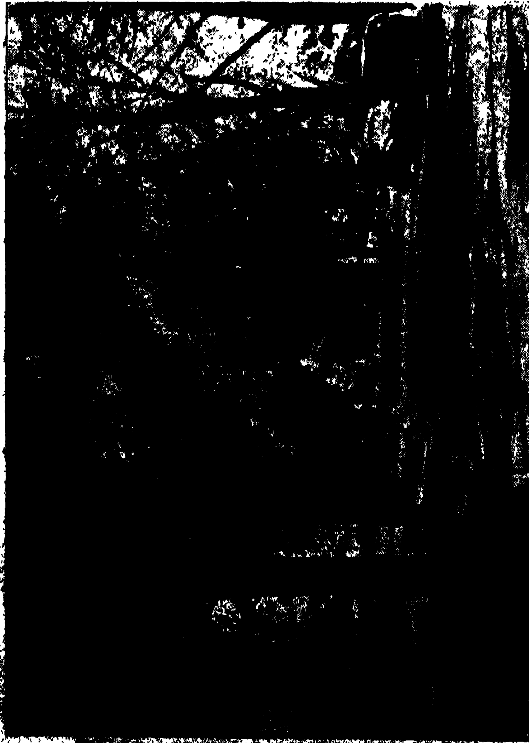
ABOUT one quarter of the total population of the United States lives in small cities, towns or villages. These communities include villages so small that they contain only a single highway intersection with a store, a fishing station and possibly ten or fifteen homes. They include towns with populations of a few



Tree-shaded main street in Mason City, Nebraska (population 396)



North Walpole, New Hampshire (population 1,000) and Bellows Falls (population 4,326) are on opposite sides of the Connecticut River



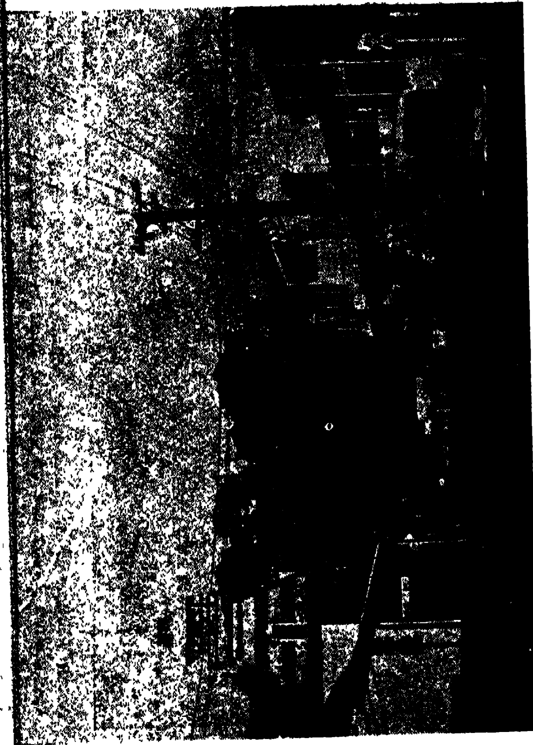
Prosperous Marysville, Ohio (population 4,039) is a representative small city of the Middle West



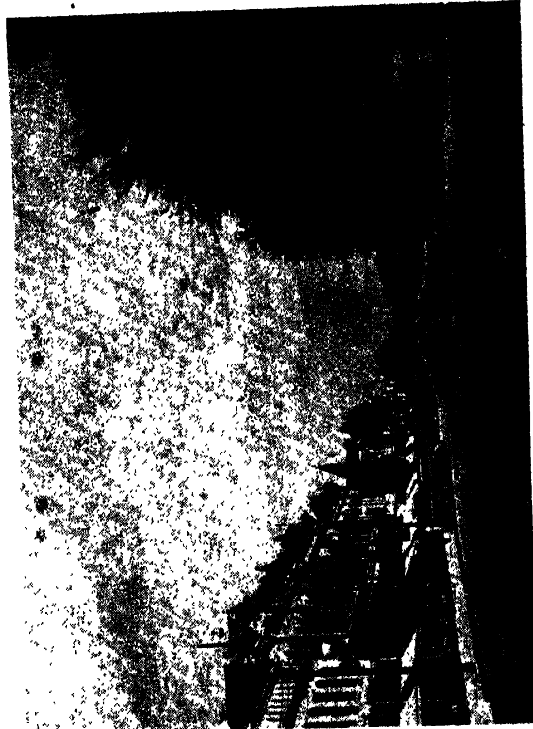
Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania (population 3,009) is located on a scenic gorge in the mountains of Carbon County

thousands, and they also include thriving little cities with industrial plants, schools, libraries, newspapers, parks, motion picture theatres and railroad and bus connections with other cities.

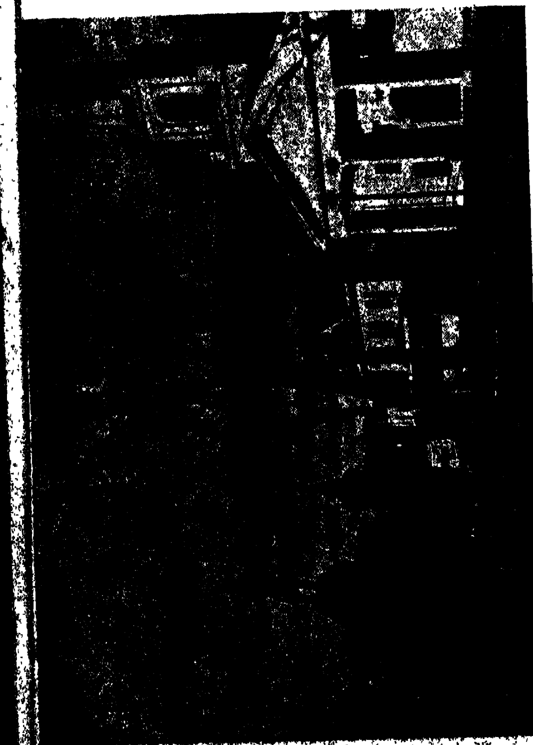
The American scene is probably best typified by the small-town picture. Certainly these communities are more truly representative of the nation than the large cosmopolitan cities. With some 40 million of the



Auburn, California (population 4,013) nestling among orchard-covered hills



A view of the business section of Grundy Center Iowa (population 2,012)



Mystic, Connecticut (population 2,069) is a relic of New England's great sea-faring past



The town of Fort Kent, Maine (population 2,801) is located on the St. John River boundary between the United States and Canada

country's population included in these villages and little cities they naturally exert a vital influence on the life of the nation. Through these settlements the riches of farms and grazing lands pass on their way to markets. The produces of mines, of forests, and of oil fields all affect these communities as they travel from their sources to their ultimate consumers, the communities. They exist to serve the localities at which they are the centers, aiding in the distribution of local products to the vast of the country and absorbing part of the production of other parts of the nation.

Small towns and cities vary in appearance and customs. Climate, terrain, age and the character of the first settlers of the villages combine to bestow on each community its own peculiar flavor. In such settlements, some of which appear on only the most detailed road maps, descendants of English pioneers have cherished the traditions their ancestors brought to the New World and those traditions have become part of the country's cultural wealth.

These several national cultural patterns are responsible for marked variation in the surface pattern of the villages of America. The German settlement in Eastern Pennsylvania have perpetuated the tradition of painting lucky symbols on their homes, their barns and their outbuildings. In Western Michigan, the Dutch villages still maintain their tradition of celebrating tulip time in the spring, while in California, the Italian settlers in their planning of vineyard and living space have transferred part of the culture of the old world to the new locality.

But while American towns differ widely in many physical aspects, people are much alike throughout the land, possessing a common character which is distinctly American. Except for manners of speech, there is little to distinguish people living in the nation's coastal states from fellow citizens living in states far inland. Contributing to this homogeneity is their universal education, their desire to travel, adequate transportation and the ease with which they may pass from state to state without regard to boundaries. Newspapers, magazines, and the radio and motion pictures in more recent years, have also contributed in great measure to the promotion of a common way of life for all Americans.—*USIS.*

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THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART IN WASHINGTON

SINCE March 17, 1941, when the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., was opened to the public, more than nine million visitors have viewed the institution's distinguished collections, which number about 900 paintings and other works of art. It has gained international renown as one of the leading repositories of art in the United States, ranking with older and larger American galleries and approaching some of the great museums of Europe.



The National Gallery of Art in Washington is one of the largest marble structures in the world

The National Gallery houses more than 500 internationally famous sculptures and paintings. The paintings cover the various European schools from the 13th to the 18th century. There are nine Rembrandts, three Vermeers, Raphael's *Alba Madonna*, the Niccolini-Cowper *Madonna*, and *Saint George and the Dragon*, Van Eyck's *Annunciation* and Botticelli's *Adoration of the Magi*. Twenty-one paintings in the Mellon collection, which is prominent in the gallery, came from the famous Hermitage Gallery in Leningrad.

The Gallery is supported by public appropriation and belongs to the people of the nation. Italian, Flemish, Dutch, Spanish, French, American and British paintings and sculptures are grouped in the various galleries.

The Gallery building, 785 feet long, is one of the largest marble structures in the world. It cost 15,000,000 dollars to erect. It is air-conditioned to maintain proper atmospheric conditions to preserve its collections. The Gallery has a smoking room, lecture hall, library, cafeteria and an information service for visitors. Wheel chairs and baby carriages are available to visitors without charge. Concerts are held in one of the courts on Sunday evenings.

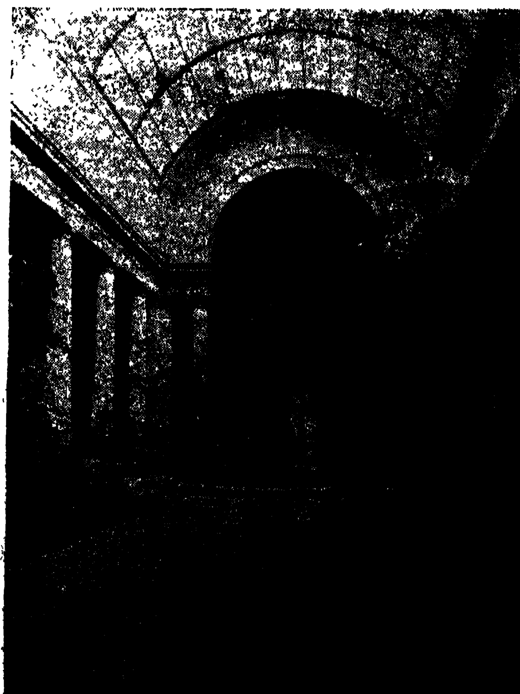
The National Gallery owes its fine collections to a few citizen patrons who have endowed the Gallery with choice representations of the accepted schools of painting and sculpture, culled from famous private collections. Its two chief benefactors are the late



A staff member discusses Rembrandt's "Portrait of a Lady with an Ostrich-feather Fan" from the Widener collection, as he conducts visitors through the National Gallery



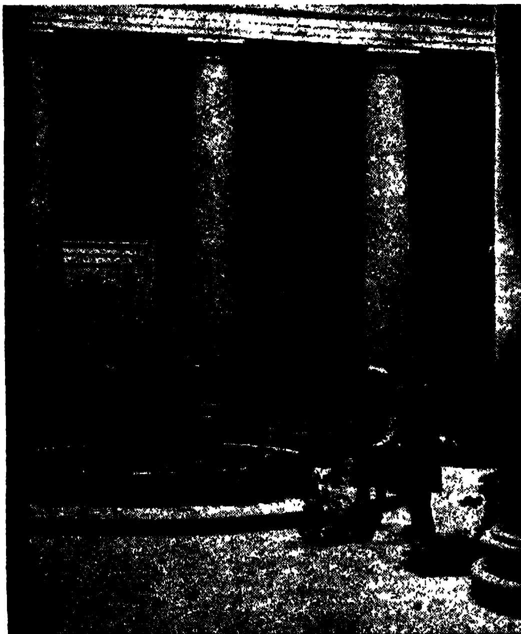
The Rotunda which divides the main floor of the National Gallery into two wings. The marble columns are dark green and the floor is of green and grey marble



A view of the West Court in the National Gallery showing Jean Baptiste Tubi's "Cherub Playing with a Swan"



Visitors to the National Gallery of Art attend a Sunday evening concert in the East Garden Court



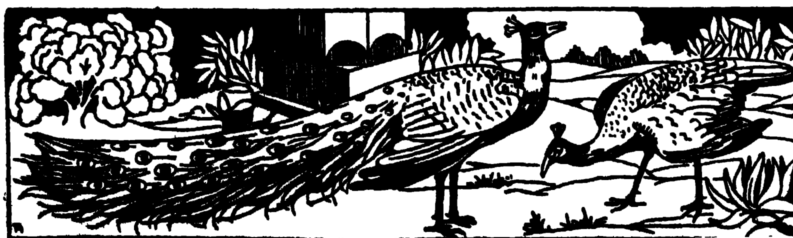
A close-up view of the "Cherub Playing with a Swan"

Andrew W. Mellon, former United States Secretary of the Treasury and afterwards United States Ambassador to Britain, and Mr. Samuel H. Kress, a "self-made" merchant and owner of chain stores.

Mr. Mellon's gift included works by many of the great masters from the 13th to the 19th centuries. Kress gifted the Gallery paintings and sculptures of Italian schools from the 14th to the 18th centuries. A third benefactor is Joseph E. Widener, who presented his collection of paintings, sculptures and decorative arts.

John Walker, chief curator of the National Gallery, declared recently that in his opinion Mr. Kress has assembled the most complete and systematic collection of Italian paintings and sculptures ever brought by one man. It ranges through the 13th to the 18th centuries.

"It is a collection devoted both to the unexpected geniuses of art and to their followers, the lesser-known painters and sculptors, whose work explains and gives scale to the greater artists," Mr. Walker said.—*USIS.*



THE KAMAR

A Primitive Tribe of Chhattisgarh

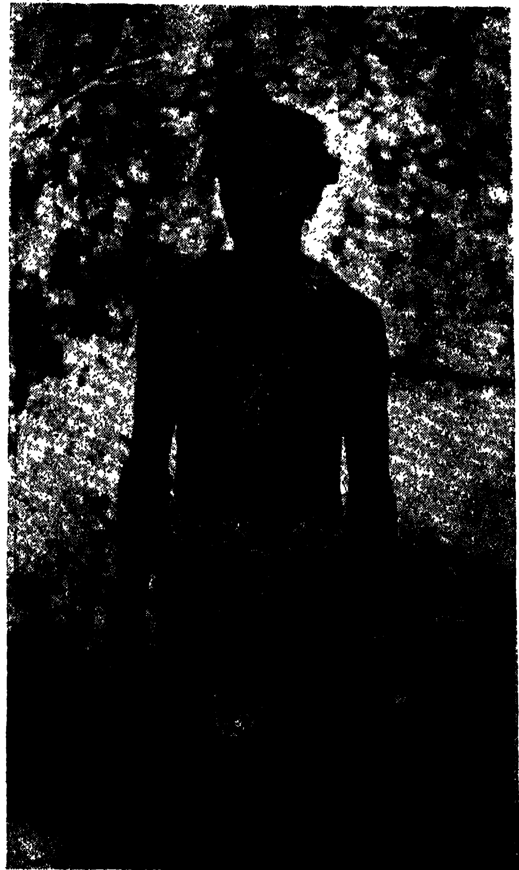
By Prof. S. C. DUBE, M.A.

The Kamars of Chhattisgarh are a small aboriginal tribe, dwelling and working out their tribal destinies, mainly in the forests and hills of Bindranawagarh, Fingeshwar, and Komakhan Zamindaries in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces, and in the Khariar Zamindari of Orissa, According to the Census of 1931 they numbered only 9,244. Racially, they belong to the Proto-Australoid stock and their social organization is similar in broad essentials to that of the Gonds. Like the Baiga, the Kamars are also regarded to be the true autochthenes of the country. Notwithstanding the universal operation of the forces of disintegration, the Kamars have succeeded in maintaining their tribal solidarity and have preserved their own distinctive pattern of culture.

Domestic Life and Economy

From the point of view of their tribal economy, the Kamars are a tribe in transition. Having crossed the hunting and food-gathering stage long before, they have perfected their own elaborate techniques of shifting cultivation. Even from this stage they are progressing fast. A small section of the tribe has taken to settled plough-cultivation, and even the more backward ones among them are beginning to keep cattle and poultry.

The livelihood of the Kamars comes mostly from shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing, gathering of forest fruits, tubers and roots, and basket-making. Because of the stress of modern conditions, and government restrictions on their shifting cultivation and hunting, they have also to take recourse to manual labour for their subsistence. In agriculture, they still follow the primitive methods of 'dahi' and 'beora.' They fell the trees in the forest, burn them and after some time sow the seeds in the ashes. Although such practices have been stopped by law, in the remoter forests of the Kamar-tract people widely employ them by stealth, and so far the authorities have not succeeded in stopping them. Hunting is the second major source of their livelihood. Annually there is an organized tribal hunting expedition which is preceded by important magico-religious rites. Afterwards they go for hunting in small or large groups, according to the nature of the game. They are well-versed in the use of bow and arrow, and have a well-deserved reputation for accurate marksmanship. For fishing they do not use any nets, but organise periodic fishing expeditions in which they participate in large numbers. In large water areas, they intoxicate the fish with 'manj' and then shoot them with special arrows. While men take charge of agriculture, hunting and fishing, women are engaged in the pursuits of gathering food from the forest. They collect in large quantities wild 'mahua' flowers, 'tendu' and 'char' fruits and various other roots and tubers. Basket-making is also one of their principal vocations. They supply their neighbouring village-folks with a large number of baskets of different patterns. In Chhattisgarh, their skill for forest labour is universally recognized. Their services are always secured by the government forest department, contractors and the Court of Wards authorities when they take in hand any forest project for operation. The transport of heavy timber and bamboos from forests to distant markets and railway stations by floating them in the rivers, is almost a monopoly of the Kamars in their tract.



A Kamar

The Kamars have very few villages in the real sense of the term. Instead, they have their own tribal settlements in which groups of four to ten families live together. They build their houses in the forests, always at a distance from the neighbouring Chhattisgarhi villages. Each family, in the beginning, chalks out for itself a square piece of land and builds its house. As the family enlarges, more rooms are added till the square is enclosed. The sites of their settlements are

shifted very often. If they feel that gods or any of the ancestor-spirits are not favourably disposed towards their village site or if they feel that it is haunted by malignant ghosts and hostile spirits, they will immediately shift to some other site. In the construction of their houses they use only cheap forest material which they can always procure free of cost, and this further facilitates their constant and frequent shifting of sites.

Social Organisation

In the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Russel and Hiralal have recorded that the tribe has two endogamous divisions—the Bundrajia and the Makadia, the latter are so called because they eat monkeys. Extensive sociological field investigation among the Kamars in the Raipur district and in the neighbouring hills of Khariar in Orissa have failed to give any traces of any existing monkey-eating section among the Kamars. As such, at least in the Central Provinces there are no endogamous divisions within the tribe, and people freely inter-marry within the tribe, subject only to the laws of exogamy. The whole tribe is divided into a number of exogamous clans which are totemic in their names. However, only a few totemic complexes are observed in the tribe, in the form of certain food taboos and prescribed mournings at the death of the totem-animal No totemic worship can be traced out among them

In broad essentials, their social organisation is similar to that of the Gonds The Kamar family is in general, patriarchal and patrilocal. The sons set up their independent households some time after their marriage Their kinship system is of the primitive classificatory type, modified slightly by the descriptive system of the Hindus. As a tribe the Kamars have a bad memory for remembering pedigrees, and they can at their best, remember only up to the generation of their grandfathers. Among them relationship is reckoned between groups rather than between individuals; and the same relationship term is used for many relatives of the same generation and sex. In their kinship usages collateral lines many times merge into the lineal. Institutions, such as 'cross-cousin marriage' and 'grand-parent and grand-child marriage' have further influenced their kinship system and consequently we find a certain degree of identity in many relationship terms. Marriage is governed by the rules of exogamy Marriages between two persons of the same clan are strictly prohibited. Further, a man cannot marry his wife's elder sister, his mother-in-law or her co-widow or any of her sisters in the extended sense of the term, or any of his own aunts and nieces. Marriages between some grand-parents and grand-children are possible and are also permitted by tribal custom. An analysis of their joking relationships shows that a man may joke with his daughter's children and a woman may joke with her son's children ; and at least in theory a man may marry his daughter's daughter and a woman may marry her son's son. In practice, such marriages are rare, because of two factors. Firstly, there is a great disparity between the ages of grand-parents and grand-children, and secondly, such marriages may possibly bring the ridicule of the neighbouring people to the tribe.

Marriage

Cross-cousin marriages are very popular and are widely practised in the tribe. Marriages are generally between adults, although pre-puberty marriages are not unknown. In the matter of choice the boy and girl concerned are consulted, and their wishes are generally respected. At the time of betrothal, the bride-price and the date of marriage is fixed. A day previous to the date fixed for marriage the bridegroom's party goes to fetch the bride, and the ceremonies and rites that follow are distributed nearly equally between both the parties to be celebrated at their respective places. When a bride-price can not be paid, the boy may



A Kamar woman

serve his prospective father-in-law, for a period as a 'lamsena,' in lieu of the bride-price. After the expiry of the period which is previously fixed, the girl's father marries her to the boy, and himself bears all the expenses of marriage. Other forms of marriage, such as, marriage by capture, marriage by exchange, and marriage by intrusion are also known, but are not very common. Runaway marriages of boys and girls in love, form the theme of many popular Kamar folk-songs, and such marriages are also recognised by the society, although they are regarded to be irregular. Widows may remarry simply by pouring some water mixed with turmeric over the person she wishes to marry. Such marriages will get social recognition when the man puts new bangles on her hands, and gives a feast to the tribe. Tribal custom has prescribed that the younger brothers of the deceased person will have first claims to marry his widow, and as such a widow is under an obligation to marry one of the younger brothers of her deceased husband. Both cross-cousin

marriages and the junior-levirate are enforced by the tribal authority, and parties infringing on the custom are forced to pay compensation. Kamars are in general monogamous, only about four in hundred have more than one wife. Divorce is permitted but not encouraged. A person can have three divorces in life, and they too entail progressively increasing penalties. A fourth divorce is considered to be a disgrace to the person demanding it, and the tribal opinion is generally condemnatory of such persons.



Kamar children

Pregnancy and Childbirth

Although they understand the causal relationship between sexual intercourse and conception, they regard that god and ancestor-spirits must be favourably disposed in order to cause pregnancy. There are no special rules for the confinement of pregnant women, and many are known to have given birth to their children in fields and forests. At the time of childbirth a woman has the comfort of the presence of an experienced old woman and also of one or two of her own friends. After the birth of a male child a woman remains impure for two months and after the birth of a daughter she is impure for three months. In this period of impurity, she is to observe all the rules prescribed for menstruating women. Three days after the birth of the child, on a suitable day people gather for the name-giving ceremony of the child. At first an attempt is made to trace out some similarities between the child and anyone of the dead relatives. If they succeed in discovering any identical marks, the child gets the name of that dead relative whose identity it bears. If no similarities are found out, the child is named after some special feature of the time of his birth or of his own physique. After the name-giving ceremony there is no age ceremony of any kind. Children are not sent to schools. All the education they have in their vocations and tribal lore and custom, is through imitation and constant company of their elders, and through their folk-songs and folk-tales,

Death

Death, according to Kamar theory, is always attributed to the wrath of gods, hostile spirits, witchcraft and black-magic. The corpse is carried to the graveyard on a bier only by two men. The general practice is to bury the dead, but very old persons and such others who have attained some unique distinction are cremated. Articles in the personal use of the deceased are left near his grave, and are never brought back. Above the grave, towards the head of the corpse a long stone is erected. They afterwards pile small stones over the whole grave. Special attention is given to abnormal deaths, and in such cases they need the services of a really skilled *Baiga* who will keep the spirits of the dead tied to their own graves. If this is not done, the harmony and equilibrium of tribal life stands the danger of being seriously disturbed.

Magic and Witchcraft

The Kamars know little magic and almost no witchcraft. Although every village has its own *Dih-baiga,* they have very few real Baigas, and therefore in critical moments they are called upon to utilize the services of more skilled Baigas of the Gonds and other tribes. No Kamars are known to practise black-magic, nor have the Kamar women any reputation for witchcraft.

Language etc.

Like the Baiga, the Kamars have lost their original Austro-Asiatic tongue, and have acquired a mixed dialect. Their dialect has been very greatly influenced by the dialects of their neighbours. Vocational necessities of life have made them bi-lingual, and many of them have now acquired a working knowledge of the Chhattisgarhi dialect.

The Future

In the battle of culture-contact, the Kamars have so far admirably adjusted themselves to the changes in their social environment. Culture contact has, up till now, not affected their tribal life and economy considerably. No loss of nerve is noticed in the tribe. The general drabness which is so obviously noticeable in their life and living is equally to be found in the life of their neighbouring caste Hindu village-folks. The Kamars have so far been spared the attention of the over-zealous reformers. Improved systems of communication and the many new plans for economic development will further break the age-old isolation of their tribal life and bring them in closer contact with the other and more developed cultures. As to how they will react to the new changes, no one can predict today.

SOME MEN I MET AS A COLLEGE STUDENT

By Prof. NRIPENDRA CHANDRA BANERJI, M.A.

We had other agencies of education beyond the college: these were the divine services and lectures and written discourses arranged by the East Bengal Brahmo Samaj which was in Patuatoli, very near the college : also the Baptist (or Oxford?) Mission agency where reverend members of the Christian Brotherhood taught the Bible and gave pioneering examples of social service work in a limited sphere. The Dacca Brahmo Samaj offered for us two special centres of interest : the learned discourses in faultless and elegant English by Principal Heramba Chandra Maitra (who was then Head of the only non-official college at Dacca, the Jagannath College), which we listened to, spell-bound and with reverence, for Principal Maitra's high seriousness and intellectual virility were the talk of the City. If he lacked in anything, it was a saving sense of humour : he was a fighting zealot of the Reformist Brahmo Samaj, a great apostle of Emersonian Ethics and a finished scholar of Burke and Carlyle and he was a great power for good amongst young people at Dacca. He might be a little bit puritanic and un-bending (he possibly did not have the art of 'relaxing') in his enthusiasms and interests, but there was never any question of his sincerity and courage of conviction. He never accepted a Government job and embraced comparative poverty and was a 'nationalist' till the end of his career as Principal of the City College, a Fellow of the Calcutta University, a Senior Lecturer at the English Post-Graduate section of the University. I had occasion to be treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy by him, but of this later on. He is now no more but his sixty years of work as educator and admonisher of Bengal students and as social reformer and one of the first band of zealots in the Swadeshi movement of 1905 and after, have left their ineffaceable impress on the soul of Bengal. The other attraction at the Brahmo Samaj was the devotional songs sung by Sj. Chandranath Roy. He charmed everybody's soul by his elevating music and even those who came to scoff, remained to pray with the Brahmo Congregation and went away edified.

But far and away the most momentous event which made a deep impression on me and probably on my subconscious mind was the visit of the great Swami Vivekananda to Dacca in March or April of 1901 and his lecture delivered in English in the Jagannath School Hall before a packed audience of, maybe about a thousand people (this was, for those times, a really big congregation). The Swamiji had before this earned continental reputation and raised Indian culture and philosophy and the Hindu religion (specially the Vedantic *Adwaita-bad*) in the world's esteem by his now famous address at the Chicago Parliament of Religions and his subsequent lectures in America and England : he had gone out to the west, a yellow-robed, unknown, unbefriended monk without money and resources, on a spiritual venture, had bearded the lion in his own den and became as if by the touch of a magical wand, the cynosure of all eyes at the Parliament of Religions in America, made friends by hundreds, made disciples, and after planting the flag of the Vedanta on American and European soil, returned to the land of his birth and was lionised and feted in South India and Northern India. He had not yet visited East Bengal. His advent was the signal for a big rally of serious-minded enquirers and zealous upholders of the Hindu faith in the city of Dacca. I was a lad barely turned fifteen then and I could hardly follow his lightning address delivered with a strength and a resonance which was almost super-human and I cannot remember a single sentence or recollect a single idea of the address now. I have read printed summaries of his Dacca address in the volumes published by the Ramakrishna Mission (in those days the press-reporting was very perfunctory and I believe no competent press-note was made) and re-read them and yet cannot recall if he really said the things or developed the line of argument as given in these prints—and yet one thing has persisted throughout my life—the impression of a volcanic personality, of an eagle-like poise of body and soul, of something smacking of terrific and tremendous energy of spirit! Vivekananda must have lighted up with his magnetic, flaming torch of spirit a subconscious nook of the deepest deeps of my budding soul—so that in later life, his lectures, his sermons, his addresses, his expositions have moved me as few others could ever move. I was touched by the prairie-fire of a flaming God-intoxicated and lighted soul which has burnt and seared through the jagged jungle-growths of my untutored mind and beaconed on to "a city of the Eternal Spires," to be reached by arduous, up-hill love-trysts and adventures in human brotherhood and fellowship of mind with mind untramelled by barriers of race, religion and language! And possibly it was this lighting of a spark in boyhood which made my admiration of Swamiji's best biographer and most ardent disciple—Sister Nivedita, absolute. when I had the privilege of listening to her angel-tones and looking awe-struck at her spiritual features as an M.A. student in the beginnings of the Swadeshi movement of 1905, which admiration was all the more deepened by the reading of her books *The Web of Indian Life* and of *The Master as I saw Him*, later on.

Added to this must be put on the debit side of my Dacca life of only two years, my deeper knowledge of rural life, its good and weak points and my love of the common folk generated by visits to my ancestral home in the village and other rural areas, also the fine lessons in straight and upright conduct and social decency implanted in me by the influence of my uncle (father's elder brother), a gentleman of the old school, unlearned in the English language and untutored in the crooked ways of English transplantation, who often went to the Dacca Hostel to see me and whom I accompanied to market-places and relations' houses when I was at home during vacations! He died at the age of forty-eight only, but the legacy of love and the largesse of decency he left to me can never be forgotten. Also cannot be forgotten the tender love and unselfish ministrations of a college chum, a room-mate and a close village neighbour who read with me and was my best friend and constant companion for four years (during the F.A. stage at

Dacca and the B.A. and part of the M.A. courses at the Calcutta Presidency College)—Tarani Kanta Banerji, who was snatched away in the beginnings of youth, when he was just in for the M.A. course, two or three days after his luckless marriage in a far away city of U.P. ! His memory I shall cherish till I join him in the world beyond : such friendships are rare in these days of unscrupulous competition and 'get-rich-quick'! May his soul rest in peace !

The proximity to the Brahmo Samaj of our Mission Hostel was a distinct gain for many of us. We went to the Sunday morning services and sometimes the evening services also, joining the prayers, listening with profit to the devotional songs and specially benefiting by some of the sermons delivered by learned and saintly leaders of the Samaj like Pandit Sivanath Sastri, Heramba Chandra Maitra, Nagendranath Chatterji, Sitanath Tattabhusan. We attended the Services of the Nava-Bidhan Samaj also occasionally. What was coming to many of us was a sudden and silent revolution of our unthinking attitude towards the fundamental problems of the moral and religious life. We were being initiated into western philosophy and Biblical Evangelism and our placid acceptance of the ways and forms of the orthodox Hindu Samaj came in for a rude shaking. Thus the sanctity of image-worship, the subtle explanation given of the apparent contradictions between the *Vedantic* and a *Upanishadic* concept of one Divine Principle permeating the universe and the individual consciousness and the various gods and goddesses of the later-day Hindu pantheon, the propriety of animal sacrifice in order to propitiate these latter, the reasons behind the caste system and its closed rings leading to rather worrying discrimination between men and women on the same levels of culture and cleanliness and godliness, the reasonableness or otherwise of rigid rules about dining and entertaining, the question of the seclusion of women and *purdah*, of the enforced system of widowhood, of neglect of education of women, of the glaring inequalities between the sexes—the evils of intoxicating drugs and liquors and of prostitution, began to be questioned and each of us in his own way and according to the depths and heights of his spiritual and intellectual capacity and home environments had to face these questions for himself.

Coupled with these, bit by bit, swam into our ken political disabilities, the racial exclusiveness and arrogance of the European community in general and other allied problems. Forty-four years ago, though the old, unreasoning and sentimental excesses of the first batch of English-educated youth of an earlier generation and rebellious exhibitions against the time-honoured customs and prejudices of orthodox Hinduism had faded away, the leaven of the new western impact and its subtle propaganda was working and we were touched by the currents of these ideas and also the counter-movement in the orthodox Samaj's barricades of defence against their incursion. The Brahmo Samaj movement was a two-faced movement—one with eyes fixed on Western rationalism or British Churchianity or Unitarianism and another seeking to rationalise and re-orient the old ideologies in ethics and religion and social and religious practices by deeper study of the fountains of the old living orthodoxy impeded by the hard pebbles of stratified thought, codified practice and hardened theory of centuries. The basis of the original Brahmo Samaj founded by that builder of modern Indian rationalism in religion, society, education and politics—Ram Mohun Roy—was being rudely shaken and altered. There were hardenings of his elastic organisation and schisms had already been formed. The Adi Brahmo Samaj of Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and his coterie kept to the old moorings of the Vedas and Upanishads, the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj which counted the largest following and was very bitter against rigid orthodoxy and old customs, often to the point of unreason and which was more radically inclined towards Western ideas and forms largely and consciously borrowed from Christian and Unitarian teaching, was moving too hurriedly towards equalisation of the sexes, an absolute break with the past in matters of moment like marriage forms and customs and questions of food and drink, the usual time-honoured rites observed during periods of mourning and about purificatory rites of *Sraddha*, caste-rules and *purdah*, etc ; this led to the revolt of a section led by Keshub Chunder Sen and his new dispensation under the unacknowledged and yet none the less real influence of Ramakrishna Paramahansa Dev under whose spell Keshub had come and under various other influences, tried to harmonise the ancient Hindu, Christian, Vaishnava and mystical cults. In opposition to these west-inspired revolutionary movements, arose movements of rationalisation inside the body of the Sanatan Samaj whose adherents were counted by millions and who pinned their faith absolutely in the Vedas and their off-shoots, believed to have been infallible and sacrosanct and eternally true divine enunciations and therefore incapable of being subjected to ordinary human reasoning and its fallibilities. In addition there were various mystical sects, Neo-Vaishnavites, Saktas of the revivalist Tantric Schools, Theosophy and its adherents or admirers. There was a churning of ideas, a rational and intensive study of the ancient philosophies and 'inspired' religious books alongside of the cultivation of occidental philosophies and religious theories.

We, of fifty years ago, were born into an age when the yeast had begun to work, the citadels of unreasoning and rigid orthodoxy were already crumbling, when at least in the bigger cities Europe-returned Hindus were ostracised but received in society albeit with certain reservations, when emancipated women learned in western lore and not strangers to the indigenous culture were busy creating groups of like-minded women and the Congress movement had also passed through the first stages of leading-strings, of English inspiration, of mere prayers and petitionings and had created the atmosphere for a real freedom movement based on self-help and self-trust and gradually veering towards Indian methods and forms that might appeal to the already conscious intelligentsia, the backbone of which were the middle-class products of the English education, and the brains were a few leaders who had almost without exception, learnt their lessons in politics and propaganda first-hand on European soil. Of course, mid-Victorian ideas still predominated, but in two or three years' time, thanks to the first reverses suffered in the Boer war by the British, and the phenomenal victories of pigmy Japan over giant Russia, the stage was laid for a new political upsurge and method. The agitation against the Partition of Bengal conceived and carried out by Lord Curzon, with the obvious objective of creating a predominantly Muslim bloc of favoured parasites of the Britisher in Eastern and Northern

Bengal to offset the growing, organised and aggressive political consciousness and activity of the more advanced and more intelligent and imaginative Hindu bloc throughout Bengal, in which we as post-graduate student-leaders joined, came soon after, in 1905. And I, for one, had my first lessons in political agitation then. The year 1905 is a memorable year in the life-story of myself and my contemporaries: many of us were caught up in the eddies of the nation-wide revolution, some resiled, some kept aloof but all the finer spirits amongst my contemporaneous youth had their souls touched to fine issues then and this year of apprenticeship influenced and shaped their future lives and predilections and interests as nothing else had done.

I was talking about the Calcutta Brahmo Samaj. It had a large influence in shaping our concepts of private and social morality, of decencies of social behaviour, our attitude of respect for and chivalry towards the fair sex: it brought us in touch with some of the finest sacrificing reformers and preachers of the age: it created in us a taste for serious devotional music and it was instrumental in gradually shattering our boyhood likes and dislikes—specially in the matters of caste and inter-dining and it put us on the road towards temperance and truth and honesty in public and private life.

Meanwhile, other influences gradually crept into the orbit of our otherwise uneventful lives and the most arresting and enduring of these was the personality of Rabindranath Tagore. My first sight of the great man was sometime in the year 1902: the Nava Bidhan Samaj used to run a Sunday School, where a junior cousin of mine was a pupil. This school was celebrating its annual day to which I had an invitation. Some time after we had taken our seats, there was a suppressed excitement amongst the select audience and Rabindranath, a youngish man of the finest presence and refinement, near about forty certainly and looking even younger, walked in. After the usual programme of prayers, songs and recitations had been gone through Rabindranath was requested to address us. He did so, with apparent shyness and reserve but the address, the gist of which I have clean forgotten, was delivered in tones of such entrancing sweetness, crystal clear and resonant and was couched in such a refined and poetic style that I felt I had come into the presence of something ethereal and divine, of somebody who lived in the 'upper air' of rarefied mystical realisation and rapture! The next opportunity came in the shape of a public address by Rabindranath at the Hall of what was then the City College (now the City Collegiate School) off College Square. The theme was Religious Propaganda (*Dharma-Prachar*): the messianic force of the address, the daring exposure of sham preachifiers of religion, who made of it a trade, the poet's exposition of the real substance of religion as opposed to the froth and foam of blatant verbosity created a wide impression. I do not know how the official preachers and *pracharaks* of the Brahmo Samaj and other religious societies took the address, but it made a strong appeal to our youthful minds, tuned then to high idealism and aspiration. A third occasion was probably when the poet read out his profoundly interesting and original essay on Sakuntala, which as a piece of creative criticism has hardly been surpassed by any critic in any language.

I must not forget to mention here that in 1904 Rabindranath's reputation, though high, was limited to a not very big circle of appreciative students and scholars of repute, men of the old school hardly understanding his novel metrical modes or his subtle and refined ideas culled from the fountains of hoary Indian philosophy and poetry and religion and moulded in original technique of language and verse-patterns; and 'Study-Circles' like the one we formed at the Eden Hindu Hostel were the pioneer in later-day achievements on a much grander scale and with much larger memberships. The more our group read of Tagore's poetry, the more enwrapped and enthralled they became, till even the charms of English poetry of the romantic school were cast into the shade by this poet-wizard and the fact that he was ours, racy of the Bengal soil, a Bengali one hundred per cent and yet an internationalist, was a matter to us, his young admirers, of the greatest pride. Our patriotism, our cultured intellect, our romantic yearnings, our spiritual longings, all found spreading-room in Tagore's poetry.

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THE BENGAL FAMINE OF 1943 AND PROBLEMS OF DESTITUTE REHABILITATION

By Prof. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A.

One of the worst legacies of the Bengal Famine of 1943 has been the large number of 'destitutes' it threw up, who now seem to have become a permanent and distinct element of the social framework of this Province. The term 'destitutes' was used in 1943 to mean such poor persons as had been wandering about, away from their homes, in quest of food. Apart, however, from such a migratory population, quite a large number of persons remained in their respective native villages. These were, in 1943 and in 1944, primarily dependent on charity for their livelihood. Then, again, in both these years, there was another section of the rural folk who lost the whole or the greater part of their means of livelihood in consequence of the famine, but who were able to pull on somehow temporarily. These latter two classes of people ought properly to be described as 'destitutes' and 'semi-destitutes' respectively. Government's Plan of Destitute Rehabilitation, however, concerns the floating or wandering destitutes alone. The destitutes or semi-destitutes of our definition here are, in a manner, treated as 'distressed' persons in the official plan of rehabilitation. But it should be noted that it is these 'distressed' persons that are the prospective 'destitutes' of the official definition. During the last three years as 'distress' has increased, they have invariably swelled the ranks of wandering 'destitutes.' Unless, therefore, Government can successfully tackle the problem of 'distress,' it will ultimately fail to wipe off 'destitution' of its own conception.

In this paper Bengal Government's Plan of Rehabilitation will be described with an exclusive reference to the district of Faridpur where the author

of this note spent nearly two years to study first-hand allied problems of Famine and Rehabilitation. The Government Plan includes the following items described under four separate heads :

(a) The establishment of—(1) Central Destitute Homes, (2) Isolated Work Houses or Work Centres, (3) State Orphanage.
(b) The provision for—Gratuitous House Building Grants.
(c) The construction of—Famine Relief Emergency (F.R.E.) or Auxiliary Government (A.G.) Hospitals.
(d) The sanction of—(1) Gratuitous Relief, (2) Test Relief, (3) Agricultural Loans, (4) Revolving Fund Scheme, meant for rehabilitating Artisans including Fishermen, (5) Small Irrigation and Drainage Projects, (6) Union Board Relief under "The Bengal Rural Poor and Unemployed Relief Act."

The above grouping has been adopted to indicate the nature of relief given severally to 'destitutes' and 'distressed' people as defined above. Items under (a) are primarily meant for the relief and rehabilitation of 'destitutes.' Items under group (d) are designed to help more or less exclusively the 'distressed' people, although it may so happen that items (2) and (5) of this group provide relief for 'destitutes' as well. Medical aid under group (c) is given to the sick, both among 'destitutes' and 'distressed' families. But the hospitals were started with sick 'destitutes' and, only, later on, some beds were provided for 'distressed' people as they rushed for indoor treatment. House-building grants under group (b) may be extended to both these classes of people. It may be noted here that Rs. 1 lakh was allotted to the district during 1944-45 for free grants being made to the 'distressed' people for the purpose of house-building. As a matter of fact, not a pie was disbursed during the year.

In order to gauge the extent of relief received by 'destitutes,' it is necessary to review the kind of assistance extended to people other than 'destitutes,' that is, to 'distressed' people mainly. As a result of his investigations, the author has been able to ascertain provisionally that at the beginning of 1944, the number of 'distressed' persons that remained in the villages of the district was of the order of 3 lakhs. For the sake of convenience of calculation let us assume that relief under items (2) and (5) of group (d) above was spent all for 'destitute' rehabilitation alone. The net amount of relief in cash and kind under other items of group (d), which was rendered to 'distressed' persons by Government during 1944-45, may, thus be listed as follows :

(1) Gratuitous Relief (including cash, grain, rice and standard cloth)	Rs. 2,21,651
(2) Agricultural Loans	Rs. 2,02,746
(3) Revolving Fund Scheme	Rs. 1,88,733
(4) Union Board Relief	Rs. 30,179
(5) Relief through Cheap Grain Shops	Rs. 89,887
(6) Cattle Loan	Rs. 7,57,745
(7) Loan to tornado-affected areas	Rs. 5,000
(8) 64 bales of cloth, 800 blankets, 5400 chaddars and 400 garments	
Total	Rs. 14,95,941

The Cattle Loan as shown above should not have been included in the list, for the loan on this head was largely utilised by richer peasants and resourceful people of *Jotedar* class who alone could pull the wires. Even, however, assuming that the 'distressed' agriculturists succeeded in taking advantage of the Cattle Loan Scheme, the total sum devoted to the relief of 3 lakhs 'distressed' persons was in the neighbourhood of Rs. 15 lakhs. This means a net relief worth Rs. 5 per head during the whole of the year. The relief was thus quite insufficient, and, with such an insignificant grant not even the beginning of Rehabilitation can be said to have been made.

The purpose of this article is not, however, to examine the nature of, or the manner of the execution of, the entire Plan of Rehabilitation. In the following paragraphs, we shall confine our remarks mainly to Rehabilitation of 'destitutes' as such.

The Central Destitute (C.D.) Homes and Isolated Work (I.W.) Houses, which are, in the main, centres of destitute rehabilitation, were started from about the month of September, 1944, by splitting up the then existing Work Houses which so long had sheltered the destitutes. Both C. D. Homes and I. W. Houses were purely residential at the start. Each of these C. D. Homes consisted of 4 sections :

(1) The section for Unattached Young Women, *i.e.*, young women who had neither relatives nor dependent children.
(2) The Work Section for able-bodied 'destitutes.'
(3) The 'Poor' section for Old and Invalids, and
(4) The section for Orphans, who, when confirmed as such, were transferred to the State Orphanage which was formally opened at Faridpur town on 10th August, 1944.

Some reshufflings were made from time to time and newer plans adopted ; as for instance, it was decided later in the year, 1944-45, to allow outsiders to work in the I.W. Houses and in the Work Section of C.D. Homes.

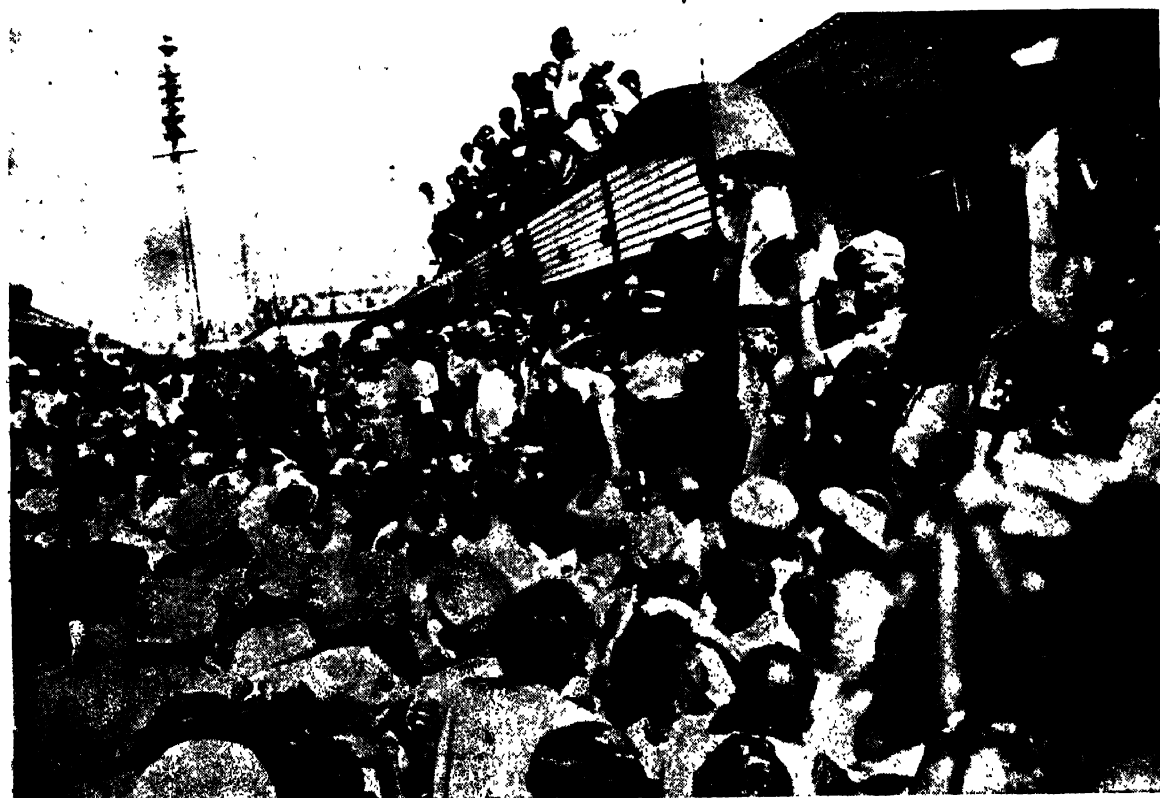
The idea behind the whole plan of Destitute Rehabilitation was (1) to nurse and feed the 'Old and Invalid' inmates to make them fit for work again ; (2) to protect the unattached young women and train them up as self-supporting individuals ; (3) to provide free Food and Shelter to able-bodied persons and gradually to teach them a useful craft such as weaving, carpentry and so on ; (4) to rear up the Orphans temporarily and then hand them over to their relatives or under care of any other responsible person, or if this was not feasible, to transfer them to State Orphanage which planned to feed, nurse, and educate them on a long-term basis.

PROBLEM OF REPATRIATION

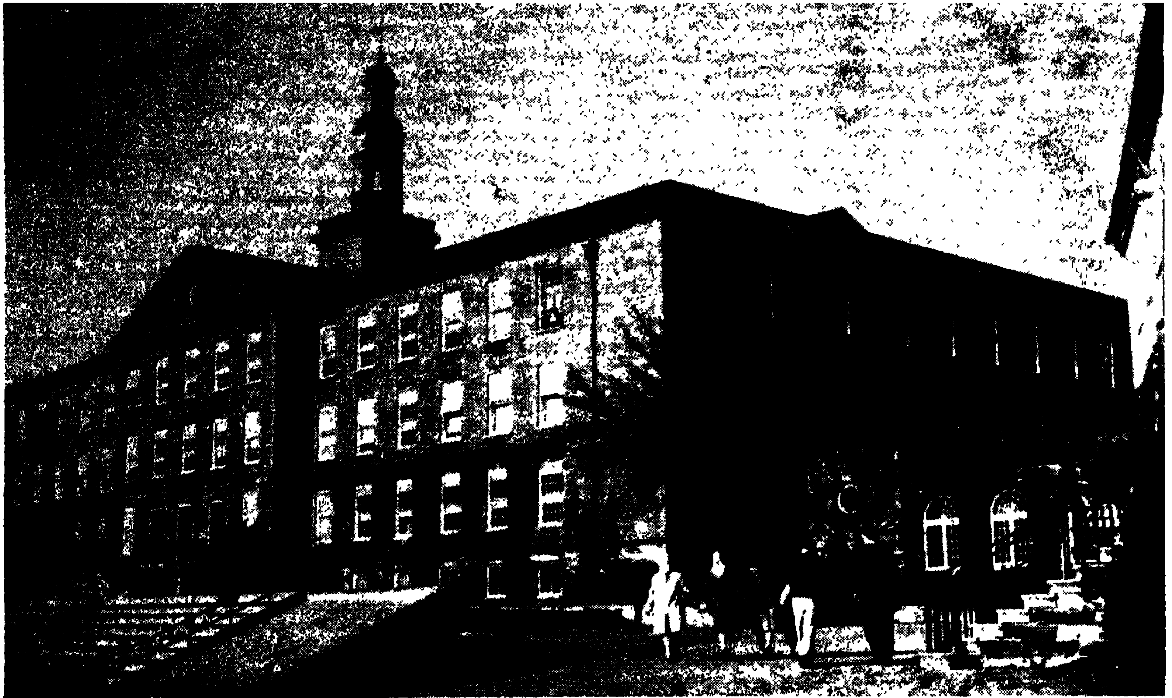
The natural culmination of such a plan was the repatriation of 'destitutes' as and when they were fit to start life over again. The problem, however, of repatriating Unattached Young Women who were bereft of relatives and home, proved rather difficult. They wanted, it is said, to get out of the Home, but they themselves could not suggest how they proposed to live. The concensus of opinion, official and non-official, in regard to their resettlement was to give them in marriage to suitable young men with some initial cash subvention as dowry. Prospective grooms were not, however, easily available due to social barriers. Again, there was no knowing if these women would not be



Mahatma Gandhi going to the village of Gopairbag on foot across the paddy fields



Mahatma Gandhi addresses a Hindu-Muslim gathering at the Laksam Station



The Woodrow Wilson High School in Washington is a representative high school building in the United States



In many U.S. rural areas new school buildings, such as this one, have been designed to meet the

divorced the next day after marriage. So, the problem of their repatriation remains. In the second place, the problem arose with a certain section of male inmates who, when repatriated to their homes, stayed there for a while but very soon invariably returned to the Home. They formed a floating element and were not quite prone to shaking off their wandering habits or discarding a growing taste for a parasitical existence.

These problems should not, however, have arisen. As they have at all arisen, they serve to afford an indirect proof of a partial failure of Governmental Plan of Destitute Rehabilitation. Had the Unattached Young Women been really given a thorough training in some vocation, such as, midwifery, weaving, basket-making, etc., they, at the time of repatriation, could certainly have definitely told the authorities what next they proposed to do, and, even, could, perhaps, have asked for some monetary grant to form the nucleus of capital of the trade they would ply. Secondly, had the male destitutes, who alternately left and re-entered Homes, been actually initiated into the technique of some home-craft, they could probably have unlearnt the habits of a parasitical existence. Indeed the main object of a Destitute Home is not just somehow to feed some 'destitutes' for the time being and then to ask them to quit. It is true that some among them are quite given to indisciplined habits and are averse to work. But if they are handled properly, with tact and sympathy, their waywardness or reluctance to work can certainly be converted into spontaneous acquiescence and unbounded enthusiasm.

The fact is that there was considerable mal-treatment, neglect and the lack of a plan. The authorities planned only on paper but all the while they lacked the means to carry out their plans : there was lack of expert trainers, and an efficient personnel proof against corruption ; and, also, an all-round insufficiency of cash and material needed. At the beginning of 1944-45, the only 'work' that the inmate destitutes of Work Houses were called upon to perform was paddy-husking,—quite an unremunerative job in regard to which, moreover, there was nothing to 'learn'; net or coir-making, cane and bamboo work were subsidiary works. The scheme of *biri*-making failed owing to the abundance of aqueous vapour during the rains, as, also, to lack of necessary technical arrangements. Preparation of *sathi* was abandoned for shortage of raw material. Basket-making was extremely disliked especially by the Muslim inmates who point-blank told it was the job of the 'Dome' community—a depressed class people. Net-making became quite a flop as yarn could not be procured. Weaving was stopped for a similar reason. In his Annual Administrative Report of 1944-45, the Sadar S.D.O. on 5.5.45 complains :

"We have been writing to Government for sanctioning yarn for the Work Houses for the last four or five months. We have, however, got no quota up-to-date."

Another aspect of 'destitute' rehabilitation may also be noted. It has been provisionally estimated by the writer on the basis of a sample survey of the district as a whole, that in 1943 nearly 168,538 persons had permanently emigrated from their respective native villages of the district. This number is quite distinct from 3 lakhs "distressed" persons who remained in the villages. Out of 1,68,538 emigrants about 34,441 persons died after eating at Relief Kitchens, 25,000 were sheltered in Government Work Houses within the district, 2,800 were admitted into F.R.E. Hospitals, about 132 were provided in Children's Homes. The fate of 16,165 persons is not known. Probably, some of them were given shelter in the homes of large-hearted persons within the district itself ; the rest might have gone out of the district in search of food and job. And, yet, there remained at the beginning of 1944, about 90 thousand floating 'destitutes' within the district that roamed about from place to place or crowded Government Relief Centres and, later, may have, only partially, been admitted into, or given work at, C. D. Homes and I.W. Houses. During the aftermath of the famine and right through 1944-45, as the economic condition of the people showed no sign of improvement, the number of these floating 'destitutes' may be taken to have remained as high as in the early months of 1944. This is proved by the fact that even as late as the end of the year 1944-45, destitutes were continuously rushing to, and then dropping out of, C.D. Homes and I.W. Houses. This is shown in the following table*:

Total Destitute Inmates

Date	C. D. Homes	I. W. Houses	Total
31.12.44.	2299	4343	6642
15.1.45.	526	1658	2184
31.1.45.	1882	3924	5806
15.2.45.	1899	3096	4995
28.2.45.	1786	3416	5202
15.3.45.	1967	4003	5970
31.3.45.	1763	3983	5746

It is to be noted that the daily accommodation for 'destitutes' in Government Work Houses during April-June, 1944, was only 24,305 on the average, while the total probable daily average number of 'destitutes' seeking accommodation was nearly 90 thousand. Thus, in the first three months of 1944-45, there was yet the need for expanding, at least three-fold, the scope of relief through Work Houses or some other useful centres of constructive help. The daily average accommodation in successive periods was as follows :

Average daily accommodation for 'destitutes' in C.D. Homes & I.W. Houses

April to June, 1944	24305
July 1944	8220
August to middle of December, 1944	7271
Middle of December, 1944 to 31st March, 1945	6866
April, 1944 to March, 1945	13497·4

As appears from the above table, throughout 1944-45, only 13497 'destitutes' were, on the average, daily catered for by C. D. Homes and I. W. Houses, which means as many as 76503 destitutes were left out. A portion of the latter was presumably absorbed in Test Relief Work and excavation work under Small Irrigation and Drainage Projects which cost Government Rs. 1,98,237 in all within the district during 1944-45. Assuming, as we have done above, that only the 'destitutes' and none else, were engaged in such works, the per capita total relief for 76503 'destitutes' amounts to a paltry sum of Rs. 2-9-7 1/5 pies over a period of 365 days. Thus, the over-all picture of Government's Destitute Rehabilitation is a picture of neglect and utter insufficiency. The Plan is overshadowed by the lack of plan.

* The figures of the table have been collected from official sources in Faridpur district.

GITA AND RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

By K. KALIANA SWAMI, B.A., B.L.

THE authoritative scriptures that are held in high esteem by all classes of Hindus are what go by the name of the *Prasthanatraya* consisting of the *Upanishads*, the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Brahma Sutras*. Of these the most widely read and relied on as a guide in all phases of human life is the Bhagavad-Gita, which is the most popular book in Hindu religious literature, usually referred to in its shortened form as the Gita or the Gospel of India. It is believed to contain within itself the quintessence of Hindu religion and ethics, typifying as it does the struggle of the individual soul from human imperfection to divine perfection. It is spoken of as "a treasure-house of Dharma, not only for the Hindus but for all mankind" and as such acclaimed as a world-scripture. That being so, the Gita must be looked upon as affording not only spiritual shelter to persons of all classes and creeds, whatever might be their intellectual or spiritual development, but also as pointing out the way to their further progress and evolution into a higher spiritual state than the one in which they find themselves.

Human beings are not born identical, differing as they do in their temperaments and constitutions and as Aldous Huxley puts it "within each psycho-physical class one can find people at very different stages of spiritual development" and "forms of worship and spiritual discipline which may be valuable for one individual may be useless or even positively harmful for another belonging to a different class and standing, within that class, at a lower or higher level of development. Such being the actualities of human life, it is perfectly natural that different men should follow different methods in their endeavours towards reaching the goal of perfection. With the advance of time and the spread of education there is a visible progress in human intelligence and knowledge of things, both secular and spiritual. And people are able, by the right use of their understanding and reasoning, to sift the true from the false, the passing from the permanent and the unreal from the real, so that what had satisfied their forefathers or their caste or community and which has traditionally come to them by efflux of time in a petrified and hide-bound form no longer satisfies them and much less has it the compelling capacity of forcing submission to it. With the free exercise of one's faculties, one is able to see for himself where he stands spiritually and what would conduce to his progress in that line. So, without binding himself to outmoded religious usages and the spiritual restrictions of the caste or religion into which he was born and wherein he was bred up, he tries to break through them and translate himself into that spiritual atmosphere in which he sincerely feels, he would be able more successfully to progress towards his goal.

Leaving aside migrations that are effected from one religion to another out of purely secular or worldly motives and leaving aside forced conversions as well, it must be said that there are always persons who out of sincere conviction and earnest hope that their spiritual progress would be advanced, have become converts to religions other than their own and have led, as a result thereof, holy and devout lives, without doing violence to their cherished convictions or their reason.

It may be asked as to what is the teaching of the Gita with regard to the evolution of the souls of such men and women. Regarding the Gita as a whole with an unbiassed mind, it must be said that it does not deprecate such conversions or view them with disfavour in any way teaching, as it does, that the goal to be attained is the same in whatever way one tries to reach it. Nor can it be taken to make any difference when persons, realising that man requires the help of all the truths revealed in the various religions in his path towards perfection and feeling that in every religion there is only a partial manifestation of God's truth, inasmuch as God's infinite truth cannot be exhausted through any particular scripture or prophet, determine to follow what may be called a universal religion, by living up to the highest truths that are revealed in all religions, without allying themselves to any of the known historic or other religions. Otherwise there can be no meaning in what the Gita says :

> "Howsoever men approach me, even so, do I accept them ; for on all sides whatever path they may choose is mine, O Arjuna."

Unless this broad interpretation is put on the above words of Sri Krishna, Gita would cease to be a universal scripture, for, any restricted meaning or qualification that may be sought to be imposed on these words would take away whole bodies of men and women out of the pale of his all-embracing grace. And nothing could be a greater blasphemy to the All-merciful God of the Gita.

But yet there are expounders of the Gita, like Prof. D. S. Sarma, who would attempt to graft a qualification on the broad interpretation of the verse of the Gita referred to above. They say, as does Prof. Sarma, "But those who quote this verse should not forget its counterpart, repeated with slight alterations twice in the Gita," which says :

> "Better is one's own Dharma though imperfect than the Dharma of another perfectly carried out. Better death in one's own Dharma : the Dharma of another is fraught with fear."—(Chap. III, V. 35.)

The word used in the original text was *Swadharma* and it has been translated in different ways by different translators of the Gita.

Edwin Arnold's translation of the above runs thus :

> ". . . this is better, that one do
> His own task as he may, even though he fail,
> Than take tasks not his own, though they seem
> good.
> To die performing duty is no ill ;
> But who seeks other roads shall wander still."
> —*The Song Celestial*, Kitabistan Edn.
> Pp. 20-21.

The Gorakhpur Gita Press edition of the Gita translates thus (p. 98) :

"One's own duty though devoid of merit, is preferable to the duty of another well performed. Even death in the performance of one's own duty brings blessedness; another's duty is fraught with fear."

Swami Prabhavananda and Christopher Isherwood in their *Bhagabad-Gita* or *The Song of God* render this verse (p. 62) thus:

"It is better to do your own duty, however imperfectly, than to assume the duties of another person, however successfully. Prefer to die doing your own duty; the duty of another will bring you into great spiritual danger."

But Prof. Sarma (*vide* p. 59 of his *Lectures on the Bhagabad-Gita*) says:

"Now, coming back to the subject of Swadharma, we have to note carefully that the author of the Gita explicitly connects it not merely with the caste system but with the individual's own Swabhava or nature."

Whatever might have been the state of society at the date of the Gita, which is generally placed by scholars between the 5th and 2nd centuries B.C., when the caste system might have prevailed in its uncontaminated state and members of each caste were considered to have developed peculiar aptitudes for their caste professions and followed them, it cannot be said now, when any man is free to follow any profession he likes, whatever might be the caste in which he is born, that Prof. Sarma's interpretation of Swadharma will hold good, if the Gita is to be taken as a universal scripture for all mankind.

The other translations referred to above have clearly interpreted *Swadharma* as meaning *One's Duty*, or Task pertaining to whatever situation in which one may be placed, irrespective of the caste or religion into which one happens to be born. In this age when so much of fusion of castes and professions is glaringly apparent, it cannot be taken that one should live and die within the religion into which he was born performing the duties that are said to appertain to it. And much less can the words of the Gita be interpreted in such a narrow way as to hidebound persons in the religion of his caste or that of the family to which he belongs without allowing freedom to him to adopt some other religion with the help of which he sincerely feels he can progress much better in his path towards perfection. If that were so, there can be no kind of migration from one religion to another even by those who sincerely feel that such a change will distinctly enure to their spiritual benefit. But all through the history of the world there have been such honest and sincere migrations as a result of which men and women have made genuine spiritual progress.

What may be called an almost classical example of such migration from one religion to another is that of the late Dr. Annie Besant who, leaving the Christian faith into which she was born as unsuited to her spiritual progress, had assumed the Hindu religion which she had popularised ever so much by her liberal interpretation of its tenets and by her life in accordance therewith. Though an ardent student and expounder of the Gita, she never felt herself fettered by considerations of caste or caste aptitudes and professions which Prof. Sarma wants to import into the meaning of Swadharma.

In this view and giving the words of the Gita the natural, which is also the correct, interpretation thereof, in whatever way man approaches God, He is ready to accept him and as such there can be no restriction to man's choice of the faith or religion to help him in his path towards perfection. So, it may be definitely asserted that the Gita gives the fullest religious freedom to man to follow whichever way, he sincerely feels, would be helpful to him in reaching his appointed goal.

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TOWARDS CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING

The period between October 28 to the end of November is being celebrated among United Nations as the UNESCO Month

"THAT since war begins in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

"That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause throughout the history of mankind of the suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war."

These two sentences, which crystallise so many volumes written on wars—one of the most terrible heritages of mankind—head the preamble of the constitution of the UNESCO—the United Nations' Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. One of the youngest offsprings of the United Nations, the UNESCO has a very ambitious programme—a programme which so far has been beyond controversy. On the first week of November as the General Conference of the Organisation foregathers in Paris, there will be held in the French capital a series of educational, scientific and cultural exhibitions, demonstrations and discussions. The delegates, visitors and the citizens of Paris will listen to lectures and discussions on world problems; concerts of music, drama festivals, international exhibitions of paintings, exhibitions of technical discoveries, displays on the development of architecture since 1939 and publications and lectures on the progress of education and methods of teaching since 1939.

India, as one of the sponsoring nations of the UNESCO, and the heir to a vast treasure-house of knowledge and culture, will be represented by Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and three other delegates. A representative collection of modern Indian paintings, numbering about 50, and 20 films depicting Indian life and culture will be on exhibition along with contributions of other nations.

Concurrently with the conference, it is the hope of UNESCO that the period from October 28 to the end of November, during which the annual sessions of the UNESCO will take place, will be known as the

UNESCO Month when the peoples of the world can turn their minds to the more lasting things of life—to educational, scientific and cultural matters. Every year following the current UNESCO month in Paris, similar cultural celebrations will be arranged in one of the great cities of the world—wherever the General Conference chooses to sit—and thus would serve to illustrate and register from year to year the progress in the educational, scientific and cultural fields of life in the world.

BIRTH OF UNESCO

The UNESCO was born just eleven months ago. It was recognised from the first when the United Nations met that the principle of organised international co-operation in cultural matters was the chief bases of peace and therefore the principle was included in the Charter of the United Nations—the first Article of which defines it as one of the purposes of the United Nations, *viz.*, "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and in promoting and encouraging respect in human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction of race, class, language or religion."

The lessons of two devastating world wars, the second more terrible than the first, emphasised that Peace could only be founded on comprehension and mutual understanding. It was felt that it should be one of the duties of the United Nations to facilitate the exchange and dissemination of knowledge about national and cultural activities, so that culture is made accessible to all men.

Following these general propositions, formulated at the San Francisco Conference, the British Government, in association with the French Government, extended on behalf of the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, an invitation to all member-states of the United Nations to be represented at a Conference in London beginning November 1, 1945, for taking steps to establish a United Nations Organisation in the Educational and Cultural fields. Forty-four countries, including India, sent representatives and there were six observers from international organisations. The project for organised international co-operation in the cultural field was thus carried one step further.

The Conference, which lasted 16 days, discussed a draft constitution prepared by the Council of Allied Ministers of Education, and a draft submitted by the French Government, as well as certain other suggestions received from other Governments and from national and international bodies and drew up a constitution establishing an Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Thus was born the UNESCO—supported by all the peace-loving nations of the world, and promising to become the most comprehensive international organisation ever to be established for cultural understanding and co-operation.

Last June, a draft agreement was initialled by representatives of the Economic and Social Council and by UNESCO which, when approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, will make UNESCO a specialised agency of the United Nations. Sir A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, President of the Economic and Social Council, and M. Roger Seydoux, Chairman of the Negotiating Delegation of the UNESCO, signed on behalf of their respective Organisations.

The objects of the UNESCO are summarised in the Preamble to its constitution which is as follows:

"The Governments of the States parties to this Constitution on behalf of their peoples declare:

"That since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed;

"That ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause, throughout the history of mankind, of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world through which their differences have all too often broken into war;

"That the great and terrible war which has now ended was a war made possible by the denial of the democratic principles of the dignity, equality and mutual respect of men, and by the propagation, in their place, through ignorance and prejudice, of the doctrine of the inequality of men and races; that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfil in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern;

"That a peace based exclusively upon the political and economic arrangements of governments would not be a peace which could secure the unanimous, lasting and sincere support of the peoples of the world, and that the peace must therefore be founded, if it is not to fail, upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind;

"For these reasons, the States parties to this Constitution, believing in full and equal opportunities for education for all, in the unrestricted pursuit of objective truth and in the free exchange of ideas and knowledge, are agreed and determined to develop and to increase the means of communication between their peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives;

"In consequence whereof they do hereby create the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation for the purpose of advancing, through the educational and scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organisation was established and which its Charter proclaims."

FIRST SESSION OF UNESCO GENERAL CONFERENCE IN PARIS

The first session of the UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural) General Conference opens in Paris on November 19, 1946.

The Indian delegation to the Conference is headed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The other members of the delegation are Sir John Sargent, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Dr. H. J. Bhabba, F.R.S., and Mr. K. G. Saiyidain (Indian States Representative).

The Secretariat of the delegation consists of Mr. P. N. Kirpal, Secretary, Miss Dorothy Bose, Assistant Secretary, Mr. A. M. Ashraf, Public Relations Officer and Mr. R. N. Chakravarti, Art Officer.

Fifty Indian paintings including those by the late Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, Mr. Jamini Roy and Khan Bahadur Abdur Rahman Chugtai and sixteen ...

mentary films produced by I.F.I. will be exhibited at Paris during the Conference. The paintings are representative of modern Indian art and the films relate to Indian village and social life, folk and classical dances, musical instruments and historical buildings. Paintings by Indian school children will also be exhibited during the Conference.

UNESCO IN THE WORLD OF MODERN LITERATURE

UNESCO* is, until the end of 1946, a commission inquiring into the ways and means by which, in Science, Education and Culture, the United Nations Organisation may promote among the nations and individuals of nations "mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives."

At present, therefore, Unesco is an inquiry, an exploration into all the possibilities of helping intellectual activity and by such help promoting peace. There are really two complementary aims in the work of Unesco. One is to create a world organisation which will further Science, Education and Culture; the other is to use these instruments of the human spirit to restore to men "dignity, equality and respect." The two aims become identical if we accept the hypothesis that the disinterested pursuit of knowledge and the fight against ignorance will encourage a better understanding between nations.

Unesco has three main branches (Education, Science and Culture) indicated in its name. When the organisation at present being built up is in action, it may well be found that the name suggests a symmetry and a balance of three functions which will not be achieved in practice. For example, in science, Unesco may become the instrument by which the nations undertake spectacular and gigantic projects. In education there may during the next years be tasks of rehabilitation, very important, but less spectacular. And when we come to culture, it is evident that a complex system of international cultural relations already exists and that often Unesco will be helping already existing organisations, and filling in gaps in the cultural relations between certain countries and certain others, where economic or other difficulties have prevented relations developing.

The lines along which Unesco's cultural work is likely to develop are well shown in the projects for Translations and A Writers' Pool of the Section of Literature. These projects are worth discussing fairly fully because they enter into the situation of international relations in letters and they show the kind of work which Unesco can do here.

Although in many countries of the world many translations are published of foreign books, it is obvious that a great many excellent and valuable works which may not have a very wide appeal, are not translated. This is true of past literature as well as of contemporary works. Recently the editor of a French Review made a list of English books which reads like an intelligent survey of the less famous English classics. In fact this list is of books either never translated into French or else existing only in unsatisfactory or outdated translations. Obviously if one had a picture of the translation situation on the whole world, one would find that there is an astonishing neglect of the masterpieces of several countries in other countries, owing to the accidents of the present haphazard arrangements.

Unesco proposes therefore to compile lists of works in each country which are worthy of being translated. These works will then be recommended to publishers and perhaps Unesco will be asked, in some cases, to assist in their publication. It proposes also to have its own recommended translators, so as to assure that translations will be of the highest possible quality. Another proposal is for a yearly prize for the best translation of books which has been made.

The translation of poetry is a special problem. Most poets are attracted by the idea of translating foreign works; indeed it is difficult to think of any great poet who has not made several such attempts. Translating is a fascinating exercise and it has for a poet a certain inspiration since he wishes to convey into his own language some work which he loves in another literature. Yet material reasons often prevent a poet from being able to devote as much time as he would like to the tasks of translating the work of a foreign poet into the poetry of his own language. Unesco proposes, therefore, to offer scholarships to poets who wish to translate those poems which have a special significance for them in a foreign language.

The Writers' Pool is a project concerned with the same unsatisfactory international distribution of the best literature as the project for translations. In the literary reviews of many countries where there is not a large reading public and where the cultural life is economically at a disadvantage to that of the richer countries, the work of some of the world's greatest contemporary writers is not published as widely as might be desired. Moreover, for the same reasons, the work of writers in the small countries is often not brought to the attention of the wide public of the reviews published in the larger countries.

It is proposed, therefore, that Unesco should set up a Pool to which writers should be invited to send some of their periodical works, so that the small reviews can draw on the work of the writers in the great countries and so that the editors in those great countries will have the opportunity to consider works of the writers of the smaller countries.

The Section of Literature of Unesco also includes a department concerned with the Theatre which proposes to encourage the creation of an International Theatre Institute. This Institute would act as a centre and clearing-house for all matters related to the theatre. Its objectives would naturally be the diffusion and propaganda throughout the world of the best work, past and present in theatre.

To encourage literature and international relations indirectly through literature, Unesco is concerned not only with the public interest in forming a truer picture of the literature of the world, but also in the conditions in which writers work. It is, therefore, working out an international copyright agreement. It proposes to appeal to various big foundations, such as the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations, to create scholarships for writers.

At one of the meetings of Unesco with delegates of governments, a demand was passed by the meeting that Unesco should compile an Anthology of Suffering and Resistance in the Occupied countries during the years of war. At present the material for such an anthology, which will be translated into several languages, is being collected.

There are several other projects for translations

*United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

and anthologies. All these will be submitted to the Conference which takes place in November 1946, and machinery will be set up immediately after the Conference to undertake the projects which are accepted. One can foresee then that the task of the Section of Literature will be to present a wide and disinterested picture of the literary situation of the world to the reading public in every country. In addition to this it will be to assist the production of the best literature in each country by making material available for editors and by improving the conditions of writers. It is essential that as these projects are realised, an active and living collaboration between editors, writers, readers and Unesco should grow up. Unesco will not succeed unless a stage is reached where everyone who cares for what is most living in contemporary and past literature can look to Unesco as protector and guide.—*UNESCO.*

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THE FOUNDATION OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA

By N. B. Roy, M.A.

The foundation of the Muslim rule in India* is an episode so spectacular and dramatic and the period of that domination has been so potent a factor in the shaping of the Indian culture pattern that the question at once rises—what are the factors that conspired to effect the speedy overthrow of the warrior clans of Northern India in the twelfth century and instal in their places the Turks?

A Muslim or a Turkish mail-clad warrior with his turban tightly set on his head and galloping on a charger was not a bugbear to an Indian in the twelfth century, as is often erroneously supposed. As early as the eighth century A.D. Sind northward up to Multan was conquered by the Arabs and their continuous sway for more than a century and a half combined with their frequent raids into the Punjab and Gujarat had brought the people of Western India into contact with them.

After the decay of the Arab power appeared the Turks on the north-western frontier of India near the close of the tenth century. They gradually pushed their way into the Kabul valley and then into the Punjab by driving back the Shahis who had once ruled from the foot of the Hindukush to the Beas river, but it took them not less than two decades to extinguish the Shahi powers by a most sanguinary and protracted fighting on the part of Sabuktigin and his successor Sultan Mahmud. Their successors made the Punjab their home and Lahore the base of their power from which issued mail-clad Turkish horsemen into the Gangetic plains. But notwithstanding their violent attacks the territorial integrity of the country east of the Punjab was maintained.

Hence the rapid fall of the powerful Rajput clans at the close of twelfth century has remained a puzzle. The explanation offered in this book for this strange turn of affairs does no doubt supply a need of the historical inquirer, but it appears to us to be limited in range. 'Internecine war, unprogressive fighting methods, people's indifference owing to lack of national consciousness and other less important factors,' which are adduced by the author to account for the Hindu downfall have been the abiding factors of Indian political life and were also operative in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

To what factors then is the divergence in the fortunes of India between the two epochs to be ascribed? (1) Altered political situation in India, (2) movements of new peoples and the rise of new powers beyond the western frontier of India, (3) the unregenerate social system of the Hindus which caused their intellectual inferiority, isolated them from the world and thereby encompassed their downfall.

The most noticeable fact in the political situation of India at the end of the twelfth century was the absence of even the vestige of that imperial power in the governance of India which had asserted itself during the time of the clash with Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. It is hardly remembered that the Pratihara chief Rajyapal was the moving spirit behind the confederacies organised to oppose the Ghaznavite Sultans. Wearing the mantle of Harsha, Vatsaraja and Bhoja he commanded the allegiance of the lesser chiefs of India and could easily get them together in armed coalitions. But on the eve of the Turkish invasion about 1170, there was no such universally accepted authority under whom the Indian chiefs could rally. On the other hand, the three powers represented by the Chauhanas, the Chandellas and the Gahadwar clans had newly sprung into importance and the craving for imperial suzerainty which is reflected in Prithwiraja's widespread conquests and the performance of the Rajasuya sacrifice by Raja Jaychandra had thrown the Rajput chiefs into bitter hostilities.

Outside India the territory represented by modern Afghanistan and Turkestan was in great ferment. Various tribes like the Ghuzz and the Khiljies were now pushing into this region from their Central Asian cradle-land and the Seljuqian empire was crumbling to decay. In this period of transition the chiefs of Ghor and Khwarizm made a bid for supremacy. The Ghori chief Alauddin (Jahan Suz) rose into prominence by seizing Balkh, Tukharistan, Gharjistan and Herat but they were soon wrested away by the Ghuzz and Aitigin, the ally of Alauddin. The Ghori power that suffered eclipse revived under Ghiyasuddin who not only beat the Ghuzz but made other conquests. His power too was short-lived and was completely overshadowed when the two sons of Ilarsalan, Takash and Sultan Shah composed their civil war by a mutual agreement and entered upon a career of aggression. Sultan's raids extended into the territories of Ghor but he died in 587 A.H./1191 A.D. and the quick occupation of his territories by his brother Takash caused a further

* *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* by A. B. M. Habibullah, M.A., Ph.D., (London), F.L.A. Published by Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmiri Bazar, Lahore. Pp. XI plus [illegible]. Price Rs. 15.

aggrandisement of the Khwarism State and a corresponding eclipse of the Ghori kingdom. Checked in the west the Ghori naturally tried to compensate himself in the east by fresh conquests. Hence a determined thrust to the Gangetic valley was inevitable but of this concatenation of events the Rajputs were hardly aware.

The society in which the Rajputs lived was utterly unregenerate. The rules of ceremonial cleanliness and purity enjoined by it, not only prevented the growth of a *espirit de corps* among its constituent elements but also cut them off from the progressive ideas of the world. Like their descendants of the eighteenth century they kept no account of the progress made by other peoples, looked down upon all foreigners as unclean and thought very highly of their powers and capabilities. As the Muslim philosopher Alberuni says :

> "All the fanaticism of the Hindus is directed against foreigners. They call them *Mlechchhas, i.e.,* impure, and forbid having any connection with them, be it by inter-marrigae or any other kind of relationship, or by sitting, eating and drinking with them, because thereby they think they would be polluted. They consider as impure anything which touches the fire and the water of a foreigner. The Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are by nature niggardly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste, among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner. Their haughtiness is such that, if you tell them of any science or scholar in Khurasan and Persia, they will think you to be both an ignoramus and a liar. If they travelled and mixed with other nations, they would soon change their mind, for their ancestors were not as narrow-minded as the present generation is."—(Sachau's *Alberuni*).

Thus the aloofness caused by the observance of the rules of ceremonial purity and cleanliness made the Rajputs stranger in their own home, warped their knowledge of men and things, making them utterly deficient in worldly wisdom.

Read Ferishta's account made on reliable tradition (Sahi rubayet) of the Rajput's treatment of his adversary on the eve of the second battle of Tarain, (lith. copy, N.K.P., p. 58).

As the two armies met together at Tarain, says Ferishta, 150 Rajput chiefs who had joined the standard of Prithwiraj sent a message to Sultan Muizzuddin saying,

> "You must have realised the strength of our army which is increasing from day to day by the junction of fresh levies. If you have any tender regard for your life or that of your troops, raise the standard of return to your country without being repentent at your arrival ; for we have sworn before our tutelary deities (Botan) that we shall neither pursue nor molest you in any way (during your retreat) otherwise we shall set the vast army which is beyond enumeration and cause your ruin within the ring (*dar-o-gir*) of our elephants."

Sultan Muizzuddin replied saying,

> "The message you have sent is full of the sentiment of chivalry and humanity, but it is known to all that the army has been brought here not by my own authority . . . but in obedience to my brother's command ; be pleased to give us some rest so that we may communicate to my brother the report of your vast number and superiority."

The shrewd Sultan also began to flirt with the Rajputs by offering terms of peace on the basis of the *status quo, i.e.,* Sirhind, Lahore and Multan were to belong to him and the rest of India to the Rajputs.

The Rajput chivalry agreed to grant the adversary the desired interval, but on the very night the Sultan got his army ready and at day-break when the Hindus were busy in performing their morning rites, flung it upon them. A great confusion ensued among the Rajputs, yet a part of their men had time to form and joined battle with the enemy.

Fighting in the various fields of war, Muizzuddin had acquired a rich experience in the art of fighting. His last year's defeat was a lesson to him and he now employed tactics very different from those applied previously. As Ferishta says, "Realising the courage and intrepidity of the Hindus, the Sultan issued orders saying that the troops who had been divided into four divisions, were to attack the enemy by turns and in accordance with the technique of war to shake their feet of firmness in pretended flight as their horses and the elephants closed with them, but they were to face about when the enemy would commence to pursue them under the impression of their having stampeded and relieve the wretches of the load of their head by the anvil-piercing arrow." "In this way," continues Ferishta, "the flame of battle was kept alight from morning till the hour of afternoon prayer." When these Parthian tactics exhausted the enemy, Sultan Muizzuddin "wearing the helmet of reliance of God on his head and putting on his shoulder the armour of patience charged upon the enemy with a body of 12,000 cavalry with drawn sword and spears flourishing above the ears of the horses and having dyed the battle field with the blood of the heroes caused a shiver in the ranks of the enemy within the twinkling of an eye."

There is hardly any reason for disbelieving the account of Ferishta, for his account of the battle almost corresponds with that of Minhaj (Tab. Nas. Text, pp. 119-20) who makes the Ghori Chief's tactics clear by saying, "Ten thousand mounted archers were to attack the enemy from the right and left, and front and rear and to fall back at the onset of the elephants, horses and the infantry of the accursed enemy and to keep away from the enemy by the length of a horse's course." An inkling of the preliminary pourparlers is also given by Minhaj when he says that previous to the battle he had gained the fortress of Sirhind by negotaition (*sulh*) and (not capitulation as translated by Raverty, p. 466).

This revealing account of Minhaj and Ferishta on the second battle of Tarain shows that Rajput defeat was not merely due to his enslavement to tradition, but also to his romantic notion of chivalry which dissuaded him from crossing sword with the enemy at the opportune moment and to his isolation from the world which made him ignorant of the happenings abroad.

The battles of Tarain, Chandwar and the repeated assaults on Delhi and Ajmir (Taj. Mas., R.A.S.B. MS, pp. 124 and 298, and Sir Jadunath's copy, 125 and 183), —very interesting episodes—have not been detailed at length in this volume, for the author has chosen to restrict its scope to a delineation of the part played

by the Mameluke Sultans whose rule "witnessing" in the author's opinion "not only the gradual shaping of a state system but also the beginnings of many of the factors that constituted the composite culture and society of medieval India has been obscured by the brilliance of the Mughals " hence the best pages are those that treat of the Mameluke Sultans and sketch the institutions and culture under their rule

In the course of his narrative the author has adopted a method that differs from the usual pattern He avoids microscopic investigation of the details but following probably the lines of Scott, casts the political horizon at the beginning of each reign and then makes a rapid survey of its factors which account for his narrative being so 'charming to read and easy to remember '

Apart from a separate chapter on Mongol invasion the most valuable pages of his book are possibly those that reveal the Hindu reaction (p 98-103 and 134-150) against the progressive consolidation of the Turkish rule and the magnitude of the opposition with which the Muslim Sultans had to struggle It is usually thought that the overthrow of Prithviraj and Jaichandra laid the whole of the Gangetic valley as far as Bihar at the feet of the Turkish conquerors this volume refutes the stupendously mistaken idea and brings into relief the solid fact that Muizzuddin's victories were not followed by the ready submission of the conquered The flame of Hindus' opposition continued to burn throughout the thirteenth century alternated between flicker and glow throughout the next half century and blazed up again at the close of the fourteenth century Neither Iltutmish's sternness nor Balban's bloody slaughter of the Mewatis or the Katheriya Rajputs of Amroha (see Zia Barni Text p 59) reminiscent of the blood bath of Jerusalem in 1099 when the Crusaders riding on horse-back were splashed with blood in the streets could quench the Rajput thirst for gaining back their freedom

One of the interesting facts of the period is the fleeting change of crowns between 1235-40 The author makes a commendable elucidation of the underlying causes that caused this kaleidoscopic shifting of the sceptre , in the same way his estimate of the prominent figures portrayed here has been free from such rhapsodical outburst as (Sultan) Iltutmish the Mystic an article which streamlines the page of Islamic Culture, April 1946 or such panegyric as the prosperity and grandeur of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's empire excited the admiration of the Muslim world" (*Adm of the Sultanate of Delhi* p 2)

But his appraisal of Muizzuddin Kaiqubad is an echo of Zia Barni's who has made a caricature of the aestheticism of the young prince owing to his violation of the canonical duties (*faraiz*) (*e g*, *roza* in lieu of which he gave away money in charity) and would require modification In spite of his failings and vices, Kaiqubad checked Mongol raids made a military parade across the Doab, and foiled his father's design on the kingdom of Delhi by displaying his armed strength on the bank of the Sarju (*Qiran-us-Sadain* is apparently the auspicious junction of the two stars but in reality the meeting of two rival monarchs, see also Mubarak Shahi, text, p 54) and preserved order throughout the kingdom by suppressing recalcitrants like Azhar Khan until he was overcome with palsy—a disease which is not necessarily the result of debauchery as inveighed by Barni Some of his other findings, *e.g.*, (1) regarding the causes of the Turkish success as against the Arab failure and the position of the Zimmis are also open to criticism and easily admit of a different interpretation

On the first point the Turkish success is ascribed to the 'persevering statesmanship of the Turkish rulers and luck' Omitting the latter cause which History refuses to take notice of, the consolidation of Turkish power should be ascribed not to their statesmanship of which not a jot of mark can be traced by us but (*i*) to their superior military power consisting in greater mobility and superior technique which won for them the dominion of India (*ii*) to Rajput disunity which was still further accentuated by the territorial split up effected by the driving wedge of the Turkish military power across the Gangetic valley, (*iii*) to the continual inflow across the frontier of swarms of nomads and semi-civilised peoples *e.g*, the Khaljis and the Afghans whose pressure increased until shortly after the deluge of the Mongol invasion across Asia assuming the character of tribal migration There is hardly any justification for the statement that the Mongol descent into India brought the conquerors and the vanquished together on the other hand it strengthened the Turkish position by driving into the Indian soil streaming bands of the rugged refugees who fired with the prospect of abundant loot yearned for Jihad and formed the vanguard of the Muslim arms (*iv*) to the decentralisation of the Government which though inevitable in that age of defective communication provided the greatest incentive to the fief holders (*iqtadars*) to work on their own account and to enjoy the fruit of their possessions by a nominal submission to the Sultans of Delhi (Muhammad Bakhtiyar's raid into Bihar from his fief at Bhuili, Nasiruddin Mahmud's from the fief of Oudh Alauddin's from Kara etc)

A lengthy discussion on the financial affluence and religious liberty alleged to have been enjoyed by the Hindus in the Turkish state is discounted by the scrappy evidence adduced in support of the author's conclusion The existence of a temple on the road from Broach to Mathura of the Sun-temple of Multan till seventeenth century (due to superstitious awe, see *Al Idrisi* Elliot Vol I p 82) three Jain images, endowment of twelve bighas of land to a temple of Vishnu erected near (not inside) Purana Qila, the celebration of religious rites below the imperial palace on the Jamuna during the reign of Jalaluddin Firuz Khilji are offset by the systematic destruction of the temples of Delhi Benares (nearly 1,000 of which were destroyed by Qutbuddin alone in 1194, Taj-Masir, Sir Jadunath's MS p 168) in Bayana, Chanderi, Mandu Ahmedabad and innumerable other seats of Muslim power where the fragments of the Hindu images and of the sculptured decorations can be seen embedded in the body of the ruined mosque (See *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*) Of course, the worship of Hindu deities was not stamped out, because a Sultan like Jalaluddin Khilji, who had to encounter the sullen resentment of the Albari Turks and Balbani emirs for his usurpation of the throne and the hostility of the Hindu chiefs, had to put up much against his wishes (Read *Zia Barni*, p 59 with the context where he laments that he lacked the strength of Jamshed and Kai Khusru, otherwise he would have made a total

annihilation of the Hindus, with the practices of infidelity near his palace.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Hindu, very much like the Irishman in the early nineteenth century, felt himself to be a hewer of wood and drawer of water in the land of his birth. The Jiziya, like the tithe, was a constant reminder of his humiliation. It was to use Sir John Marriot's words "a sear upon his conscience and a drain upon his purse" and no amount of casuistry can explain away the fact that the Jiziya was a mark of servitude in the eye of an aristocratic Hindu of those days. Hence the sustained and tenacious Hindu opposition for more than two centuries to Muslim rule. No doubt, the Baniya, a traditional money-maker and racketeer (*Cf* Alauddin Khilji's regulation and control of prices) and a literary huckster might not have felt deeply the stings of his humiliation and use the conventional phraseology in describing the Lord of Joginipura as an incarnation of Vishnu but the disgusting sobriquet by which the politically free Hindu designated his beef-eating adversary is too well-known to need repetition.

The sentiments expressed by Sayyid Nuruddin Mumarak Ghaznawi. Maulana Ziauddin Barni, the famous Muhaddis Maulana Shamsuddin Turk and Maulana Mughisuddin, the redoubtable Qazi, who said to Alauddin that the swallowing of the tax collector's spittle was the mark of Zimmi's submissiveness and pronounced that the prescription of "Imma-ul-katal-wa-Imma-ul-Islam (either Islam or death) was enjoined by all Imams except Abu Hanifa," breathe the fanatical crescentading spirit. Their lengthy polemics combined with the destruction of temples, forcible conversion (Taj Masir. *op. cit.*, p. 154, *Zia Barni*, p. 483, *Elliot*, VI. p. 376), exclusion of the Hindus from offices under Balban (*Zia Barni*, p. 72) and their utter degradation under Alauddin can never be reconciled with the picture of happiness, prosperity and peace of the Zimmis which our author draws.

In spite of the above criticism, the volume, we repeat, is a very able performance, "surpassing," to quote Sir Jadunath's words, "all other works on Indo-Muslim history in the author's mastery of the art of presentation and the distinction of his English prose style which combine to make this work so charming to read and easy to remember."

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WHY THIS ANTI-INDIAN DRIVE ?

By Prof. SUDHANSUBIMAL MOOKERJI, M.A.

In the Foreword to Dharam Yash Dev's *Our Countrymen Abroad* Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru points out that the problem of Indians overseas has engaged attention since the days when the Indian national movement took shape and that it will continue to do so till that movement ends in triumph. Nehru continues :

> ". . . The two (*i.e.*, the Indian national) movement and the problem of Indians overseas) are inseparably connected and the status of an Indian abroad must ultimately depend on his status at home."

There are about 225.000 Indians in the British Dominion of South Africa. What is their status there ? The following from the *Pravada*, Moscow, is well worth quotation :

> "For sixty years Indian residents in South Africa have been deprived of elementary social rights. Their access to schools and universities has been restricted but the last law passed by the Union of South Africa on May 29 (1946) greatly aggravates Indians' inequality and renders their living conditions absolutely unbearable."

The United Nations Organisation is now hearing the Indians' case in South Africa. The sincerity or otherwise of such fine phrases as 'human brotherhood,' 'the four freedoms,' 'dignity and worth of the human person' and the whole gamut of them of which so much has been told and heard in recent months will be clearly shown by how the U. N. O. decides the Indian case. The taste of the pudding, they say, lies in the eating.

The Nehru Government has appointed a batch of very able spokesmen to represent India before that august body. The Indian Delegation includes such well-known names as the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, Sir Maharaja Singh, the Hon'ble Justice Mr. C. M. Chagla, Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon and several others. A better and wiser selection could hardly have been made. There is little doubt that India's case will not go by default this time.

Thanks to the able advocacy of India's cause by the Delegation, South Africa's attempt to shelve the Indian question on the ground that it is a cent per cent domestic affair of the Union Government has been defeated. Attempts are now afoot to postpone the consideration of the Indian question by the U. N. O. and submit it to the International Court for arbitration. Latest reports from Lake Success where the U. N. O. is now in session indicates that there is a probability of the Indian question being settled by the U. N. O. in its current session.

Let us in the meanwhile make an attempt to analyse the charges levelled against the Indian settlers in South Africa by the White rulers of the Union.

It is now more than eighty years that the first shipment of Indian indentured labourers was allowed by the Government of India at the special request of the Natal Government. From that time onward Indians in Natal, the Transvaal and the Cape worked and do still work hard for the economic improvement of the territories. It would be no exaggeration to say that the Union of South Africa owes much of its prosperity to Indian labour. But the power-puffed Whites of the Union seem to be blind to this and are bent upon crippling, crushing, nay, driving out the Indian residents of the Union.

One of the principal anti-Indian arguments is that Indians are foreigners in South Africa. "The Asiatics," so wrote Lord Milner long ago, "are strangers forcing themselves upon a community reluctant to receive them." This was believed by the vast majority of White South Africans in Milner's day, as it is till today. Truth however points to the contrary. Eighty-five per cent of the present generation of the South African Indians are born in South Africa and a majority know no home other than South Africa. They have no intention of returning to the motherland except under pressure. They constitute an indispensable element in the social and economic set-up of the country. By no stretch of imagination can they therefore be regarded as aliens in the Union of South Africa.

The argument is untenable from a historical point of view as well. There are good reasons to believe that Indians laid the foundation of civilisation in South Africa. The ruins of Zimbabwe, in the opinion of Professor Forbenius, are a relic of Indian culture. Then again the Indians went to Natal only twenty years after the English and to the Transvaal but twenty years after the Dutch. Bad logic it is therefore to call the Indians aliens and to regard the Whites who came after them in thousands as the children of the soil.

Nor should it be forgotten that Indians went to South Africa at the special request of South African Whites themselves. Tempting prospects were held out to the Indians and their poverty induced them to swallow the bait.

The Indians are also accused of entering into unfair economic competition with the Whites. They, it is further alleged, have an abnormally low standard of living. The first of these allegations has no legs to stand upon. The secret of the Indian trader's success is his thrift, industry, contentment, cheap rates and consideration for his customers. Thousands of customers are attracted to Indian stores by their cheap rates, which are a blessing to the middle class and the poor people. They sell more reasonably than the Europeans and provide for easy, excellent terms of payment. This popularity of Indian establishments is, however, an eye-sore to the Whites and they give vent to their feelings by accusing the former of rate-cutting and unfair commercial competition. The Indian employers, it is said, pay starvation wages to their employees. It should be remembered that the Indian employer generally provides a free bed, free board and free clothes to his employees in addition to money-wages. Moreover, the salary paid to white girls by Indian concerns are on an average not lower than those paid by the European. Last but not least, the wage determinations instituted by the Labour Department of the Government in removing all causes of complaint have taken the wind out of the sails of the supporters of this view.

Lord Crewe, the then Secretary of State for India, exposed the hollowness of the low standard of Indian living at the Imperial Conference, 1911, in the following words :

"There is nothing morally wrong in a man being a vegetarian and a teetotaller, and his wife and family also, and being able to live very much more cheaply than the people who adopt the European standard of comfort . . . If a man is content on rice and water, and does not require pork, beef and rum, he naturally is able to support his family on a very much lower scale. Consequently you have to convert the entire Indian nation to a theory of economics which they do not hold at present and to which I think it would be extremely difficult to convert them."

The Indians themselves do not admit that their average standard of living is low in comparison with the European. Even if it is so, it is of the white man's making in the main. Sir Benjamin Robertson thus submitted before the Asiatic Enquiry Commission of 1914 :

"He (*i.e.*, the Asiatic) is blamed as a poor spender : but any attempt to find an outlet for expenditure is either resented or prohibited."

The Indians are generally debarred from residing in the expensive hotels and from dining in good restaurants. They are in consequence forced to patronise the cheaper and less desirable places. The Indian's disabilities thus compel him to practise economies.

The meagre wages paid to the Indian agricultural labourer is a scandal. The quarters provided by mills and plantations for their Indian employees are a disgrace. "The only respectable thing," says a shrewd observer, "is the whitewash on the outside."

The third argument in favour of the anti-Indian policy of White South Africa is that the maintenance and extension of the Western civilisation, which predominates in the vast sub-continent of Southern Africa, necessitate the total exclusion of the Indians and their civilisation from there. The argument is casuistrical. It is true that the white civilisation predominates South Africa today. But it is equally true that its roots have gone so deep that there are no signs of it being destroyed in South Africa. Every non-White community in the Union tries as best as it can to adapt itself to Western standards and the Indian community is no exception to the rule. An overwhelming majority of Indians in South Africa have taken to Western manners and customs. Their mode of living is more western than oriental. They claim that their standard of living is not lower than that of the whites financially equal to them.

Of South Africa's well-nigh two and a quarter lacs of Indians about two lacs are to be found in Natal. The Natal Indian may, therefore, be rightly regarded as the prototype of the Indian in South Africa. The Indian Colonisation Enquiry Commission (the Young Commission) thus speaks of the Natal Indian :

"Generally speaking, the Natal-born Indian is educationally and socially in advance of his parents . . . while retaining his religion (he) has become largely westernised and is no longer content to live as his father did on the limited rewards of rough and unskilled labour."

It is really hard to believe in the face of all these that the Indians must be excluded from the Union of South Africa for the preservation of the Western civilisation there.

Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit has fully exposed the hollowness of this argument. Says Mrs. Pandit in one of her speeches at the U.N.O. session :

"When South Africa contends that the presence of Indians in that country constitutes a threat to Western civilisation, what is meant, of course, is that it is a threat to European domination. It is not the

civilisation that is threatened, but the doctrine of White supremacy. Safeguarding White supremacy means, in effect, safeguarding the domination of a particular race over all others."

Mrs. Pandit continues :

"South Africa uses the pretext of Western civilisation to retain economic control over 8,000,000 non-Europeans. This is a classic example of the State representing the wishes of those who control it."

It is argued by the Whites themselves that the immigration of Indians into South Africa should altogether stop as this in the long run would result in the liquidation of the White supremacy by making the Indians a power in South African politics. The fear is absolutely baseless. The proportion of the Union's Indian population to the European does not warrant any such suspicion. The table given below speaks for itself.

Province	*Year*	*Whites*	*Indians*
The Cape	1911	582,377	6,606
	1921	650,609	6,498
	1931	749,231	6,500
Natal	1911	98,114	133,030
	1921	136,838	141,336
	1931	177,449	163,400
The Transvaal	1911	420,562	10,048
	1921	543.385	13,405
	1931	696,120	15,500
The Orange Free State	1911	175,189	106
	1921	188,566	100
	1931	205,375	100

The figures show that there has been very little change in the numerical strength of Indian settlers in the Cape and the Orange Free State since 1911. The Transvaal shows an increase of 33·4 per cent between 1911 and 1921 and 15·6 per cent since 1921. Natal records an increase of 6·2 per cent during the decade 1911-21 and of 15·6 per cent since 1921. A glance at the table further reveals that during the period under review the White population of the Union increased by about 43 per cent and the Indian by about 25 per cent. A consideration of the increase in the population of other communities in recent years proves beyond all dispute that the fear of South Africa being swamped by Indian immigrants has no foundation in fact. The increase in the native, Coloured and White and Asiatic populations during the 15 years 1921-36 was 39 per cent, 38 per cent and 30 per cent, respectively.

Is it not silly to argue in the face of the Immigrants Regulation Act, 1913, which absolutely prohibited immigration from Asia into the Union, the Smuts-Gandhi Agreement, 1914, and the Cape Town Agreement, 1927, that the 'whiteness' of South Africa is threatened by Indians ? Since 1914 only a handful of Indian teachers and priests have been admitted as educated Indians by the Union Government.

The Lange Commission and the Young Commission Reports leave no room for doubt that so insignificant a position do Indians occupy in the Union politics that they would thank their stars if they are given only the normal human rights. Thus, for example, in the year 1933-34 there were only 13 parliamentary voters in Natal and 1471 in the Cape. Comment is superfluous. Indians in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are in a still more pitiable plight. In 1945 there were only 29 Asiatics in the Orange Free State. The Transvaal Indians have neither parliamentary nor municipal franchise nor land rights.

Can anybody having the least pretension to that rare human virtue, common sense, ever believe that the Indian settlers in South Africa, who are numerically weak and are denied the most elementary rights of citizenship, "whose very existence trembles in the midst of danger" are a menace to the White supremacy in South Africa ?

The exponents of the anti-Indian policy further argue that the Indians intrdue upon the White society and exercise an unwholesome influence upon the White character and are harmful to White interests as such. This charge too is no more consistent with truth than the other anti-Indian arguments stated above.

The Indians in South Africa have taken to the western mode of living in the main, though a majority of them are quite good Indians at heart. The contact they have with Europeans is purely professional and is less intimate and more formal than the Indo-European contact in India. If a handful of whites in India are in no social danger from the children of the soil, how could they be so in South Africa where the Indians are so few in number—fewer than the Europeans themselves—and handicapped by all sorts of restrictions, prohibitions and disabilities ? Some white witnesses examined by the Lange Commission (1930) alleged that Indians had extra-marital relations with White women. But they could not substantiate the charge. Some ministers of religion however succeeded in showing several cases of such connection but the White woman in each of those cases was extremely poor, uneducated and backward. The Commission observed :

> "Such occurrences are admittedly rare, and would probably be found as frequently amongst the coloured populaion of the country as amongst the Asiatics. The evidence certainly did not disclose any serious grounds for the fear of miscegenation in the future which was expressed by some of the witnesses. Apart from other considerations, differences of religion would go a long way towards averting such a danger."

There were only 54 Euro-Asiatic marriages as against a total of 392,949 marriages and 1073 European-non-European marriages registered in the whole Union of South Africa during the period 1926-36.

The whites contend that Indians must quit the Union bag and baggage because they have a bad character, are undesirable citizens and because their presence in the Union is an undiluted evil. All these have been challenged by no other than Mr. Henry Burton, the Union Delegate to the Imperial Conference, 1918. He said :

> "It is only fair to say—and it is the truth—that we have found that the Indians in our midst in South Africa, who form . . . a very substantial part of the population, are good, law-abiding, quiet citizens ; and it is our duty to see . . . that they are treated as human beings with feelings like our own, and in a proper manner."

None but an ignoramus would believe that the Asiatics are criminal-minded. The table below gives the lie direct to any such contention.

Race	*Conviction for serious Offences*	
	1934	1939
European	3,312	2,093
Native	23,931	20,376
Asiatic	322	272
Coloured	4,258	3,887

The true explanation of the anti-Indian drive in South Africa and in the British colonies all the world over is to be sought elsewhere. It is to be found in the fact that British colonial imperialism is tending towards a new economic policy. In his well-written brochure *Indians in Foreign Lands,* Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia observes :

> "Through the unrest in Uganda and Tanganayika, the strikes of labourers and petty peasants in Mauritius, and the refusal of dealers to handle Zanzibar cloves run the threads of the new economic policy."

The aim of pre-1918 British imperialism was to acquire an increasing volume of profits through extension of territorial scope. Large areas were yet to be opened to imperialist trade. The mediation of widely distributed traders and the development of communications as well were necessary for the maintenance and extension of the relationship between the producers of raw materials and the world market. India played a vital role at this stage and supplied a fair proportion of the Empire's need of traders and middlemen. She supplied at the same time the demand for labour for the development of virgin areas. Indians in large numbers migrated to British colonies in Africa as well as in other parts of the world. They served on the Empire's plantations and in its factories and kept them going at a time when acute labour famine threatened their very existence because indigenous labour was not forthcoming in proportion to the requirements.

Indians, as noted above, played also the role of the "Empire's middlemen in the colonies." British colonies all over the world are dotted today with thousands of small Indian stores, which collect raw materials from native growers and distribute finished products among them. The Indian petty traders thus ply a brisk but gradually diminishing two-way trade with the African, the Arab, the Guinese, the Malayan, the Fijian, the Ceylonese and other races. They have so long organised the Empire's net-work of trade. Thrifty, courageous, courteous, and industrious, they were admirably capable of the task. Such an economic structure served the purpose of imperialism in an epoch when there were yet mysteries in the world. "Extensive agriculture and middlemen's profits," we quote again from Dr. Lohia's brochure, "could be permitted while imperialist capital could yet derive increasing profits out of newer areas."

British imperialist capital has no more new areas to conquer today and what it has lost in the exhaustion of possibilities of all further territorial expansion it seeks to make up by tightening its tentacles round what it has already grabbed. What it has must be bled white and this squeezing in the first instance takes the form of squeezing out the middleman and thus of appropriating his profits. It has another aspect, *viz.*, nationalised and more intensive exploitation of labour in the factories and plantations and involves the squeezing out of the small peasant. This new economic policy is in operation today in Zanzibar, in Tanganayika, in Uganda, in Mauritius, in South Africa, in a word, in British colonies and Dominions everywhere in the world.

The new policy described above presents problems both racial and economic. It is racial in so far as the attack is at present directed almost exclusively against Indians in British colonies. In so far as the policy is motivated by a desire to prop up a discredited and rapidly crumbling imperialism, it is economic.

It his high time that India awoke to the gravity of the situation and clearly grasped the implications of this world-wide racial and imperialist onslaught. Indians must combine, organise and pursue a course of concerted action in defence of their racial and economic interests and in vindication of their national honour. They must realise at the same time that the new imperialist policy is in essence an economic policy which involves other colonial peoples as well, the Africans, the Arabs, the Creoles and the like. Imperialism will never rationlise itself unless checkmated by the united front offered by all the colonial peoples, those whom an unkind providence has decreed—with what justice we know not—to be "drawers of water and hewers of wood" in the lands of their birth. Much too is expected of the Labour parties in the imperialist countries themselves. The former, it is hoped and with good reasons at that, will carry on an unrelenting campaign against colonial oppression and the new imperialist drive. India can render effective assistance to the struggle of her children abroad and to that of other colonial peoples as well. The Zanzibar strike of the late thirties would have been of little avail but for the boycott of Zanzibar cloves by India. Nor can it be said that the recent snapping of the Indo South African trade agreement and the recall of its High Commissioner from the Union of South Africa by the India Government have been altogether barren of moral, if not material, consequences.

Much more however could have been done by a government truly democratic, inspired by patriotic idealism and gifted with courage, foresight and imagination. The Interim Government headed by that practical idealist Jawaharlal Nehru, handicapped as it is, by its courageous stand on the South African issue has gained great prestige and "has constituted itself as a rallying point for all nations who feel that they suffer under the colonial system."



MARATHA HISTORY NEWLY PRESENTED

By Sir JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.

More than a century and a quarter has passed since Captain James Grant Duff wrote his masterly *History of the Marathas* (published in three volumes in 1826), and it has held the field among English readers ever since. C. A. Kincaid's *History of the Maratha People* (3 volumes, 1918-25) written on materials supplied by D. B. Parasnis, is too scrappy and meagre in substance to be its rival in any way. Historical materials in Marathi began to be printed in 1878, in the *Kavy-etihas Samgraha* magazine, and State-papers, letters, memoirs, and other valuable sources in the same language began to appear in a flood in 1898, and their volume has continued to swell since then without a break for half a century. In addition to these indigenous sources, English, French, Dutch and Persian contemporary records, (many of them unknown to Grant Duff and Kincaid) have been discovered and in a great part printed in our own days. A synthesis of this vast mass of raw materials has been the crying need of serious students of our history for one full generation.

Govind Sakharam Sardesai undertook this task 46 years ago, but modestly in the Marathi language. He began to write his history under the name of the *Marathi Riyasat* in 1901 and completed it in eleven volumes in 1932. Some of these volumes have gone into two editions and all are now sold out. This *Riyasat* is an incredibly painstaking and methodically arranged concentration of the sources of the history, with exact references to the authorities cited and a multitude of dates, place-names (with identifica-tion), genealogies and biographical sketches. In fact, it can be more fitly called an Encyclopoedia of Maratha history, so rich and varied are its material contents. At the same time the author has not confined himselt to mere narrative, but discussed and criticised men and measures in the light of the facts unfolded in his pages.

In preparing the third edition of his Marathi book, Sardesai has adopted a new literary technique altogether. The work has been entirely rewritten and the former matter of fact, minutely detailed method has been replaced by a more attractive style marked by reflection and discourse; here the facts no longer overshadow the broad movements and policies; the reader never misses the wood for the trees. This series (begun in 1935) is being issued in handy well-printed, readable volumes, one for each of the four kings (Shahji, Shivaji, Shambhuji, and Rajaram) and one or more for each Peshwa. As yet it has reached the year 1750 in seven volumes, while the eighth volume (Panipat) has been held up in a press copy. Here the veteran historian has poured forth the fruits of a life's cogitations and given everywhere the why and how of events, at the same time that he has brought the subject abreast of the latest research by utilising every scrap of newly discovered information, including my translations from Persian and Chevalier Pissurlencar's materials collected from the Portuguese archives, as well as the Peshwas' State records and the English and French Factory records and despatches which are now available in print. He has also taken stock of the conclusions reached among Maratha scholars on most of the disputed points in their history.

But all this is beyond the reach of the vast world of readers who cannot read Marathi. For them Sardesai, now in his 82nd year, has completed an English work in three volumes, under the title of *A New History of the Marathas* (Dhawale publishers, Samartha Sadan, Bombay 2). The first volume of it (from the early age of Maharashtra and its people to 1707) is just out, and the second (covering the Early Peshwai, 1707-1761) is ready in a press copy for the compositors, while the third volume has reached 1808 in manuscript and needs only two or three chapters more to complete the tale down to the extinction of the Peshwas' power in 1818.

But Sardesai's history in its English garb is no mere translation of his Marathi life's work. It is a new book in most respects. Here he has been constantly conscious that he is appealing to a different and wider audience than his Maratha compatriots, and he has, therefore, chosen a different literary device in order to serve the general reader all over the world. The minute details, the multitude of personal sketches and the host of dates and place-names, which add to the value of the Marathi book have been judiciously ex-cluded, and we have been given instead the reflections on the rise and fall of the Maratha political power and the main currents of their history and social life, the influence of personalities and the impact of world movements on the narrow stage of Maharashtra, with just the minimum of factual evidence required to support his conclusions and make a smooth but rapid flowing narrative. As we read it, we feel that the ancient sage is talking to us from his armchair, in a free and easy manner but on methodically planned lines and giving us the fruits of a long life's study and reflections.

In writing this English book, Sardesai has a special aim to fulfil. He believes that the Maratha race and the course of their growth through the ages have not always been justly understood by the outer world. His own views on this subject are set forth here, not dogmatically but in the form of well argued and documented judgments. He would prefer to call it the Maratha *apologia*, or the presentation of the Maratha case at the bar of world opinion. And as such no fair-minded reader can cavil at it.

Sardesai has been always known as a very impres-sive and popular speaker and writer in the Marathi language. We are delighted to see how he has succeeded in mastering the difficult medium of a foreign tongue. His prose in this English book flows smoothly in a simple pleasant style, free from verbosity and rhetorical display alike.

The rise of the Maratha people under the inspiration of Shivaji as a strong and united nation has been aptly called the Dawn of Maratha National Life. But why should we call the fall of the independent king-dom of the Peshwas, "Sunset over Maharashtra"? The year 1817, no doubt, saw the end of a short-lived dynasty at Poona, the disappearance of one among the many "protected native States" of India—or rather three when we add the annexation of Satara and Nagpur which followed shortly after. But the political change that coloured the map of Western India red was no sunset for the *people* of the land; it ushered in for them a glorious future far surpassing their past great-ness, when all things are taken into consideration. They ceased to live under the yoke of a caste-ridden ortho-dox obscurantist priesthood, isolated in their narrow

corner; they now issued forth (no doubt slowly and hesitantly for the first two generations) as equal partners in a greater India and became freely and fully subject to the rushing waves of modern thought and modern progress. How fruitfully the sons of Maharashtra have utilised this opportunity is written on every page of the intellectual and political history of India since 1857. Contrast the visit of Bal Gangadhar Tilak to Bengal in the 19th century with that of Bhaskar Pandit in 1743, or of Gopal Krishna Gokhale to Delhi with that of Baji Rao in 1736. Was a Senior Wrangler of Cambridge possible in the Poona even of Nana Fadnis? Could a Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar have come out of the school of the Nyayadhish Ram Shastri? Or a Govind Sakharam Sardesai out of the comrades of Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis?

If my Deccani friends still insist on the simile, let them call the final scene of the history of the Peshwas, not a Sunset, but the dipping down of a sickly waning moon, which precedes the rise of a bright new Sun. The so-called sunset overtook a State and Society that was rotten to the core with official corruption and inefficiency, endless internal discord, the extinction of the breed of true leaders in war and council, and utter financial exhaustion. Surely, nature could not have let it continue even if the British had not intervened in December 1802.

Repine not over your past, the dead and never-to-return past. Look forward and seize the opportunities of the present, by plunging into the full rushing stream of modern world-progress and world-thought.

History when rightly read has a lesson for every race. This is the lesson of Maratha history when viewed dispassionately in the long perspective.

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COMBATTING CLOTH FAMINE

By MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI

No country in the world today can boast of averting this ugly monster—famine. Even India, China and other rich Asiatic countries, which constituted and even now constitute, the granary of the world, are in the clutches of this horrible monster, thanks to the present chaos in the blessed twentieth century. And peculiar is our land—inscrutable are the ways of her life, even more inscrutable are the ways of her guardians, so that India is perhaps the singular country where people commit suicide for a piece of cloth! This is simply paradoxical. A country which clothed other countries and even contributes a significant quota of world's requirement of raw cotton today, is herself a victim of cloth famine. A people of four hundred millions, despite having the second biggest amount of raw cotton at their disposal, cannot fight this cloth scarcity! Before the advent of the British and the blessings of the machineries, even our weavers could clothe such a big nation. And today a joint fight of man and machinery cannot avert cloth famine! The problem rests on our shoulder for immediate solution. So, here in the following lines, we shall envisage the present position of the cotton textile industry in our country and the possible avenues to solve the present scarcity.

Cotton Mill in India: Past and Present

The first cotton mill in India came into existence as early as 1818, at Fort Gloster near Calcutta. But real development and work on modern lines began with the establishment of the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Mill in 1851 at Bombay. Shortly after other mills were established at Bombay and Ahmedabad. Thanks to the high rates of dividends that these mills were paying, more and more capital and enterprise were drawn to the industry, so that towards the end of the last century, we had no less than 156 mills, with a total nominal capital of Rs. 14,19,50,000 and equipped with a total complement of 36,000 looms and 4,046,100 spindles. The Swadeshi movement of 1906-10 gave a great impetus to the development of the cotton mill industry in this country and by 1914, the number of mills were 239, with a total nominal capital of Rs. 20,00,14,000 in rupee stock and £200,000 in sterling stock and equipped with a total complement of 9? 268 looms and 6,308,758 spindles.

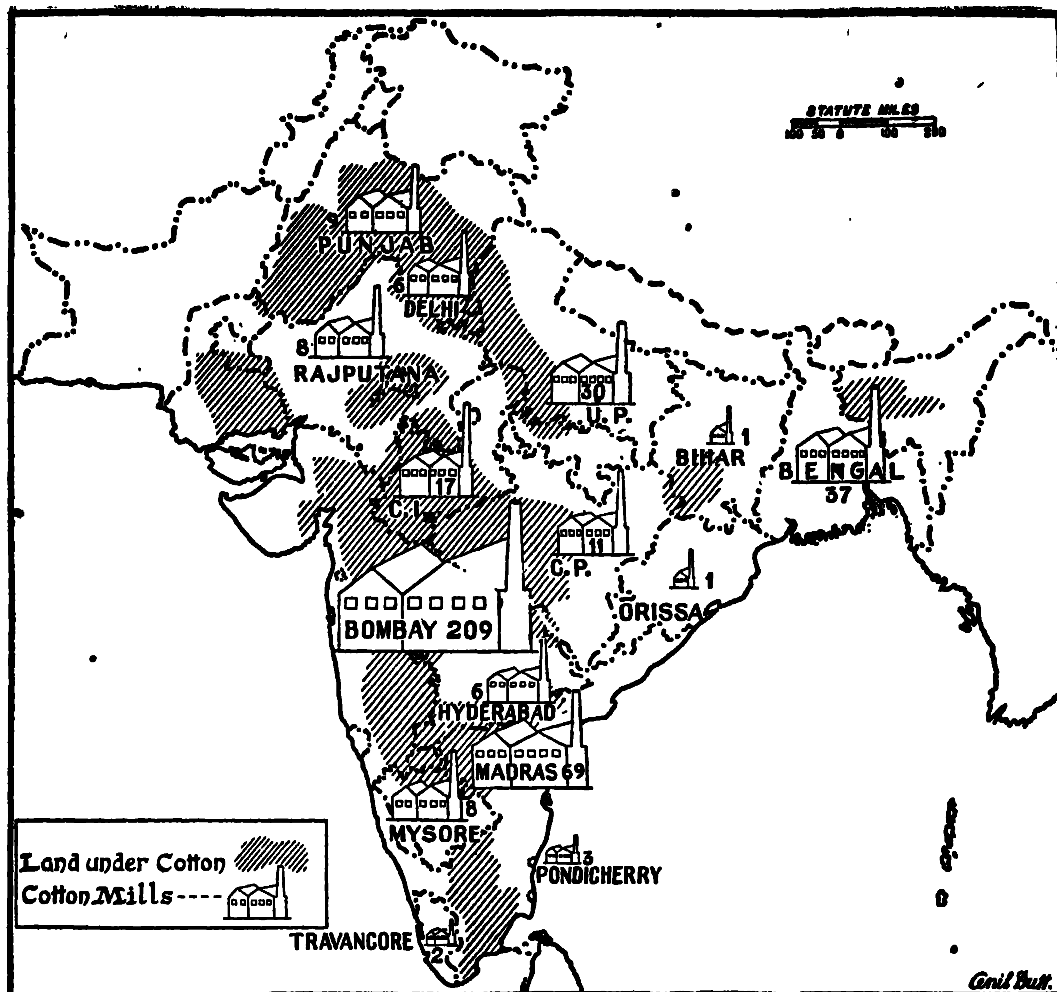
On the eve of the Great War (1914-18) India obtained the fourth place in order amongst the greatest cotton manufacturing countries in the world. The first three were, Great Britain, U.S.A. and Germany. Restriction of imports from the belligerent countries became a blessing to the industry and it experienced unprecedented prosperity for a time, so much so that about the closing years of the war, the industry earned a profit of about 30 per cent.

During 1937-38, the cotton textile industry made a marked recovery both in internal and external markets partly due to the Sino-Japanese conflicts and consequent curtailment of Japanese production and shipments to various markets and Lancashire's inability to fill up the void due to higher prices of Manchester goods. Indian cotton goods thus easily captured markets which had been monopolised by Japan. But the earlier part of 1939 was not a very happy time for Indian textile industry on account of low commodity prices that then prevailed. These low prices had their repercussions on the piecegoods and yarn markets, with the result that demand was poor. This resulted in a heavy slump in prices and the industry sustained heavy losses. Bombay, the home of Indian textiles, was suffering under various burdens in the shape of wage increase, Urban Immovable Property Tax, etc.

> "At this juncture came an additional import duty on raw cotton, and a reduction in the import duties on Lancashire piecegoods. Sorely embarrassed, the industry thought of curtailment of production as the only solution of the problem—but just then the second World War broke out and that completely altered the situation in many respects in a few months".—M. P. Gandhi, *Cotton Textile Annual, 1944.*

Mr. M. P. Gandhi in his *Report of the Cotton Textile Industry,* 1944 Annual, observes:

> "The real turning point, in the cotton textile industry during the war-period, should be traced to the establishment of the Eastern Group Supply Council in Oct. 1941, following the deliberation of the Eastern



Group Conference at Delhi in Oct. 1940. In fact the growing importance of the Middle East theatre of war could be said to be the major factor that altered the outlook for many industries. The geographical and strategic position of the country enhanced the importance of other Indian industries as well. India, which is the biggest member of the Eastern Group Supply Council, is making a large number of textile articles for the supply and Defence Services in India and throughout the Eastern Group.

"It will thus be seen that the real improvement in the position of the industry commenced in the last quarter of 1940. Since then, there has been a high level of production which is on the increase through rationalisation of production, adoption of multiple shifts, arrangement of priorities, regulated supply of raw materials, etc.".

Obviously India has been an important manufacturer of cotton piecegoods in the world market. Though, however, many of the mills had to be closed down due to shortage of coal and also of insufficient supply of yarn, yet in view of the number of mills that we just now possess, the total production may be far greater if only the supply of yarn be regular and continuous. Mr. Gandhi observes elsewhere :

"The only other manner in which we can increase the total production of cloth in the country, is by production of more yarn and for this purpose, the possibility of working the spinning section of the industry, up to 3 shifts per day, in all parts of the country, should be explored. If this is done, more yarn will be produced which can be earmarked for use in the handlooms. which can be worked more fully by giving special impetus to hand spinning as well as hand weaving in some manner."

Let us consider the number of mills now existing in India in different provinces :

(Distribution of mills throughout India as at 31-8-1944.)

Bombay	.. 209
Rajputana	.. 8
Berar & C.P	.. 11
Bihar & Orissa	.. 2
Mysore	.. 8
Hyderabad	.. 6
Central India	.. 17
Bengal	.. 37
Punjab	.. 9
Pondicherry	.. 3
Delhi	.. 6
U. P.	.. 30
Madras	.. 69
Travancore	.. 2
Total:	417

India's Production of Raw Cotton

The total production of raw cotton in the world in 1943-44 was 25,643,000 bales. India is the second biggest producer of raw cotton in the world, only next to the United States, her total production amounting to 4,554,000 bales.

Total Requirements of Cloth for 400 millions : Available Output : Taking an average of 16 yds. per capita consumption, the total requirement for 400,000,000 amounts to 6,400 mill yds. of cloth. The total output, on the other hand, is as follows :

Net available Indian mills production (after deducing export)	3880 mill yds.
Estimated hand-loom production	1650 mill yds.
Estimated hand-woven cloth from hand-spun khadi .	12 mill yds.
Net available for consumption (cotton piecegoods) ..	5542 mill yds.

These figures reveal that we can have about 6,000 mill yds. of cloth, if no export is at all made, which is about 600 mill yds., in spite of the handicaps the mills have to encounter due to shortage of coal, yarn, etc., resulting from war emergency. Our pre-war production was about 6,200 mill yds. deducting export, inclusive of mills and handlooms. The demand for meeting the cloth requirements of His Majesty's Government which amounted to about 30 per cent at the outbreak of the war and about 20 per cent more recently, could not even tell upon our home requirements, since the figures supplied above are exclusive of the Government requirement and moreover, the Government also took and pretended to take some precautionary measures to avert cloth scarcity.

> "In 1943, the Government of India launched the standard cloth scheme, with a view to peg down the soaring prices of cloth at a time when cloth famine was supposed to be in the offing. It was with a view to making cloth available to the people at reasonable prices.
>
> "On and from the 1st December, 1943 the cloth control order also became effective to make cloth cheaper, prevent hoarding and profiteering and crush black-marketing".

Moreover, restrictions were imposed on exports and the Government maintain that the requirements for military purposes were also curtailed. Yet : "Why this misery—why cloth famine ?"

The Bengal Cloth Famine

So far as the Bengal cloth famine is concerned, the authorities believe that it is simply due to "hoarding and profiteering"—a phrase which is so familiar to us—and also due to absence of ban on exports of cloth to Tibet.

> "It is being pointed out that hoarding and profiteering in cloth has been rampant in Bengal. Cloth is being increasingly smuggled to China at a fancy rate of Rs. 10 per yd. Until recently, there was no ban on exports of cloth to Tibet, with the result that large consignments of Indian piecegoods found their way from Kalimpong to Tibet on mules and yak, resulting in a depletion of the stocks meant for Bengal."

Black-marketing and the habit of selling ready-made garments have been said to be contributory causes. But no statistics is available, and in spite of increased production due to "war-impetus," Bengal had to witness her children commiting suicide for a piece of cloth.

None can gain-say that the problem of distribution is one of the potent factors accounting for cloth shortage. Against criticisms for inadequate per capita allotment it is pointed out that Bengal used to get 12 yds. per head per annum in normal years and during cloth shortage only 2 yds. less per capita was supplied, whereas in the Punjab, it was 18 yds. instead of 22 yds. and Bombay 18 yds. instead of a pre-war allotment of 25 yds. per head per annum.

> "For this no one but the Bengal Government is responsible. Either the local administrative machinery is bungling or corrupt or there is some leakage in supplies, which it is high time was put an end to." (Mr. Gandhi's report on Cotton Textile Industry Annual 1944).

With the cessation of hostilities, the cloth crisis is not yet over. Moreover, the crisis is all the more acute and one will simply wonder to hear that the Government has decided to curtail 10 per cent of the regional cloth quotas ! Is it a gift of peace ?

Some Practical Way Towards the Solution of the Problem

Still the mystery remains unsolved. What we have reviewed above, about Bengal, can make us aware of things elsewhere, in the vast Indian continent. Under no circumstances, therefore, there can actually be any shortage of cloth. As we have seen elsewhere, if shortage of yarn be the only one cause, well, it can be mitigated

> "by production of more yarn; and for this purpose, the possibility of working the spinning section of the industry up to 3 shifts per day in all parts of the country, should be explored. If this is done, more yarn will be produced, which can be earmarked for use in the handlooms which can be worked more fully by giving special impetus to hand spinning as well as hand-weaving in some manner."

A Man-Charkha Miracle : A Gandhian Move

Taking an average per capita requirement of 16 yds. it can be shown that a battle for 6,400 mill yds. can easily be won by a population of 400,000,000 which can very easily get over such a crisis and solve the problem of yarn requirements.

One person can easily spin 150 yds. a day spinning for two hours.

So, even if 200,000,000 spin only for 300 days a year the result is $200 \times 300 \times 150 = 90,00,000$ mill yds. of 1,200 yds. (count 10) can give one yd. of cloth, so that we have 90,00,000 mill—1200-7500 mill yds. of cloth.

One finds that in Bengal villages the weavers have suspended their work for want of yarn. What more, they have no raw cotton even at their disposal for spinning purposes. What then is wanted is to supply them with raw cotton so as not to let this industry die. And do we lack in raw cotton ? We produce much more than our home requirements, and are the world's second biggest producer of raw cotton. If spinning is encouraged enough power devoted to spindles can be saved, thus making a great economy of power also.

PLASTICS IN THE TOY INDUSTRY

By M. A. AZAM

The inherent characteristics of plastics—colour, high lustre and ability to be fabricated into intricate shapes—have enabled their wide use in the toy industry. In the U.S.A. modern plastics have been used in toys for more than 50 years and their uses have continued to grow at a particularly rapid rate during the last 15 years. Many different types of plastics are used in the toy industry and the choice of a specific material depends on numerous factors. Important among these are cost, degree of precision required, volume and mechanical properties. Plastics vary widely in their characteristics and there is no typical plastic The toy designer or manufacturer, in general, looks to the fabricator or plastic supplier for information, or depends on experience in the field. The main types of plastics of interest in toys are as follows :

Cellulose Nitrate (*Nitron*)

Cellulose nitrate sheet materials in thin gauges running up to ·030 have been used for a great many years in producing such items as rattles, dolls, toy animals, and similar hollow objects. Cellulose nitrate is used in a wide range of colours including clear transparent with red, yellow, green and blue translucent types heavily favoured. Formed objects have excellent appearance and are highly attractive to children. The principal shortcoming of such product is flammability. It presents fire hazard particularly in storage; and due to the use of very thin gauges, formed objects are easily dented or torn.

Cellulose nitrate is fabricated into finished objects by blowing, swaging, forming, stretching or machining.

In the blowing operation two sheets of cellulose nitrate lightly cemented together are inserted in a mould provided in both halves with cavities that reproduce the desired shape. Steam is injected between the sheets to expand the material to the shape of the cavities. Parts so formed are then trimmed free of excess material.

In swaging or related heat forming processes simple dies mounted in mechanical presses are used to form the material to the desired shapes. The nitrate sheet is softened by pre-heating on a hot plate or by immersion in hot water. Balls used in rattles are often formed in this way, two halves being formed one within the other simultaneously. The two halves are separated and cemented together to form a complete sphere.

Nitrate rod stock and thin sheets are often machined into shape by any one of numerous machining operations. In this end in other methods of fabricating a great deal of ingenuity has been expended in increasing the efficiency and improving the designed flexibility involved in fabrication.

Cellulose Acetate (*Fibestos*)

Cellulose acetate is chemically related to cellulose nitrate but overcomes the handicap of flammability. It is rated as slow burning. The other important advantage of cellulose acetate in toys is that it can be used in the injection moulding process. In injection moulding parts are formed in machine steel dies mounted in injection moulding machines. The acetate is fed as a powder to a separate heating cylinder where it is softened and then squirted through runners into the mould cavities. Moulds may have as many as 50 cavities and the machines operate almost automatically, enabling very high production at relatively low cost. Like cellulose nitrate, celluose acetate is made in a full range of colours including transparent. In general, it duplicates the appearance and saleability features of nitrate. Cellulose acetate. although widely accepted by consumers, does not enjoy a particular good reputation among merchandise buyers. Toys have been made and marketed of cellulose acetate using scrap material of poor durability and toughness. There has also been a marked tendency to cheapen moulded parts by reducing wall thicknesses and otherwise making the products as flimsy as possible. These failings are not inherent in the nature of the material as shown by the use of cellulose acetate in heavy duty industrial applications. They can be overcome by a proper design and proper selection of compound.

Polystyrene (*Lustron*)

Polystyrene is a relatively new plastic but prior to the war was growing very fast as a material for toys. Like acetate it can be injection-moulded. It has, however, certain important advantages over acetate in some applications. Polystyrene has all the colour advantages of acetate and its transparency, and has further advantages in freedom from warpage and immunity to effects of water even when immersed for prolonged periods. Polystyrene was successfully used in children's tableware prior to the war where its colour and general attractiveness created a wide sale for the item. During the past four years the price of polystyrene has been reduced successively to the point where it is considerably cheaper than acetate. It is expected that when this material is available in large quantities again, it will be an important material in the toy industry.

Phenol Formaldehyde (*Resinox*)

Phenol formaldehyde is widely used in certain types of toy products, in general, in uses quite different from those of the thermoplastic materials. Unlike Lustron and Fibestos, Resinox type materials are not injection-moulded but are fabricated into finished parts by compression moulding. Most compression moulding is carried out on semi-automatic presses in which are mounted moulds which are charged by hand. After charging the material in the form of powder or pills the mould is closed under pressure and the plastic flows to fill the mould. For production of small parts such as used by the toy industry fully automatic compression moulding machines have been adopted which require virtually no attention and thus operate at low labour cost.

Phenol formaldehyde type materials are usually used only in black and brown. For this reason the uses of phenolic plastics in toys are largely in functional parts where colour is not vital. Typical of these are switch bases for model railroads, housings, for model train operating units and moulded locomotive parts. In such applications, phenolic materials have important advantages in that it is possible to reproduce with great fidelity the details of the full scale prototype and to incorporate into one moulded part a number of different elements which in some other materials would require separate fabrication and assembly. The design of units

using phenolic parts is further simplified by the electrical insulating properties of Resinox type materials which eliminates the necessity in many cases for bushings and collars required in metal design.

Urea Formaldehyde Materials

Urea moulding materials have been used to some extent in toys because they combine some of the advantages of the phenolic type with a range of colours including white. They are somewhat more costly than phenolics and in general they have not been able to compete with the thermoplastic materials such as Lustron and Fibestos except for specialized toys for infants and babies.*

* With grateful acknowledgement to the Technical Advisory Branch of the Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis, Mo., U. S. A.

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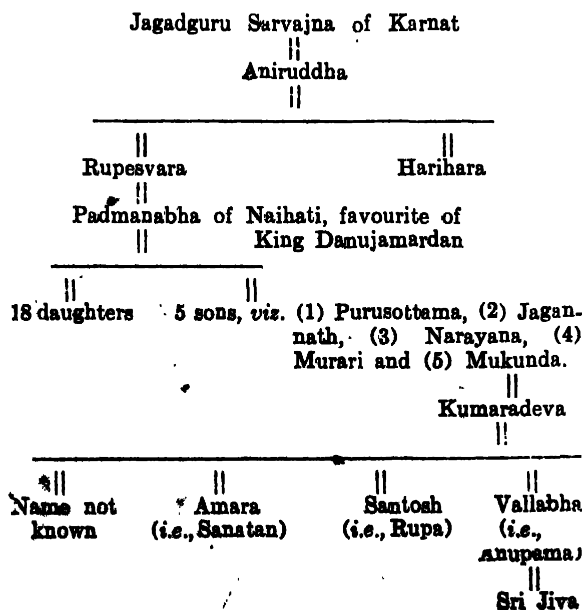
JIVA GOSVAMIN : A GREAT APOSTLE OF VAISNAVA FAITH

By Prof. Dr. J. B. CHAUDHURI, Ph.D. (London), F.R.A.S. (London), B.E.S.

Jiva Gosvamin is undoubtedly one of the greatest Saint-Philosopher-Poets of India and it is only unfortunate that not many of our people know much about him. Bengal is legitimately proud of her sons—Rupa, Sanatana, Puridas or Paramanandadas of Kanchrapara (*i.e.*, Kavikarnapur Gosvamin, a Vaidya by caste), Kayastha Raghunath Das of Satgaon, Visvanath Chakravartin, Baladev Vidyabhushan, Kasinath Vidyanivas, Ratnakar Vidyavachaspati, Dipankar Srijnana, Abhayakar Gupta, Danasil, Nagabodhi, Chakrapani Dutt, Trilochan Das, Vanga Sen, Sahudiyal Sulapani and so on, whose peer the whole of India can hardly produce and it is very regrettable that we have not cared even to publish their works and place them before competent scholars all over the world for the assessment of their real merit. Even those works that have been published are mostly available only in Bengali script and therefore, practically useless to the majority of non-Bengali scholars. It is high time that modern Bengal revert her attention to her heritage—a heritage that is unique, a heritage of which any nation in the world may legitimately be proud.

The date of birth of Jiva is wrapped up in darkness. He was certainly not born before 1429 Saka year, *i.e.*, 1506 A.D. nor was he born later than 1440 Saka year, *i.e.*, 1517 A.D.

The lineage of Jiva Gosvamin is as follows :



Jiva lost his parents at an early age. His father Vallabha died on his way back to Bengal from Vrindavan in the company of his elder brother Rupa. Jiva was religious-minded from his early days and constantly experienced divine ecstasies. He came from Bakla Chandradvip through Fateyabad to Navadvip for meeting Nityananda who wanted him to go to Benares for his studies and subsequently to Vrindavan for leading a holy life there together with his uncles Rupa and Sanatan. He read with Madhusudan Vachaspati[1] Kavya, Smriti and Vedanta for six years and established his reputation there as a great scholar. He then went to Vrindavan and became a direct disciple of his uncle Rupa there and read with him the Bhakti Shastra. All the well-known Vrindavan Gosvamins, *viz.*, Sanatana, Rupa, Raghunatha Das, Raghunatha Bhatta, and Gopala Bhatta were at that time engaged in codifying Vaisnava Theology and Philosophy at the express desire of Mahaprabhu himself. This was the atmosphere Jiva was so long longing for. Soon Jiva proved himself most useful to his uncles, collaborating with them in their literary activities, revising their works and so on.[2] Jiva was once expelled from the Holy Order by Rupa on account of the former's indulging in a debate with Vallabha Bhatta and defeating him. The completion of the *Laghu-Bhagavatamrita* of Rupa was consequently delayed and when asked by Sanatana as to the reason of his abnormal delay, he expressly admitted that it was absolutely due to the absence of Jiva from his hermitage. Sanatana, however, interfered, got Jiva back—to the great joy of both Rupa and Jiva.

Jiva was a life-long bachelor and dedicated himself completely to the propagation of Vaisnava Religion and Philosophy. He was a born genius and his environments were most congenial too. Moreover, he was very long-lived. He completed the composition of his *Gopala-campu* in 1592 A.D., when he was probably 85 years old. In the Dvitiya Prakas of his *Bhakti-*

1. The extant works of this celebrated Bengali scholar are (1) the *Advaita-mangala*, (2) *Asauca-samkshepa*, (3) *Madhumati Commentary on the Mugdhabodha*, (4) *Durgarca-Kala-niskarsa*, (5) *Vrata-Kala-niskarsa*, and (6) *Sraddha-kala-nirupana*, none of which has as yet been published.

2. श्री रूप श्री हंसदूत आदि ग्रंथ कैला ।
सनातन भागवतामृतादि वर्णिला ॥
श्री वैष्णवतोषणी करिला सनातन ।
श्रीजीवेरे आज्ञा दिला करिते शोधन ॥
and so on.

rasamrita-sesha, he says that he composed this work after the completion of the *Gopala-campu*. The *Samkalpa-kalpadruma* referring to both the parts of the *Gopala-campu* was composed still later. He was, as he says, at that time *jaranjiva* *i.e.*, much advanced in age. The result has been wonderful. The works that he has left behind him entitle him to the foremost position not only among the Vaishnava Philosophers but also among the greatest Apostles of Truth in the whole world. We give below a classified list of these works with very short comments here and there, from which the real nature of Jiva's whole-hearted devotion to God, intense craving for religion and depth of learning will at once be manifest. Without any fear of slightest exaggeration, we may assert that his works will shine for ever as some of the best gems in the whole range of Sanskrit Literature.

A. Kavyas and Commentaries

(1) *Maahava-mahotsava*. This work deals in nine chapters with the holy consecration ceremony (*Abhisheka*) of Radha by Krishna himself and the merriments consequent thereupon. It was composed in 1555 A.D. when Jiva was about 49 years old. (2) *Samkalpa-kalpadruma*, a philosophico-poetical work in three parts on Vaishnava doctrine. (3) *Gopala-campu*, the most voluminous Sanskrit Campu (running over 4,000 pages in print) on the life of Srikrishna. (4) *Gopala-virudavali*, a panegyrical work on the 'Vrindavan-lila' of Sri Krishna. (5) *Dana-keli-Kaumudi-vyakhya*, a commentary on Rupa's *Dana-Keli-Kaumudi*.[3] (6) Jiva compiled, and also commented upon, a very valuable collection of *stavas*—64 in number—called *Stavamala*, composed by his uncle Rupa. The commentary is concise and true to the point and deserves much approbation.

B. Alamkara-Shastra

(1) *Durgama-samgamani*, a commentary on Rupa's *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu*. (2) *Locana-rocani*, a commentary on Rupa's *Ujjvala-nilamani*. In those two works *Bhakti* or Devotion is recognized as the soul of Kavya and this is again subdivided into twelve varieties, *i.e.*, *dasya, sakhya, vatsalya* and the nine well-known *rasas* of Sanskrit Rhetorical Literature. All the illustrations have some bearing or other to the Radha-Krishna episodes or legends. The Gaudiya-Vaishsavas chose the medium of Sanskrit Belles-Lettres as well for imparting their religious instructions and naturally, the theories of rhetorical literature had to be recast for this purpose in particular. These works are full of quotations not only from the Puranas, and various Vaishnava works but also from the *Vidagdha-Madhava, Lalita-Madhava*, etc. of Rupa Gosvamin himself. The Sanskrit Belles-Lettres served as a matter of fact as the most important vehicle for imparting the religious knowledge to the erudite scholars of Bengal as well as other provinces. The exhaustive classifications, and fine subtleties and nice distinctions of one of master-analysts of the world would have remained in many places obscure to us if Jiva Gosvamin had not written these commentaries for us. As stated before, Jiva was not only a nephew and disciple of Rupa but also a collaborator in, and reviser of, many of Rupa's works. As such, Jiva was the fittest person to explain all the intricacies of the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu* and its supplement—the *Ujjvala-nilamani*. (3) *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu-sesa*. In this supplement Jiva deals with the figures of speech, the qualities and defects of Poetic composition, style or *riti*, after the *Sahitya-darpan* of Visvanatha except that the subject-matters of its chapters 3, 5 and 6 have been here left out. There are seven chapters in it, on (1) the real nature of the Kavya and (2) that of the sentences, etc. (3) Suggestiveness, (4) Figures of speech, (5) Defects, (6) Style, etc. and (7) Qualities. The predominantly religious nature of the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu* and the *Ujjvala-nilamani* broadbased upon Psychology became thus well-suited for the practical purpose of a critical study of the Kavya Literature as well.

C. Vyakarana

(1) For the use of the devotees of Hari, Srijiva composed a Sanskrit Grammar called *Harinamamrita Vyakaran* (*Brihat and Laghu*), associating the names of Radha, Krishna, etc., in all the grammatical rules as well as their illustrations. This work served the double purpose of imparting simultaneously religious and secular knowledge, thus keeping the minds of readers suffused with religious thought and inspiration. His (2) *Dhatu-sutra-malika* or *Dhatu-samgraha* is an abridgment of the section of verbal roots of the *Harinamamrita Vyakaran*.[4]

D. Vaisnava Ritual Literature

(1) *Radha-Krishnarchana-dipika*. In this work Jiva has established the truth that the worship of Radha-Krishna together with the Gopis is essential for religious advancement. Further, the real nature of the different Shaktis, *viz.*, *samdhini, sambhit* and *hladini*, that of the Gopis, the identity of Lakshmi with Rukmini, etc. have been ably discussed. (2) Ramnarayana Vidyaratna attributes the *Dikdarsini* or *Dik-pradarsini* commentary on the *Haribhakti-vilasa*[5] of Gopala Bhatta (Murshidabad, Radharaman Press, 1882-83) to Jiva Gosvamin. This attribution appears to be wrong as authoritative Vaisnava works attribute this work to Sanatana Gosvamin.[6] This appears more so as Sanatana wrote a commentary of the same name on his *Bhagavatamrita*.

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3. This work is not mentioned in the list of Jiva's works given in the *Bhakti-ratnakar*. But see the Berhampore Radharaman Press edition (pp. 4, 244), 1879—

दानकेलिकौमुदी नाटिका ...श्रील—

श्री पूज्यपाद-जीवगोस्वामि-कृत-टीका-समेता

(4) हरिनामामृतस्यैषा संक्षेपाद्धातुपद्धतिः ।

मया कृता प्रयुक्तान्य धातुंस्त्यक्त्वा क्वचित् क्वचित् ॥

इति श्रीजीवगोस्वामिपाद-विरचितो धातुसंग्रहः ॥

(5) हरिभक्तिविलासः...श्रीयुक्त-जीवगोस्वामि-कृत - दिग्दर्शिनी नाम्नी-टीकया सहितः ।

(6) अथाग्रज-कृतेष्वायं श्रील-भगवतामृतम् ।

हरिभक्तिविलासश्च तट्टीका दिक्प्रदर्शनी ॥

लीलास्तवटिप्पणी च सेयं वैष्णव-तोषणी ।

या संक्षिप्ता मया क्षुद्र-जीवेनापि तदाज्ञया ॥

Cf. the list of works of Rupa and Sanatana given in the *Chaitanya-Charitamrita*, Madhya I and Antya IV.

E. Vaisnava Theology

1. *Laghu-Vaisnaba-tosini,* an abridgment of his uncle Sanatana's *Vaisnava-tosini* commentary on the tenth *skandha* of the Bhagavata. 2. The *Karma-samdarbha* commentary on the Srimad-Bhagavat. 3. *Vivriti on the Gayatri-vyakhya* as given in the Agnipurana.[7] 4. *Gopala-tapani Upanishat-tika* (not as yet published). 5. *Brahma-samhita-tika.* Mahaprabhu got a MS. of the *Brahma-samhita* copied for himself during his visit to the temple of Adikeshava situated on the bank of the river Payasvini in Mallar in the South about 1910-11 A.D. The *Brahma-samhita* is regarded as one of the canonical works of Gaudiya Vaisnavism.[8] The *Brahma-samhita* is said to have been complete in 100 chapters of which the fifth was the most important. Mahaprabhu appears to have brought from the South only the 5th chapter on which Jiva subsequently commented. (6) *Commentary on the Yoga-Sara-Stava* as given in the *Padmapurana* (Uttarakhanda, only a section of chapter 127 or chapter 128 of the Vangavasi edition). Jiva has not commented upon the introductory (23) and *Phala-sruti* (29) verses of this section but only on the 42 verses of this panegyrical hymn addressed by sage Devadyuti to Hari. Jiva has explained the difficult words and brought into bold relief the real significance of the hymn which was otherwise very obscure and harmonised the contradictions therein. The *Bhakti-ratnakar* has aptly remarked :

योगसार-स्तवेर टीकाते सुसगति ।

(7) *Commentary on the Radha-Krishna-pada-cihna* sections of the Padmapurana (not as yet published).

F. Vaisnava Philosophy

1. *Sat-sandarbhas, viz.,* (1) Tattva, (2) Bhagavata (3) Paramatma, (4) Krishna, (5) Bhakti and (6) Priti.[9] These Sandarbhas together with their supplement *Sarva-sambadini,* the name of which is not, however, included in the *Bhakti-ratnakar* list of Jiva's works, form not only the very solid foundation of Gaudiya Vaisnava Philosophy but also represent a very strong edifice that was merely ornamented upon here and there by his successors. Jiva Gosvamin is undoubtedly the greatest Vaisnava Philosopher of Bengal.

Thus it is self-evident that Jiva wrote on almost every branch of the Vaisnava Shastra. A versatile genius, born ascetic, religion incarnate as it were,—Jiva Gosvamin surpassed even his great uncles Rupa and Sanatana in a detailed exposition of the mystical Philosophy of Bengal Vaisnavism. Sri Jiva was not only a lucky disciple but also a lucky master. His disciples Srinivas, Narottama and Syamananda Prabhu overflooded the whole of the Vaisnava world with gushing currents of Vrindavan thoughts and ideas, particularly those contained in the works of the Vrindavan Gosvamins.

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7. The same opening verse—

सनातनसमो यस्य ज्यायान् श्रीमान् सनातनः ।

श्रीवल्लभोऽनुजः सोऽसौ श्रीरूपो जीवसद्गतिः ॥

is found in Jiva's commentaries on the *Bhakti-rasamrita-sindhu, Ujjvala nilmani, Radha-Krishnarcana-dipika, Brahma-Samhita-tika* as well as this work.

(८) सिद्धान्तशास्त्र नाहि ब्रह्म-संहिता समान ।
गोविन्दमहिमा ज्ञाने परम कारण ॥
अल्प अक्षरे कहे सिद्धान्त अपार ।
सकल वैष्णव शास्त्रमध्ये अति सार ॥

9. The *Bhakti-ratnakar* says :

सप्त संदर्भे विख्यात भागवत-रीति ।
तत्त्व-भागवत्-परमात्म-कृष्ण-भक्ति-प्रीति ॥
एइ छय क्रमसंदर्भ सह सप्त हय ।
प्रयोजनाभिधेय सम्बन्ध हये त्रय ॥

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FUNDAMENTALS OF THE "GANDHIAN CONSTITUTION"*

By Prof. D. S. NAG, M.A., B.COM.

In the history of India the people's representative will, for the first time, have an opportunity to frame a constitution for a free India. Under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi our country has marched forward and will now effect a bloodless transformation from an alien rule to a people's government. It is, therefore, in the fitness of things that the basic principles of Mahatma Gandhi should act as our guiding star in formulating the essentials of Indian constitution. Gandhiji is not a constitutionalist although he has guided all constitutional discussions for more than two decades. He is the embodiment of resurgent Indian Nationalism and of all that Indian culture and tradition stands for. If we want to reap the advantages of this resurgence we should give due place to Gandhiji's ideals in our constitution. As the Constituent Assembly is going to meet in the month of December it is worth while to invite the attention of the public towards the fundamentals of Gandhian Constitution.

Non-Violence the Basis

Non-violence, the fountain-spring of Gandhian ideals, should be the foundation-stone of our administrative system. Mahatma Gandhi firmly believes un-adulterated democracy alone can ensure 'the full development of every section of the Indian people without

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* *The Gandhian Constitution for Free India* by Principal S. N. Agarwal (Publishers Kitabistan, Allahabad).

distinction of caste, creed, colour, race or sex.' But he lays down the *sine qua non* of true democracy in the following words: 'Democracy and violence can ill go together. The States that are today nominally democratic have either to become frankly totalitarian, or, if they are to become democratic, they must become courageously non-violent.' In order to root out exploitation and to establish a social order which will provide free full opportunity to the individual for his unfoldment, a non-violent State has to be established.

Naturally the question arises how to achieve the ideal of non-violent State. As long as the exploitation of one man by another goes on, gross economic inequalities shall prevail rendering democracy a farce. According to Gandhiji, the exploitation of one man by another can be ended by decentralising power in the economic as well as in the political spheres.

> "He is, therefore, of the opinion that the future constitution of India should be essentially based on the organisation of well-knit and co-ordinated village communities with their positive and direct democracy, non-violent cottage economy, and human values.'—*Gandhian Constitution* by Principal S. N. Agarwal, page 39.

Therefore, the State organised on the basis of truth and non-violence must consist of prosperous, happy and self-contained villages and village communities. Our constitution-framers, therefore, would be well-advised to make self-sufficient and self-governing villages as the basic units of administration, of course, with necessary modifications in the ancient village panchayat system in order to meet the requirements of modern conditions of life.

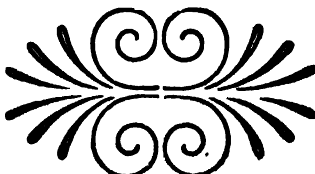
Decentralisation

Contrary to all constitutional plans placed before the country so far, the Gandhian Constitution contemplates to reverse the process of centralisation of political power and entrust the village panchayats elected on adult suffrage through joint electorate functions of a very wide character covering almost all aspects of social, economic and political life. In order to co-ordinate the functional activities of the autonomous village panchayats, there shall be taluka or district panchayats. But these shall function as advisory and not mandatory bodies elected by the members of the village panchayats. Over the district units there shall be Provincial Panchayats functioning as the Legislature of the Province. It shall guide, supervise and co-ordinate the activities of the District panchayats and also initiate organised provincial activities like university education, irrigation, inter-district communications, etc. At the top, the Central Government shall consist of Presidents of the Provincial Panchayats. It shall be uni-cameral. The responsibilities of defence and foreign policy will be entrusted to the centre. Besides, it shall co-ordinate the provincial plans for economic development. Regulation of currency, customs and international trade and the national system of transport and the means of communication may also go to the centre. But it is expressly mentioned in the Gandhian constitution that the all-India Panchayat shall be a voluntary federation of the Provinces and the States with the largest measure of local autonomy for the federating units. As the accession is voluntary the right of secession is also implicit in it. But it is also hoped that cultural and traditional indivisibility of India shall create necessary atmosphere for close collaboration and the development of common national consciousness. And this brings us to the question of the rights of minorities or the demand of Pakistan.

Communal Issue

In a non-violent State of Gandhiji's conception, the question of minorities should not arise at all: "As the essence of non-violence is tolerance and respect for one another's rights," there will be absolutely no cause for fear, distrust and insecurity to the minority. Gandhiji is definitely against partition of India, as to him "partition means a patent untruth" and it means 'the undoing of the centuries of work done by numberless Hindus and Muslims to live together as one nation.' He has no shadow of doubt that the 'iceberg of communal difference will melt under the warmth of the sun of Freedom.' Incorporation of Fundamental Rights providing for the fullest protection of the culture, language and religion of the minorities and the observance of these rights in spirit and form shall remove the doubts and fears of the minorities. Yet Gandhiji has gone to the length of approving grouping of provinces as envisaged in the Cabinet Mission Plan provided there is no element of compulsion and the provinces join such groups of their free will. He says, "The liberty of the individual unit should be unimpaired—this freedom is inherent in every province."

There are other matters of detail to be dealt with by the Constituent Assembly in the near feature. But the fundamentals of our constitution must suit the Indian culture and tradition. We have not to ape the West, where top-heavy administration has become the order of the day. We have our own magnificent past on which we can safely build our future. Our administrative system should be just like a pyramid, the broad base of which should be the village as the 'real and moving unit of the entire administration.' Let the Constituent Assembly lay the foundations of Gandhian order and I have no doubt the small village republics shall become the 'bright models of genuine and lasting democracy'—the only safety against the catastrophe of recurring wars.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

—Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PROGRESS OF GREATER INDIAN RESEARCH (1917-42) : *By U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Greater India Society, 35 Badurbagan Row, Calcutta. 1943. Price Rs. 4.*

The greatest gift that we in India have received from Europe has been not the much-vaunted railway and telegraph and other amenities of modern civilisation, not the much-advertised *Pax Britannica* which has been for us a veritable peace of death and has latterly ceased even to be a peace but has become a pandemonium of death and destruction, but her spirit of enquiry, her scientific curiosity, which has enabled us to know ourselves ; and this self-knowledge into which we have been initiated by the broad humanity of Europe, which has been her great heritage from the deathless culture of Ancient Hellas, has become for us a source of power and of rational endeavour in all the walks of life. We are grateful to the scholarly mind of Europe—of England, of Germany, of France, of Holland, of Italy, of Russia, and of the other advanced countries of Europe, as well as of the United States,—for helping us to get back in our national life the figures of Buddha and Asoka, of Chandragupta Vikramaditya, of Harsha, of Akbar, and of all other great personalities who form not only India's roll of honour but are in some cases India's gift to humanity. We are grateful also for knowing something about the origins of our race and culture, and, what is more *apropos* for the excellent book under review, about the part played by India in helping her neighbours to find themselves and to come up to the full height of their being by bringing to th. m her message of self-realisation, of inner self-culture and of outer peace and goodwill. It was through the researches first inaugurated by a distinguished English soldier and administrator Sir Stamford Raffles and then carried on with so great a success by French and Dutch scholars that India and the world have been enabled to know of a *Greater India*—not only of a projection of India into the lands of Indo-China and Idonesia in South-east Asia and India Minor and Serindia in Eastern Iran and Central Asia, but also of the great fellowship of spirit which subsisted between India and China and India and Tibet for so many centuries and then through these lands between India and Korea and India and Japan as well as India and Mongolia.

The story of this *Greater India* as it has been slowly revealed in the snows and deserts of Central Asia, in the tropical forest lands of Indo-China and in the emerald islands of Indonesia, is one of absorbing interest and as yet it has not become the common property—as a precious inheritance—of the educated man in India, much less in the other countries of Asia, and of the rest of the civilised world. The *Brihattara Bharata Parisat* or *Greater India Society* of Calcutta, started in 1923 by a small group of enthusiastic young scholars of Indian history and culture who had some knowledge of the work done in this field by the *savants* particularly of Holland and France, and stimulated by the visit of some of them to Indonesia and Indo-China and also by visits of the illustrious Rabindranath Tagore to Indonesia, China, Japan, Indo-China and Malaya, has come to stay ; and it has largely served its purpose by making the Indian *intelligentsia* become for the first time alive to the importance of the lands of Greater India for a proper knowledge of Indian history and Indian culture. The *Greater India Society* of Calcutta, without any official or university support, and solely under the patronage of a few interested scholars, has been doing its good work ; and the present energetic secretary of the Society, Dr. U. N. Ghoshal (till lately Professor at Presidency College, Calcutta), who took up the burden from Dr. Kalidas Nag, one of the founders of the Society and for a number of years its Secretary, has by bringing out the journal of the Society regularly and by his own personal researches into Greater India and other topics of Indology has so long kept up the prestige of Indian scholarship in this domain of scholarship—a task in which he has been ably supported by other Indian scholars who have specialised in Greater Indian history and culture. The *Greater India Society* has brought out a number of valuable monographs, and now we have before us the present work from the learned and painstaking Dr. Ghoshal, which was published some three years ago (in 1943), giving a conspectus of the *Progress of Greater Indian Research* during 1917-1942.

The value of this work of some 120 pages is not merely bibliographical. Dr. Ghoshal has given narrative accounts of the problems of Indological research in the different areas of Greater India (rightly omitting China, as China is a world apart and a peer of India and does not come under Greater India and Korea and Japan as well as Tongking and Annam are cultural off-shoots of China). He thus has very lucidly set forth the situation with regard to the study of Indian culture in the countries of Afghanistan, Central Asia, Tibet, Mongolia and Manchuria, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Champa or Cochin China, and the lands of Indonesia—Java, Bali, Borneo and Celebes, Sumatra and Malaya Peninsula, as well as in the island of Ceylon. In this account he has unfolded the story of absorbing interest, of the opening up of the past and the antiquities as well as the present cultural conditions of a considerable tract of Asia, and the reader can form his own appraisement of the value of the contributions made by so many distinguished orientalists from among so many advanced nations, including those of Asia. At the end there is a select bibliography of 20 pages giving names of the most significant works on the culture of the Greater Indian lands written during the last quarter of a century and more. We congratulate Dr. Ghoshal and the Greater India Society on the publication of this useful volume, which we hope will be widely known.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji

VOICELESS INDIA : *By Gertrude Emerson Sen. Revised edition with Introduction by Pearl S. Buck and Rabindranath Tagore. Indian Publishers, Benares. 1946. Pp. 356 + 8 + 8 plates. Price Rs. 7-8.*

In trying to understand India, Mrs. Emerson Sen chose a small village in the northern edge of the United Provinces and spent a year of her life in trying to serve the people of the locality through her amateur medical abilities. The life of the people whom she daily met, and their character and aspirations served as a commentary upon what she had gathered about India from an extensive reading of books.

Voiceless India consists of three parts. The first is devoted to a story of the author's pilgrimage to rural India, of the men whom she met there and with whom her life was tied through silken cords of love and service. The second part tells us about the economic and political facts operating behind ; while the third is devoted to the social and cultural aspects of rural life. The author displays an extraordinary measure of human sympathy ; but she is able, at the same time, to preserve a healthy, balanced attitude of mind which prevents her from lapsing into sentimentality. It is this objective, truly scientific attitude which has enabled her to reach the essential human element which lies at the bottom of the civilization of India as it does that of every other land.

INDIA : A PLEA FOR UNDERSTANDING : *By Dorothy Hogg. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. First Indian Edition. 1946. Pp. 142. Price Rs. 3.*

A passionate plea by an English woman for a fair deal towards India. She has tried to explain to her fellow countrymen the meaning of the Quit-India Resolution by means of copious extracts from the *Harijan.* Along with the Bishop of Birmingham, her prayer has been, "We must link India to our Empire, not by might, nor by power, but by the spirit of Christ.'

May God grant her prayer, provided the words 'our Empire' are taken out of it, for we, in India, have had enough of that commodity dispensed to us. And, again, does the spirit of Christ recognise 'our' and 'their' among human beings ? Are they not all supposed to be children of the same Father ?

THE MORAL CHALLENGE OF GANDHI : *By Dorothy Hogg. Kitab Mahal, Allahabad. 1946. Pp. 38. Price eight annas.*

Gandhi is not an enigma, but his non-violence offers a challenge to the civilization of today which it must answer successfully, if it is not to perish in the grave of its own digging in the world's battlefields.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

PROGRAM OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL : *Published by Radical Book Club, Calcutta. Pages 65. Price Re. 1.*

The program was adopted at the Sixth World Congress in 1928. Stalin helped in formulating the theoretical basis of the International struggle for Communism. The program is divided into six parts, *viz.,* (1) The world system of Capitalism, its development and downfall ; (2) General crisis of Capitalism and the first phase of revolution ; (3) Aim of Communist International ; (4) From Capitalism to Socialism—Transition Period ; (5) International Social Revolution and U.S.S.R. and (6) Strategy and Tactics of Communist International.

During the second World War, Communist International was dissolved for the solidarity of Allied nations of which U.S.S.R. was a member and as a result, the program of Communistic world revolution under the leadership of the U.S.S.R. had been abandoned. But Communists of different nations were given freedom of action so far as their national program was concerned. Since the victory over the Axis powers, the differences between Anglo-America and U.S.S.R. are becoming more prominent and it is not known as to what would be the ultimate movement of the Soviet in what would be the ultimate movement of the Soviet in regard to the maintaining of the international character of Communism. Communism and Capitalism both being international in their range, it will be no wonder if the inevitable conflict between the two again disturbs the peace of the world.

A. B. DUTTA

MEN AND RIVERS : *By Prof. Humayun Kabir. Hind Kitabs, Bombay.*

Prof. Kabir has scored a significant triumph in the present venture into the sphere of fiction. A poet, critic and scholar, he can now claim an important place among the novelists of modern Bengal.

The river Padma, against whose arid background the present story is set up, has always been a mystery to Professor Kabir, and his *Mahatma and Other Poems* owes much of its multi-coloured poetry to this indefatigable river, with its queer amalgam of beauty and terror. Nazu Mia, with his little son, Malek, is placed against the background of Padma's inexorable course, and it not only entombs the village yeoman in its depths, but like Hardy's Wessex, impinges upon this eventful story like an invisible character. Nazu Mia's difficult past is kept a secret until the end of the book, where his son Malek, willing to marry Nuru Bibi, the daughter of Asgar, learns that his beloved fiancee is his own sister.

MAHATMA AND OTHER POEMS : *By Prof. H. Kabir. Hind Kitabs. Price Rs. 2.*

Among the Indian writers of English verse, Prof. Kabir's position is undisputed, as will be evident from the present volume of excellent poems. His poems in Bengali have already received great appreciation, and the present poems in English deserve to receive no less. The poems are intensely lyrical, mostly meditative in vein, and touched here and there with a tender melancholy. Prof. Kabir is not concerned with love alone but with the baffling mystery of life, with its pathos, tenderness and sober joy. The two poems on Gandhi and Tagore reveal a grandeur of conception which borders almost on the classical. Passionate but not wildly so, soothing but with a touch of sadness, gay but tinged with pensiveness, the poems show a fine equilibrium and laudable command over technique.

SUNIL KUMAR BOSE

SANSKRIT

KRITYAKALPATARU *of Bhatta Lakshmidhara, Vol. V, Danakhanda. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Vol. No. XCII. Edited by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. Price Rs. 9.*

This is a beautiful edition of the fifth of the fourteen sections constituting the *Krityakalpataru,* one of the earliest and most comprehensive digests of Hindu law and rituals, which at one time enjoyed much popularity but is comparatively little known in the present days. The edition is based on seven manuscripts, variants from which are noted either in the foot-notes or in the appendices. An exhaustive introduction gives a critical account of the contents of the volume besides dealing with the available details of the author including the position he occupied among writers of Smriti works.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SRI SRI CHANDI : *Compiled by the Late Pundit Ramanath Chakravarty and edited and published by Bhaktitirtha Umesh Chakraborty from 120/2 Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Pp. 24 + 200. Price Re. 1-8.*

We have here a very handy and beautiful edition of one of the most popular hymnical book of Hindu Philosophy called *Durga-Sapta-Sati Sri Sri Chandi.* Every Hindu has the greatest regard both for Saptasati Chandi and Srimad-vagavad-Geeta. The first encourages the worship of God as World-Mother and the second as World-Master. The word-renouncers, the worldly people and almost all the sects get religious inspiration and guidance to their respective faiths from these supreme works of Vyasa without fail. Chandi strengthens the most weak and the helpless to stand on their legs as well as to fight out their way against all drawbacks and hindrances. For the degenerated and misguided ones it is the fountain-head of courage, confidence and strength.

The editor has very ably discussed all the systems of Chandi-reading prevalent in different parts of India and has furnished many a valuable information and an index of all the slokas useful for every reader. He has enriched this edition with simple literal translation and necessary annotation covering every important subject of the main Chandi texts as well as *Ratrisukta, Devisukta, Argala, Kilaka, Kavacha* and three *Rahasyas.* The book is also illustrated and nicely got-up. The editor and publisher has dedicated all rights and profits of the book to the temple building fund of Sri Sri Anandamayee Kali installed at his village home in eastern Mymensingh.

NAGENDRA NATH SASTRI PANCHATIRTHA

BENGALI

CONGRESSER PATH : *By Arun Chandra Guha. Published by Sarasvati Library, C 18-19 College Street Market, Calcutta. Pages 94. Price Re. 1-8.*

"The way of the Congress" is the theme of the book under review ably written by a veteran Congressman whose life has been a life of sacrifice and suffering for the cause of India's independence. The philosophy and practical efficacy of non-violence as a political weapon for fighting the battle of freedom, have been fully explained by the author. He has made a brief survey of the resolutions of various countries and has shown that a revolution conducted by violent means leads to the capture of power by a handful of men and as such can not lead to the establishment of democracy in the full sense. It is non-violent revolution which transforms the ideology of the masses and when the power is captured by them, a real democracy of the people is established. The Indian National Congress aims at such a revolution for the country. In supporting the action of the Congress in banning the Communists from its membership, the author asserts that the latter fully deserves the treatment having betrayed the country by supporting an imperialist war. Readers of the book will find it an interesting and illuminating study clearing mass misconception about the Congress aims and views.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

HINDUON KI AVANATI KI MIMAMSA : *By Pandit Raghunath Shastri Kokje. Jogal and Sons, 570 Shanwar Peth, Poona 2. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 2-8 for white paper edition and Rs. 2 for plain paper edition.*

Why have the Hindus been steadily becoming a decadent people? The learned author has probed into the various causes, primarily social and religious, which are responsible for the present sorry state of affairs. In his opinion, chief among these are an exaggerated notion of racial purity to the point of giving rise to the curse of "touch-me-not-ism" in all its hydra-headed form, and a lack of one common adhesive ideal for the community. The book breathes forth a spirit of progressivism, together with a plea for a deep study of the tenets and traditions handed down to us from generations, before under the accent of impatience, we reject them as being unsuited to our times and ways of living. A heart-searching book!

G. M.

LAJVANTI : *By Dr. Sir S. S. Bhatnagar. Published by Anand Swarup Bhatnagar. 25 Tughalaq Road, New Delhi. Pp. 213.*

Lajvanti is a collection of Dr. Bhatnagar's 54 poems on varied subjects ranging from God, Prophecy, Love, Thought, Life, etc., to Sorrow and Suffering, Poverty, Chemistry and Philosophy, Wife and the Book, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, the Child, the White traveller, the Exploiting Government, O.B.E., the American Soldier and the Astrologer, etc. The poems are of varied interest and are a direct outgrowth of the poet's emotions and reflect it beautifully. Some of the poems have a direct personal appeal, but they, undoubtedly, have something more to offer to the reader than self-interest and expression of the poet's self. They bear testimony to the fact that the poet has attempted to compass some of his violent soul-storms in them. The moods and sentiments reflected in them are far from unreal and grotesque. There is some exquisiteness and an elegant simplicity and clarity in them.

M. S.

KANNADA

VISHA NIMISHAGALU : *By Mr. Hiremallur Ishwaran. Published by Keleyara Kuta Byadgi, Dt. Dharwar. Crown octavo. Pp. 8 + 142. Price Re. 1-8.*

The book under review is a fine collection of a few tragic scenes to observe which was the unenviable misfortune of the author. Hence the title—*Visha Nimishagalu*—the poisonous moments. The writer depicts in this book the series of miseries which overtook his family. The cruel and icy hand of death not content with snatching away young brothers and sisters, took away the tendermost urchin Shivu. This sad incident in the life of the writer wakes him up to the tragic aspect of it and impels him to pen these poisonous moments. The pictures portrayed here are no mere imaginary outbursts of a dreamer but they are palpably realistic. Simplicity, naturalness and fidelity to life—the three important attributes of good writing—are much in evidence here. It is perhaps this that has prompted Mr. G. P. Rajratnam to write a foreword and give unstinted tribute to the writer's style and diction. He says, "The style is as simple and charming as the sweet juice of a tender cocoanut—no artificiality—no showiness. The filth and dirt so much in evidence nowadays in Kannada literature are conspicuous by their absence." Mr. Ishwaran's book deserves a few moments' thoughtful reading at the hands of Kannadigas.

V. B. NAIK

GUJARATI

SHRI TAMAS FALA PRAKARAN SUBODHINI: *Edited with commentaries and translated into Gujarati by Prof. Govindlal N. Bhatt, M.A. of Baroda. Published by Vadelal N. Shah, B.A., LL.B. of Bombay. 1944. Paper cover. Pp. 368 + 7. Price Rs. 4.*

Shrimad Vallabhacharja's Subodhini on Bhagvat X. 26. 32 (Ras Lila Chapters) is a monumental and scholarly work. To edit it critically and translate it into as popular Gujarati as is possible for this highly philosophical work calls for a close and intimate knowledge of Sanskrit, Vallabha's philosophy, and with acquaintance with Gujarati vocabulary of that type. That Prof. Bhatt has been able to discharge his self-imposed duty successfully shows that he is possessed of all the three requisities. The subject is most mystical and allegorical, and of special interest to the followers of Vallabh. We are sure they would duly appreciate the labours of Prof. Bhatt.

K. M. J.

MEERAT CONGRESS

Vallabhbhai Patel's Speech

Nov. 23, 1946.

"What is being done today is with the object of getting the Congress out of the Interim Government. We shall not allow ourselves to be caught in this net," declared Sardar Patel today at the Plenary session of the Congress, moving a resolution ratifying the decisions of the Working Committee and the A.-I.C.C. leading to the formation of the Interim Government.

He gave a stern call, in his fighting speech, to Indians to organise self-defence against hooligans.

The resolution was passed.

Explaining the difficulties that stand in the way of the Central Government's intervention in provincial matters such as the Calcutta and Noakhali disturbances, he said that the Centre had no power to do so.

He had warned Bengal's leaders who saw him after the Calcutta riots that East Bengal was bound to be the next scene of trouble. He told them: "If you want independence you must learn to defend yourselves and your neighbours and other helpless people."

Sardar Patel in his speech referred to the situation in Bengal and assured that the whole of Hindusthan was behind Bengal in her tragedy.

Sardar Patel dealt with the circumstances in which the Interim Government was formed and said its formation was made possible by the assurance given during the negotiations that the Government would have the same status as a Dominion Government and would work as a Cabinet with joint respinsibility, although it was asknowledged that it would be difficult to amend the Act in order to put this position on a legal and constitutional basis.

Referring to the position of the League, he quoted extensively from the letters of the Viceroy published today, particularly the one dated Oct. 23 in which His Excellency conveyed the assurance given to him by Mr. Jinnah that the Muslim League would come into the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly with the intention of co-operating.

The Congress accepted the Cabinet Mission's proposals on the solemn declaration of Prime Minister Attlee that no minority would be allowed to veto progress towards independence.

Mr. Jinnah, as the House knew, rejected the Interim Government proposals at first, but later came in on the plea that Muslim interests demand the League's entry. "Similarly, I know that the League will come into the Constituent Assembly on the same plea."

"What was being done today was with the object of getting the Congress out of the Interim Government. We shall not allow ourselves to be caught in this net. We joined the Government with the full and firm determination to remain there. We have no intention of leaving it ourselves (cheers). The only way to make us leave it is to dismiss us or to convince us that continuance in it is futile."

It had been stated on behalf of the Muslim League today that they objected to the description of Pandit Nehru as Vice-President of the Cabinet. League spokesmen had earlier stated that the Vice-President had no special position in the Cabinet.

"If so, why did the League ask for the appointment of Hindu and Muslim members as Vice-President by rotation? (laughter). The fact is that in spite of all that the League might say, it is a Cabinet and it is known to the world at large as the Nehru Cabinet or the Congress Cabinet (cheers). It has been recognised as a Cabinet by the British Government."

Direct Action

Recognising it as a Cabinet, people in different provinces asked the question why it did not bestir itself in connection with the present disturbances in the country. The former Government of India used the full armoury of its weapons against the Congress in 1942 when it passed the Quit India resolution and had not even decided to implement that resolution.

But here was a party, whose members had made violent speeches and which had launched a programme of direct action without the slightest pretentions to non-violence. Yet the Government did nothing. The people asked why?

It was a legitimate question and in reply to it, he would first point out that 1942 was not 1946, or rather that 1946 was not 1942. Secondly, today the fight was not with the British Government but among ourselves. Thirdly. the British themselves were engaged in a life-and-death struggle in 1942 and the Government had special and extraordinary powers which had now lapsed.

Freedom of Killing

Recalling the Bengal Governor's statement that India had attained 15-anna indepesdence and that only one anna still remained, Sardar Patel announced that the 15-anna independence had only given the Indians complete freedom to kill one another. The Governor had witnessed the killing in Calcutta and yet had merely stated that the Ministry had full power to deal with the situation.

But the Bengal Ministry did nothing and the people took the law into their hands. The Interim Government was asked to provide police and military protection. Leaders from Bengal came to him and asked for intervention. He told them the Centre had no power and that they had the Centre's moral support.

He warned them that East Bengal was bound to be the next scene of trouble and he asked them to prepare themselves to face it. He told them: "If you want independence you must learn to defend yourselves and your neighbours and other helpless people. You should not run to the Army or the police for protection."—

Aruna Asaf Ali's Opposition

Mrs. Aruna Asaf Ali who opposed the resolution was received with great cheering.

She referred to Tilak, Gandhi and other personalities and said that revolutionaries like them had succeeded every time they came into conflict with orthodox Congressmen. Only recently had there been no victory of the revolutionaries.

Patel's Reply

Sardar Patel replying reiterated his conviction that the sword must be met by the sword. Mahatma Gandhi said that it was better to use violence than to be a coward. Non-violence, said Sardar Patel, was a weapon which it was beyond the power of ordinary men to use and, therefore, he urged people to adopt violence in self-defence and only in self-defence, or in defence of neighbours.

He gave this advice, because there was no Government at the Centre at present. The present Central Government during the transference of power was in a state of paralysis. (Laughter).

As regards revolutionary spirit Sardar Patel said some people deceived themselves by imagining that they were bringing about revolution. This was like the dog in the fable which while walking under a heavily loaded cart imagined that the cart would not move if it stopped. (Loud laughter). Revolution could only be brought about by hard-organised work.

He denied that by being in the Interim Government they were co-operating with the British Government. The British were quitting and were we co-operating with them if we helped them to pack their belongings? (Laughter).

Appeal to Bengal

In an appeal to Bengal, Sardar Patel said that that Province had been his inspiration since childhood. It had given the lead to the rest of India, but he called upon Bengalees to close their ranks and help themselves and he assured them that the whole of India would then support them.

The resolution was passed.—*A.P.I.*

Patel's Stern Warning to Political 'Goondas'

Nov. 23.

With all its demonstrative adjuncts chiselled away, the austerity session of the Congress under Acharya Kripalani's presidency today seemed to be stripped for action.

The impression was confirmed by Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel who in their speeches during today's six-hour sitting lashed out at the Muslim League and the permanent officials who were charged with acting as if they were members of the League.

"The sword must be met by the sword," declared Sardar Patel in a stern warning to those who, he said, were trying to achieve a political objective by violent means.

He made what was described as one of the most aggressive speeches of his career.

"We are not resigning from the Interim Government", he asserted. It was for the League to make up its mind whether it was coming into the Constituent Assembly. If it was not coming in the Constituent Assembly, it had no place in the Interim Government, he added.

He quoted passages from Nehru-Wavell letters released today which he suggested left the League no alternative but to accept both or neither of the Cabinet Mission's proposals.

Jawaharlal Nehru's Speech

A Retrospect of Events

Nov. 23.

The plenary session of the Congress today unanimously passed the resolution giving a retrospect of events during the past six and a half years and calling upon people to end internecine conflict and to face internal and external dangers as a united people in the spirit in which they have fought in the past for India's independence.

Pandit Nehru moved the resolution and Pandit Pant seconded it.

It was the one passed by the Subjects Committee.

Pandit Nehru spoke with warmth on the movement of 1942—which he described as a year of sorrow, suffering and sacrifice—and the part played by the official world in dealing with it.

"I can never forget the part played by British as well as Indian officers in that year. I realise their position and am prepared to sympathise with them. But those who were responsible for the atrocities committed on the people must not escape punishment. We can show neither fear nor favour in punishing them." (Cheers).

He called the attention of provincial Premiers and Ministers to this matter. He wanted the Viceroy also to take note of it.

Pandit Nehru disclosed that the Viceroy had once suggested to him not to "oppress" officials. His reply was he had no intention to oppress them, but had also made it clear more than once that he was not prepared to compromise with officials guilty of wrongs during 1942 whether they were British or Indians.

He recognised they had to depend on officials, but they must also keep them on the right path and not let them degenerate or be demoralised. They must also protect them. They included good and intelligent men.

Fossilised Services

But the Services were fossilised in their mental outlook. They were wedded to bygone and obsolete methods and refused to move with the changing times. British officers in particular looked to the Muslim League for sympathy and collaboration. They were in effect members of the Muslim League. Both League and the British Servicemen still lived in the medieval age mentally.

"It remains to be seen how long we can function in these circumstances. The experience of the past three or four months has shown us that the conduct and attitude of the officers have not changed."

The British Government in England might be true to their promises but had to depend on their agents in India and be guided by their advice. The British in India talked of quitting India but at the same time plotted to impede our programme.

But they were not the only enemy. "We have enemies in our camp. We must weed out corruption and defeat these enemies in the final struggle for India's liberation." (Cheers).

The resolution was passed unanimously.—*A.P.I.*

Sardar Patel's Speech

A Warning

Nov. 23.

Sardar Patel moved the resolution ratifying the decisions taken on the British Cabinet Mission's plans on India and various other political developments.

Referring to the League decision not to participate in the Constituent Assembly Sardar Patel made it clear that they (Muslim League) would have to quit the Interim Government if they did not honour the pledge of co-operation both regarding the Interim Government and the Constituent Assembly. He said that neither the British Government nor Lord Wavell could keep them there if the League's Bombay resolution (regarding the Cabinet Mission's long-term plan) stood.

Sardar Patel read out extracts from certain recent correspondence that had passed between Pandit Nehru and Lord Wavell in which the latter said that he had Mr. Jinnah's assurance that the Muslim League would accept the long-range plan and enter the Constituent Assembly and would come into the Interim Government and in both the spheres work in a spirit of co-operation. He asked whether that assurance of Mr. Jinnah stood and demanded that logically the League should come into

the Constituent Assembly or get out of the Interim Government.

In his view fratricidal war would not stop until those who injected communal poison and hatred into the body-politic for political ends, desisted therefrom, either through fear of God or through disgust. He announced that Congressmen would not get out of the Interim Government until forced and until it was necessary to blacken the faces of Britishers before the world.

In unfaltering accents he said that Congress members would not run away but fight and fight "till the face of the opponents was blackened".

Reiterating his odvice to the riot-afflicted people to defend themselves he said. "If you depend on police or army, you justify the British taunt that you could not live without them." He asserted that British would quit India whether we quarrel or not. They could not stay but naturally their psychology provoked them to work in support of their allies, the Leaguers, and it was surely futile to expect them to be friends of those who fought to make them quit India.

Anglo-Muslim League alliance would neither succeed nor last long. If the present fighting did not end, he would advise the likely victims of communal attacks to defend themselves with sword in hand. but it must be onl in self-defence.

Stung by attacks by succeeding speakers Sardar Patel, in his reply to the debate, justified his position by stating that the police and the army were undependable and inadequate. Provinces had no army and the army was not under the control of a Congress member of the Central Government in an effective sense. Under these circumstances the people should be left to themselves and would be justified in using violence in self-defence.

Reply to Socialists

Replying to Sicialists' criticism that office acceptance was wrong and that those who wanted to co-operate with the Government should leave the Congress, Sardar Patel asked whether if one helped an unwanted person to pack up and go, it could be called co-operation.

Bengal Riot—a Political Game

Referring to the Calcutta killing Sardar Patel observed that he had hoped that when those who started it had the balance sheet before them, they would realise that bloodshed di' not pay. But more bloodshed and other crimes started in East Bengal.

He did not accept the theory that it was the work of goondas. It was not the work of goondas but was a game played to achieve political ends. Worse than killing was forcible conversions.

"Even the death of 30 lakhs of people in the Bengal famine did not grieve me so much as these forcible conversions. Death is any day preferable to forcible conversion. But did any Muslim leader raise his voice against these forcible conversions?"

Two or three Muslims among the delegates stood up at this point to object to the statement that no Muslim leaders had protested 'against forcible conversions.

Sardar Patel said that all the remarks he had made were against Muslim League leaders.

The interrupters suggested that the speaker should mention the Muslim League and not Muslims in general terms.

Sardar Patel went on to refer to Mahatma Gandhi's efforts in East Bengal and said, there could however be no peace unless those who disturbed the peace suffered and felt the agony.

Transfer of Population

After Bihar, the League was suggesting transference of population. "You are welcome to it. But remember this was what Hitler tried to do and if you do it the same fate that overtook Hitler will overtake you."

He appealed in God's name for a stoppage of the disturbances because the disturbances were not only doing harm to the country but were bringing India's name into disrepute abroad.

"Whatever you do, do it by the method of peace and love. You may succeed, but the sword will be met by the sword (cheers). Pakistan cannot be achieved by the sword or by bloodshed (cheers). If you want to get Pakistan by this means, then there will be no peace in India."

Public Servants Warned

Sardar Patel gave a warning to public servants who did not work faithfully and said there would be no alternative but to get rid of them.—*Hindusthan Standard.*

Pandit Nehru's Speech

Nov. 24.

In the plenary session today Dr. Rajendra Prasad moved the resolution on the communal situation.

Supporting the resolution Pandit Nehru referred to a note which he had received yesterday from a delegate holding Pandit Nehru responsible for thousands of Hindu lives lost in Bihar as a result of alleged air bombing.

Bihar Casualties

Pandit Nehru categorically denied reports of bombing in Bihar during the disturbances and described the circumstances under which about 24 men of a Madras Regiment came to a clash on half a dozen occasions with a crowd of 2,500 Hindus who were involved in a pitched battle with 1,200 Muslims in a place called Nagarnosa. The Regiment was entrusted with the task of evacuating 1,200 Muslims to a place of safety.

According to army sources about 40 people were killed but unofficial sources estimated the death roll between 50 and 60. His enquiry revealed that in the communal clashes at Nagarnosa about 25 Muslims and between 10 and 15 Hindus were killed in three days' clashes. He was shocked at the exaggerated figures of casualties in Bihar circulated by interested parties.

Pandit Nehru traced the genesis of the communal trouble in the country and the deterioration that had occurred in the last ten years. He said that the Muslim League adopted Fascist tactics. Their strategy was based on the Hitlerian technique and had many things in common with Hitler's methods.

Muslim League leaders like Hitler indulged in a hymn of hatred and violence. The League had no constructive or economic programme for the country or for the Muslim masses. The League had never clarified their position because its leaders had always shelved discussion of questions which might falsify their claims to represent all sections of the Muslim population.

Jinnah's Hymn of Hate

Pandit Nehru said that a prominent member of the League Council told him that he once asked Mr. Jinnah to place the League's constructive programme before the Muslim masses, but Mr. Jinnah replied that any such programme would lead to differences and disruption in the Muslim League ranks. Hatred of Hindus was a uniting force. Mr. Jinnah said: "The programme of the League was to preach hatred against the Congress and Hindus."

Pandit Nehru went on: "I am not afraid of bloodshed. The present civil strife in the country has no doubt moved me but it has to be faced with a brave heart. I hope the situation will improve. It is true that incidents in

one part of the country have repercussion in other parts. Congress has faced many a danger in the past and will not shirk its responsibility in a crisis like this even though some of us may have to lose our lives."

LEAGUE FASCISM

He declared that the Fascist policy of the League was giving birth to a rival fascism which he termed "Hindu Fascism". All types of Fascism exploited the name of religion and his fear was that the growing Hindu Fascism possessed all the dangerous potentialities of Muslim League Fascism. Both were the enemies of the unity and progress of India.

Congress, Pandit Nehru said, had liquidated British Fascism and it was his conviction that it would similarly deal with the two-pronged Indian Fascism which threatened to wipe out our proud culture and civilisation.

Acharya Kripalani's Concluding Speech

TRIBUTE TO NETAJI SUBHAS BOSE

Nov. 24.

"To go away from the prison house that India is and to organise an independence movement outside India is the most patriotic service that a man can do (loud cheers) provided he believes in armed resistance."

In these stirring words Acharya Kripalani paid his tribute to Netaji Subhas Ch. Bose.

The President in winding up the proceedings of the Plenary Session today explained why Netaji's name had not been included in the condolence resolution.

Acharya Kripalani said, "I do not believe in that but I do not want to impose my standards of conduct upon others. I judge people by the standards they have kept before themselves provided those standards are recognised by humanity as high standards."

Continuing the President said, "That evil should be resisted by war and violence is recognised by the priests of great religion even today. How can I pit this new religion of Mahatma Gandhi who has converted me to non-violence and condemn a brother of mine who has done the greatest service to the country? Remember that when once it was said that he was dead, Mahatma Gandhi was the first man to send a telegram to his mother and the Working Committee joined in it.

"Let nobody make an all-India leader a party leader. Subhas Bose does not belong to the Forward Bloc or to the I.N.A. or to the Radicals of any group. He belongs to India (cheers) for whom he worked and for whom, I hope, he is still living (renewed cheers). In Bombay I was asked to speak about the I.N.A. I said that but for my creed of non-violence I would have acted exactly as Subhas Babu did (cheers). I would not have felt ashamed but I would have felt proud. I would have thought I had done the greatest service for my country and I would have said that I had done what in history many great people have done."

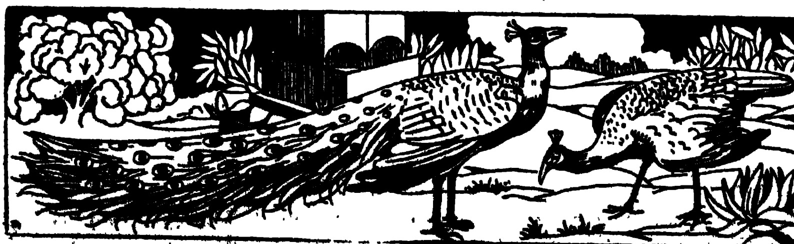
Acharya Kripalani again made a fervent appeal for communal unity. He said, "I told you and I repeat that we in India—whether we are Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis, Christians or followers of any other faith—cannot leave this country. There is no other country that can be ours. We have to live together. Let us live in peace and brotherhood. If we do not so live, nature will make us suffer and after great sufferings we will have to reconcile ourselves to the fact that those whom God united nobody can separate. Any Hindu who offends a Mussalman is doing injustice to his community and his country and any Muslim who offends a Hindu is destroying his religion and the freedom of his country.

VIOLENCE & NON-VIOLENCE

Addressing his radical friends, Acharya Kripalani said. "I have learnt non-violence from Gandhiji. I do not hesitate to tell you that I used to believe in violence and belonged to the group of revolutionaries in 1906 and 1907. Even in the days of my revolutionary life, I hope, I was a brave man and I would not have hesitated to mount the gallows but I never felt so fearless, so bold, so strong, as when I accepted the creed of non-violence from Gandhiji (cheers).

"If this country is to rise, it will rise by non-violence and by no other method. We are divided into so many groups—political, economic and religious—that if we use violence against the foreign enemy we are sure to use that violence against each other also. They who live by the sword shall die by the sword (cheers). The world has introduced the atom bomb but something worse will come unless it takes stock of what it has been doing hitherto. I do not condemn people because they use violence.

"Non-violence is a new creed but I want to place it before you because I have tried both the methods and found that non-violence is the superior method. The light has been lighted and it will guide us whether you wish it or not. If you are going to solve your problems by untruth, by crooked diplomacy, the world's problems will not be solved. In one word the difference between Socialism and Gandhism is that Gandhiji says that the means shall be as pure as your ends are high. High aims cannot be served by crooked means. This is a nutshell is the difference between western Socialism and this eastern Socialism of this old Bania. The world will not be safe from war or strife or bloodshed until this doctrine is accepted. Whether you accept it today or tomorrow or after a century it does not matter but, remember, that century will be a troublesome century for humanity."—*A.P.I.*

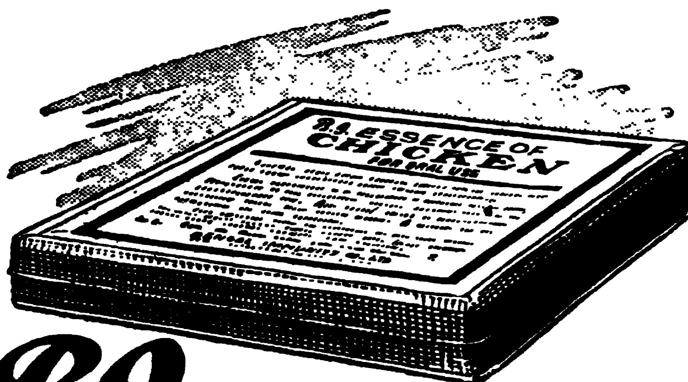




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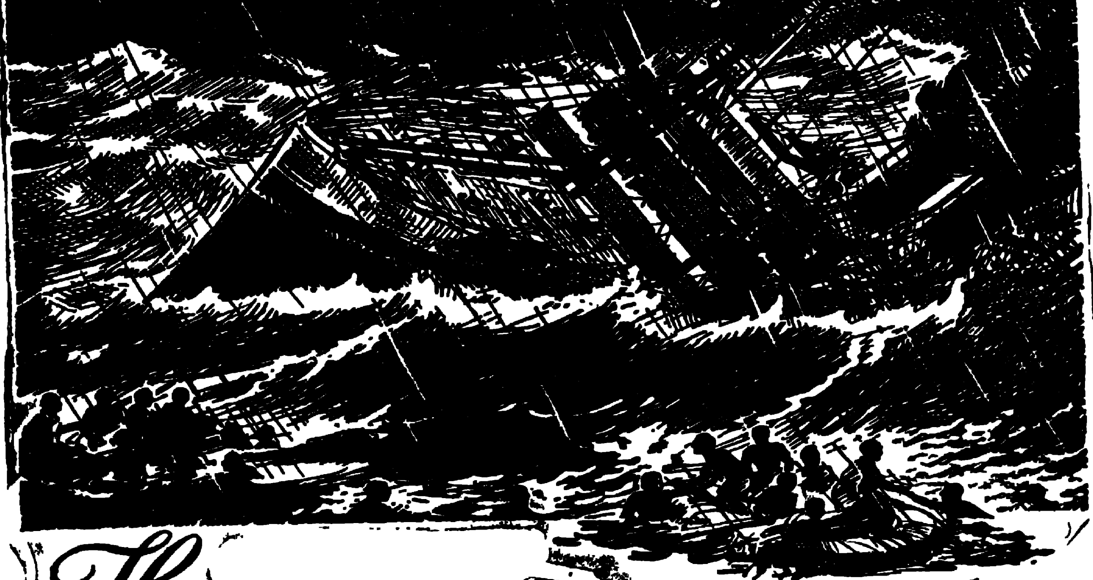
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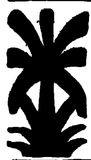
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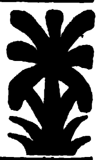
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Andrew's Early Life in England

Marjorie Sykes writes in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* :

Charles Freer Andrews was born in 1871, the second son and fourth child of a family of fourteen children. His early childhood was spent in the industrial districts of the north of England at Newcastle-on-Tyne, but in 1876, when he was five years old, the family moved to Birmingham, which was his parents' home for the remainder of their lives. Here the boy grew up, and in course of time was admitted to an old and famous boys' school, the King Edward VI Grammar School. In 1890, at the age of 19, he won a scholarship at Pembroke College, Cambridge. After a distinguished career of five years as a student, he worked for about five years longer as a Christian Priest among the very poor, first in the industrial north where he had spent his own childhood, and later in the slums of East London. The strain of the work was too much for his health, and late in 1899 he returned to Cambridge as a teacher of theology. Here he remained till February, 1904, when he felt himself called to India to take the place of his own greatest college friend, Basil Westcott, who after a short period of service on the staff of St. Stephens' College, Delhi, had died of cholera a short time before.

There is still very little material available in India for the study of this formative period of Andrews' life. One book however is of absolutely unique value; it is Andrews' own autobiography, *What I Owe to Christ.* The first eight chapters of this, very nearly half the book, contain his own account of the influences under which his early life was spent. It is unique because while its somewhat scanty framework of dates and external facts can be amplified from other sources, nothing can take the place of his own description of his inner religious experiences, the hidden realities which integrated his whole life. I shall refer to this book very largely—indeed I am almost wholly dependent on it for the materials of this article—and I can only urge you to read it too.

Andrews tells in most moving terms of the beauty and purity of the religious atmosphere in which he was brought up. His father's family belonged to the Eastern counties of England, a rich farming country inhabited by a sturdy, independent stock of small farmers, and steeped for three hundred years in the traditions of the Puritan religion. John Milton had been one of Andrews' forerunners in Cambridge University; Oliver Cromwell had found in the Eastern farmers the backbone of his "Ironside" army of sober, God-fearing soldiers; John Bunyan of the little Eastern market town of Bedford, imprisoned for conscience sake, had written in Bedford Jail his immortal "Pilgrim's Progress": and from these same Eastern counties the Pilgrim Fathers had set sail in their tiny ships to establish at peril of their lives the magnificent American tradition of religious freedom Such was the stock from which Andrews sprang—men to whom the call of conscience and duty was absolutely paramount. This tradition was strong among his own immediate ancestors. His grandfather had been minister of that same Baptist Church at Bedford which two centuries earlier had heard the ministry of John Bunyan: in mature life he was convinced by the preaching of Edward Irving, the prophet founder of the "Catholic Apostolic Church"; true to his Puritan traditions he forfeited his good worldly position and his reputation among his Baptist friends to follow, in obedience to his conscience, the despised leader of a sect which was then held in ridicule. Andrews paid tribute to the same uprightness of spirit in his own father:

"He used to give us one simple, practical lesson on religion which to him was worth everything else put together. It was this: that if our conscience ever told us clearly, at any time, that a certain path was right, then we were to take that path in spite of all consequences."

Andrews himself in later years was called upon more than once to face the misunderstanding of those whom he loved most deeply and whose sincerity he reverenced most wholly, when in his turn the paramount claims of conscience compelled him to take a path in religious matters which differed from theirs.

Such an inflexible standard of integrity sometimes leads to the formation of a harsh, censorious and unlovely habit of mind, but in the elder Mr. Andrews it formed the outer garment of a deep and tender understanding of the essential teaching of Christ. In *What I Owe to Christ* his son tells the story of the loss of all his mother's money by the defection of a trustee who had been his father's trusted friend. The child never forgot the gathering for family prayer on the evening of the day when the loss was known, when his father poured out his whole soul in compassionate intercession and over-flowing love for the man who had done him wrong. Such stories as these give us a glimpse of the foundation of a man's character.

The mother had an even deeper influence on her son than the father—so at least it seemed to him. She was a quiet, practical, loving woman, devoted to her home and children, and she was bound by especially close ties of affection to her second son. This intimacy, as is so often the case, had its roots in the child's delicate health. In his fifth year he had a serious illness, and for a long time it was uncertain whether he would recover. That he did so in the end was due solely to the supremely sympathetic understanding with which his mother nursed him. Their intimacy was lifelong; when he left Cambridge for India the parting with her was the sharpest; her death was his heaviest bereavement. Her gift to him was a natural,

simple, altogether real faith in Christ—a Christ who was the living Friend of all little children, and whom he first knew as his own Companion and Comforter in that painful illness of his childhood.

Andrews tells of an incident in that illness which reveals to us another side of his nature. This is what he says:

"One morning, when I opened my eyes, I noticed a flower by my bedside which my mother had put there while I was asleep, hoping that it would attract my attention when I woke. It so happened that the sight of that flower proved the turning-point in the struggle that had been going on within me, drawing me back to life. For its beauty touched me with a rare joy. It brought with it the desire to live, when life itself was hanging by a thread."

That spontaneous joy in beauty is the mark of the artist in him. That trait too seems to have been in some degree inherited. His father had a poet's mind, buoyant, keen, and full of wonder, and when old age set him free from outward duties he spent happy hours verse-making. The son had some of these verses, written at the ag of eighty-three, published in India in the *Modern Review*. His grand-father's brother had artistic talent; he painted the grand-father's portrait, and the picture was accepted for exhibition in the Academy. The passion of the artist is evident in the following sentence descriptive of Andrews' own childhood:

"Wild nature was a passion to me. Sudden gleams of light, such as sunshine in a forest glade, the blaze of colour from some cottage garden, the sunset glow catching the ripened corn, the ripple of light on the water, the clouds reflecting the glory of sunlight after the rain—all these entranced me."

Had it not been for the supreme hope which his parents cherished that this son of theirs should follow his father's sacred calling as a minister of Christ, and the promise they saw in him that he would be able to do so, it is probable that Charlie might have been trained as an artist. In later years he delighted to employ moments of leisure in the practice of the poet's or the painter's art, and though it is not for his poems or his pictures that he will be remembered, they help us to understand the deep affinity of spirit which drew him in after years to Rabindranath Tagore.

A closely allied aspect of his nature is revealed in some of the most intimate pages of *What I Owe to Christ*. Reading them we can feel how his whole soul would go out to the poet of *Gitanjali*. He described how as child he had the faculty of visualising outwardly his inner world, the things that he saw with his mind. This faculty which is not in itself very unusual among children, survives with some into later life. In Andrews it seems to have re-awakened on rare occasions when some experience of beauty had stirred his nature to unwonted depths. At a time of great spiritual exultation, just before he went to College, he had gone for a country walk on a perfect day among scenes of wonderful beauty, which were crowned by the unexpected vision of the lovely Cathedral of Lichfield among its trees. Andrews went on "in glorious exultation" and entered the great church in the early evening sunlight as the music of the prayers began:

"Then something happened which I cannot well describe. I became lost altogether to time and space and outer things as I passed upward into realms of unimaginabl light. In the end, I found myself back again among external things, and went on my way rejoicing."

At another time, in Cambridge, he was "constantly living in the presence of the unseen world", for at that mortal illness and death were the lot of a number of his most cherished friends. One summer evening, as he stood along in the twilight in the court of Pembroke College, he saw someone approaching slowly, clad in priestly garments.

"There was no sense of mystery or alarm as I watched him approaching. Everything seemed quiet natural to me, and my mind was untroubled and at ease. I was preparing with reverence to stand aside—when instead of proceeding further, the figure turned towards a door in the Old Court and vanished away. The door that he was facing when he vanished was half covered with a creeper, and unused...It is literally true that for many years after wards the intensity of that spiritual moment of luminous vision helped me to keep fast my hold on those unseen realities which are not temporal but eternal".

Andrews' nineteenth and twentieth years were a period of strenuous intellectual growth and revolutionary changes in spiritual outlook and experience. Just before he first went to College, there came upon him a heart-shaking experience of religious conversion, a new knowledge of the depth of his own human helplessness and need, and of the forgiveness and all-sufficient grace of God. That this was no mere emotionalism was proved by its sequel. The new-found joy in Christ led him straight out to visit the poor people living in his own neighbourhood in Birmingham, and to seek to enter as a friend into their sorrows, needs and joys. This inner certainty held fast amid the "storms of doubt" about the intellectual formulations of religious belief current in his father's church, which almost immediately assailed him in the "keen and biting" intellectual atmosphere of Cambridge. In those months the inexorable call of conscience led him, after bitter struggles, to break with the Catholic Apostolic Church and enter the Anglican communion. It is difficult to imagine what it cost a devoted son thus to take a path in religious matters which diverged from the traditions of his parents and in which they believed him mistaken; but that he did so was in accordance with the sturdy teaching of duty in which they had brought him up.

Then as always, Andrews found relief from intellectual doubt and turmoil in the joy of active service of the needy. We have already seen how such service had been the natural expression of his first flush of religious enthusiasm. His delight in it grew throughout his student days, as he shared as an undergraduate in the work of the College Mission in London, and when he completed his studies he was ordained to the priesthood with an increasing sense of his vocation for social service among the very poor. In after life he always spoke of the years spent among the ship-builders of the Tyne and the dock-labourers and costermongers of the London streets as the happiest period of his life. It was a period full of significance for his later work in India. It gave him, as no other experience could have done, an intimate knowledge of the problems of industrial civilisation in their impact upon individual human beings. It taught him to value the Trade Union movement and to throw in his lot with the Labour Party. It opened his eyes to the terrible evils that follow the drink trade, and made him a lifelong enemy of drink and drugs. It taught him to look at life from the point of view of the helpless casual labourer in a monotonous round of drudgery. It made him, in a word, what India by a true instinct has chosen to call him, the Friend of the Poor. Time does not permit me to elaborate these points, but they can be illustrated over and over again both from *What I Owe to Christ*, and from the reminiscences of those days which he delighted to give, and some of which have been preserved for us in articles in the *Modern Review*.

Two points among the five that I have chosen for study, remain to be dealt with, and in neither case shall we be able to trace back so definitely the fruit to its seed as we have been able to do up to the present. These two are Andrews' passionate preaching of racial equality as a fundamental Christian principle, and his almost equally passionate pleading for the political independence of India. Let us deal with them in this order.

So far as I have been able to discover up to the present, there is very little indication in any of Andrews' writings that a concern for racial equality as a specific and urgent Christian problem was consciously present to his mind, before his experience of India forced it upon his attention. There are in fact signs that the circles in which he moved were healthily free from any taint of racial pride. He tells us, for example, that while he was in charge of the Pembroke College Mission, it was the custom for the most popular student of the year in the College to be made responsible for collecting the undergraduates' subscription and that in one of those years that honour and responsibility had by universal acclaim been assigned to an Indian student. East London itself, like many another great port, is the home of the poor of many different races, and the College Mission staff, like other social workers, regarded *all* the inhabitants of their district, irrespective of race, as having an equal claim upon their time and effort. This was so much a matter of course that the fact is not even mentioned. If one may hazard a guess, it may well be that the contrast between the natural and just traditions in which Andrews had previously worked, and the actual situation which he found in India and still more in South Africa, was such a tremendous shock to him that it turned him into the prophet of that equality which from his youth up he had practised.

There is something rather different about the development of Andrews' early interest in India. His father, he tells us, in common with the rest of the church to which he belonged, held that as power is from above, from God, it is little short of blasphemy to teach that it is of the people. Such opinions, a reaction against Puritan radicalism, "led inevitably to conservatism in politics and an ardent belief in the divine right of Kings." The elder Mr. Andrews held that the British Empire in India was "the most glorious achievement of the Anglo-Saxon race," and fired the imagination of his children by his stories of Indian Munity heroes, such as Havelock, Outram, and Lawrence. The enthusiastic Charlie longed to go to India, and once when he was a very small boy asked his mother to let him have rice for his meals in preparation for his future career. It was a long journey from such a political attitude to the realisation that there was in fact "another side of the medal" of which the father, in his innocent faith in the goodness of Queen Victoria's government, had known nothing.

Aside from the political aspect, however, the young Andrews' interest in India was developed in the best possible way during his Cambridge days. His friend Basil Westcott, whose death was the signal for his own momentous decision to work in India, was the son of the saintly and distinguished Cambridge scholar Dr. Westcott, the influence of whose own deep interest in India was such that no less than four of his sons gave themselves to work here. This Dr. Westcott, of whom Andrews saw much during college vacations spent in his friend's home, was one of the founders of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi. His own attitude towards Indian thought was far removed from the ignorant and arrogant proselytisation which has so often marred the work of Christian missions. He felt very deeply the power and beauty of India's spiritual heritage, and often spoke to the young men of his hope that from India would come an interpretation of some of the aspects of Jesus Christ which it was almost impossible for the west, unaided, to understand or appreciate. It is true that in later years Andrews' own thought of Christ and India went for beyond that of other members of the Cambridge Mission in the boldness of his break with tradition, but this was in the true sense a development, and not a contradiction, of his earlier attitude. His quick appreciation of Indian history, literature and philosophy was prepared, like so much else, in the keen air of Cambridge.

External Affairs

The New Review observes

Pandit Nehru's statement on India's foreign policy was candid and stimulating. His stand for universal peace and co-operation, which is commonplace with all statesmen, is coloured with two principles which are rarely voiced as strongly: no political subjection of any nation to a single power, no racial discrimination. The bearing of both principles will be tested in the immediate future.

The first test will come with the case of the Indonesian Republic, which is not yet officially recognised by Delhi but has all the sympathy of the new Central Government. Indian troops will be repatriated as soon as shipping is available; in no case will they be used to restore Dutch rule. Self-determination is the birth-right of all nations and the stability of Dr. Shariar's Government is sufficient proof of the Indonesian sentiment. The Dutch do not have ambition much more than co-operation with Indonesia. They did a shrewd piece of business when they paid for Java with a few places like Chinsurah; it was a financial operation which they want to prolong by co-operation. India will not help. On the same principle, India will oppose the annexation of South-west Africa by the Union of South-Africa; and in general if any colony is at present unfit for independence, the only remedy is trusteeship, preferably the trusteeship of the U.N.O.

A more irritating problem which India's delegation will face on landing in the U.S.A. is the position of Indians in South-Africa.

Were India to interfere on behalf of her minorities in Africa or Australasia, would other powers refrain from taking the case of certain minorities in India to the U.N.O.? On the other hand, can she give up protecting her nationals in foreign lands?

Our Department of External Affairs will soon develop enormous dimensions; the establishment of an embassy in China and the U.S.A. is only a first step. Few men are available at present to staff the offices of ambassadors, trade-commissioners and consuls. Apparently the Educational Department has no scheme in readiness to train men for those jobs. One wonders if international orders of missionaries who run Foreign Service schools and have plentiful resources for teaching foreign languages should not come forward and offer to assist India in her special need of the moment.

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Dust Storms in India

Keshvasharan Agarwala writes in *The Indian Review*:

The severe dust storms that swept over the United Provinces, Delhi, Rajputana, Baluchistan, and Sind in May last are by no means a rare phenomenon in this country. In fact, the occurrence of such storms is very common in India and is somewhat of a periodical nature. During dust storms the wind carrying dust or sand blows with a high velocity. It is the tremendous force of the wind that causes damage to property while the accompanying dust results in serious deterioration of the visibility and proves so dangerous to traffic, etc.

Dust storms are known by different names in different parts of the world. They are called 'Haboobs' in Sudan, and the term 'Simoom' is applied in the Sahara and Arabian deserts. They are popularly known by the term 'Andhi' in northern India.

It is usual to distinguish between dust storms, dust raising winds and dust devils. Dust storms occur over a considerable area at the same time and are often associated with squalls and thunderstorms. Dust raising winds are strong winds which raise dust or sand from ground to higher levels and carry it to a considerable distance. Dust raising winds are common in Baluchistan and northwest India mainly in the hot season. A dust storm has a smaller duration than the dust raising winds. Dust-devils also known as sand-pillars are isolated eddies or whirlwinds carrying up the dust or sand into the air with them. They have a rotary movement, both in clockwise and counter-clockwise direction and reach a height up to 3,000 ft. As they develop, dust-devils raise small clouds of dust which rise high enough to obscure vertical visibility.

The incidence of dust storms in India usually causes considerable damage to house property, fruit-gardens and standing crops and is therefore a matter of great concern to fruit-growers, farmers, etc. An idea of the extent of damage done will be obtained if one goes through the reported accounts of dust storms. During the severe dust storms that visited Delhi on 20th and 21st May last, the wind reached a speed of 50 to 60 miles per hour and resulted in the uprooting of many trees, destruction of huts and dislocation of traffic. The worst sufferers are usually the fruit-orchards on account of the untimely falling down of unripe fruits in large quantities from the trees. These storms occurred both in the morning and afternoon as well as at night and were followed by refreshing showers of rain which brought a welcome break in the spell of sweltering heat otherwise prevailing.

Another kind of havoc which dust storms often cause is that serious fires break out during such storms. On account of the high wind the storm only fans the fire once it has started, and makes it widespread, causing loss of property as well as life. During a storm that occurred in the village of Fatehpur in Cawnpore District in May last, a devastating fire broke out and resulted in the destruction of 32 houses and serious injury to two boys. The storm that swept over Almora on 28th and 29th May last was reported to be so severe that apart from the enormous damage it caused to property, a person was blown off by it and received serious injuries. A dust storm which was reported from the west U. P. on 23rd May, 1946, was so severe in intensity that loose wagons lying in the yard for unloading at Sonari railway station were caused to collide with one another by the storm. As the onset of the storm threw a blanket of dust over the whole yard, the persons unloading one of the wagons took shelter under the wagons ; as the wagons collided, five of the persons were killed instantaneously and eight others sustained injuries.

Apart from the damage that they cause to property, dust storms sometimes prove very dangerous to aircraft in flight. With the visibility generally becoming poor or bad due to the air being laden with dust, flying when a dust storm is on, needs the highest skill on the part of the pilot and is still full of hazard.

Here is a description of the flier's experience in a North Indian dust storm:

"We had risen high above the Agra plain and were some 70 miles on our way (to Jodhpur) when in the

far distance a mighty wall seemed to rise sheer out of the earth, a barrier that mounted higher and higher and became ever more thick and menacing as though it would say 'thou shalt not pass.' We pressed on to meet the challenge, rising still higher until the altimeter registered 12,000 ft.; but we might as well have risen to the stratosphere in the effort to get clear of the enemy, for the dark brown wall rose higher than we did, its vanguard was already in touch with us, whistling and howling around our tiny aircraft like a legion of devils. . . . It was getting black as night, nothing was visible but the rampart of dark brown dust. . . ."

It will be clear from the above as to how hazardous it is for the airmen to fly when a dust storm is on and how very important it is for him to make himself familiar with the different types of dust storms and to be supplied with timely and accurate forecasts regarding their approach. It is rarely practicable to fly over the storms and in most cases it is best to avoid them. If a landing is contemplated, the airmen must make it in good time so that the aircraft may be placed under cover and protected from the penetrating dust and the violent wind.

Besides the immense national loss that they inflict on the country in the form of damage to property etc., dust storms have adverse effect on the health of the population.

Dust finds its way into the human system in large quantities during dust storms and gives rise to serious types of ailments. It is said that during the last war a few of the soldiers who served in the African desert for a considerable period, had developed some disease as a result of deposit of dust and sand in the chest and stomach.

Dust storms in India occur chiefly during the hot weather months April to August. They occur occasionally during the months of March, September and October and are rare during the remaining months. Dust storms are the most frequent during the months of May and June when they occur on about one-third of the days in a month in Rajputana. They are experienced chiefly in the North-West Frontier, Baluchistan, the Punjab, Sind, Rajputana and U.P. and in the central parts of the country. Their incidence is occasional in north-east India and the Deccan; elsewhere they are rare. During the period April to June, strong dust storms and thunder storms in north-west India are associated with cold fronts of western disturbances. Earlier in the period they are accompanied with little rain but as the season advances, they are attended with more and more rain.

The hour of occurrence of dust storms in India is different with different storms, and dust storms may occur at any time of the day or night. The dust storm reports, however, indicate that a large majority of them occur during the day hours and in the afternoons or evenings. On the other hand, the occurrence of dust storms at night is not uncommon in India. The duration of a dust storm in the country is generally some minutes and it rarely lasts for several hours at a stretch. To cite an example, the dust storm that visited Cawnpore city and its suburbs on the 23rd May 1946, lasted for about half an hour in the afternoon.

These Agricultural Colleges

J. C. Kumarappa, writes in *Gram Udyog Patrika*:

It is a scandal that crores of rupees should have been spent on the researches carried on by the so-called "Agricultural Colleges" of India and yet the production of rice per acre in India is 939 lbs. as against 3909 lbs. in Japan. Similarly, the production of wheat is 774 lbs. in India as against 2010 lbs. in Japan. India is subject to repeated famines. Is it any wonder ? Does not the situation call for an enquiry into the working of these Agricultural Colleges? Crores of public money have been sunk in these colleges and in their researches. Why then is our production a mere fraction of that of other countries?

The answer is fairly clear, A great deal of first class research work has been done by these institutions but not on food production. They have concentrated their work mainly on evolving long staple cotton suitable to be used in textile machinery, on juicy but thick rind sugarcane for the sugar mills, on growing tobacco for the Imperial Tobacco Co. etc. If they had done any researches in food grain it has been only to fill show windows at Exhibitions as an apology to justify their existence.

Under these circumstances is it not right that the cost of running these institutions should be charged to these beneficiaries instead of being saddled on the impecunious farmers?

To be honest they should call these colleges "Mill Raw Mterial Research Institutes." It is no use masquerading under false names only to sponge on public money.

The real agricultural colleges must be situated in rural areas, their buildings etc. should be in consonance with their surroundings and keeping with the standards prevailing among the people they profess to serve. The Principals and Professors must themselves be cultivating farmers. They may well be allotted a certain acreage out of the produce of which to support themselves. Their activities must be confined to the needs of the people—being chiefly limited to food production, short staple cotton and such other materials in demand in the villages. They should take the lead in the supply of selected seeds and in grain storage. The medium of instruction should be the language of the locality. The students themselves would then be prospective farmers instead of job-seeking city young men whose one need is a degree of some kind. The whole policy needs to be reoriented if famine prevention is our goal.

We would suggest an enquiry committee should be set up to investigate the working of all existing institutions from the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research downwards and to recommend the reorganisation of these institutions in such a way as to concentrate their efforts on fighting famine. Money spent on such researches will be truly and effectively a famine insurance.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Text of Churchill's Zurich Address

The following address is reproduced from *The New York Times*, Friday, September 20, 1946:

London, Sept. 19 (*AP*)—The text of former Prime Minister Winston Churchill's address delivered in Zurich, Switzerland, today and monitored in London from the Swiss radio by Exchange Telegraph:

Ladies and gentlemen: I am honored today by being received in your ancient university and by the address which has been given to me on your behalf and which I greatly value.

I wish to speak to you today about the tragedy of Europe. This noble continent, comprising on the whole the fairest and the most cultivated regions of the earth, enjoying a temperate and equable climate, is the home of all the great parent races of the Western world. It is the foundation of Christian faith and Christian ethics.

It is the origin of most of the culture, art, philosophy and science, both of ancient and modern times. If Europe were once united in the sharing of its common inheritance, there would be no limit to the happiness, the prosperity and the glory which its 300,000,000 or 400,000,000 people would enjoy. Yet it is from Europe that has sprung that series of frightful and nationalistic morals originated by the Teutonic nations in their rise to power, which we have seen in this twentieth century and which have for a long time wrecked the peace and marred the prospects of all mankind.

Europe Senses New Terror

And what is the plight to which Europe has been reduced? Some of the smaller states have indeed made a good recovery, but over wide areas a vast quivering mass of tormented, hungry, careworn and bewildered human beings gaze on the ruins of their cities and scan the dark horizon for the approach of some new peril, tyranny or terror.

Among the victors there is a babel of voices, among the vanquished a sullen silence of despair.

That is all that Europeans, grouped in so many ancient states and nations—that is all that the Germanic races have got by tearing each other to pieces and spreading havoc far and wide. Indeed, but for the fact that the great republic across the Atlantic Ocean has at length realized that the ruin or enslavement of Europe has involved their own fate as well, and has stretched out hands of succour and guidance—but for that, the Dark Ages would have returned in all their cruelty and squalor.

They may still return. There is a remedy which, if it were generally and spontaneously adopted by the great majority of people in the many lands, would, as if by a miracle, transform the whole scene and would in a few years make all Europe, or the greater part of it, as free and as happy as Switzerland is today.

Urges a United Europe

What is this sovereign remedy?

It is to recreate the European family, or as much of it as we can, and to provide it with a structure under which it can dwell in peace, in safety and in freedom. We must build a kind of United States of Europe. In this way only will hundreds of millions of toilers be able to regain the simple joys and hopes which make life worth living.

The process is simple. All that is needed is the resolve of hundreds of millions of men and women to do right instead of wrong, and to gain as their reward blessing instead of cursing. Much work has been done upon this task by the exertions of the planned European Union, which owes so much to Count Coidenhove-Calergi and which demanded the services of the famous French patriot and statesman, Aristide Briand.

There is also that immense body of doctrine and procedure which was brought into being amid high hopes after the first World War. I mean the League of Nations. The League of Nations did not fail because of its principles or conceptions. It failed because these principles were deserted by those states who had brought it into being. It failed because the Governments of those days feared to face the facts and act while time remained.

This disaster must not be repeated. There is, therefore, much knowledge and material with which to build and also bitter, dear-bought experience to spur the builders.

Advocates Regional Grouping

I was very glad to read in the newspapers two days ago that my friend, President Truman, had expressed his interest and sympathy with this great design. There is no reason why a regional organization of Europe should in any way conflict with the world organization of the United Nations.

On the contrary, I believe that the larger synthesis will only survive if it is founded upon broad natural groupings in the Western Hemisphere. We British have our own commonwealth of nations. These do not weaken —on the contrary, they strengthen—the world organization. They are, in fact, its main support. And why should there not be a European grouping which can give a sense of national partriotism and common citizenship to the distracted peoples of this turbulent and mighty Continent, and why should it not take its proper, rightful place with other great groupings and help to shape the destinies of man?

In order that this may be accomplished, there must be an act of faith in which millions of families speaking many languages must consciously take part. We all know that the two world wars through which we have passed arose out of a vain passion of a newly united Germany to play a dominating part in the world. In this last struggle crimes and massacres have been committed which have no parallel since the invasion of the Mongols in the fourteenth century and have no equal at any time in human history.

Pleads for "Blessed Oblivion"

The guilty must be punished. Germany must be deprived of the power to rearm and make another aggressive war. But when all this has been done, as it will be done, as it is being done, then there must be an end to retribution.

There must be what Mr. Gladstone called a blessed act of oblivion. "We must all turn our backs upon the horrors of the past. We must look to the future. We cannot afford to drag forward across the years that are to come the hatreds and revenges which have sprung from the injuries of the past.

If Europe is to be saved from infinite misery and, indeed, from final doom, there must be this act of faith in the European family and this act of oblivion against all the crimes and follies of the past, and the free peoples of Europe must rise to the height of these resolves of the soul and of the instincts of the spirit of man.

If they can, the wrongs and injuries which have been inflicted will have been washed away on all sides by the miseries which have been endured.

Is there any need for any further conflicts or agony? Is the only lesson of history to be that mankind is unteachable? Let there be justice, mercy and freedom. The people have only to will it in order to achieve their heart's desire.

I am now going to say something which will astonish you. The first step in the reaction of the European family must be partnership between France and Germany.

In this way only can France recover the moral and cultural leadership of Europe.

There can be no revival of Europe without a spiritually great France and a spiritually great Germany.

The structure of the United States of Europe, if well and truly built, will be such as to make the material strength of a single state less important.

Small nations will count as much as large ones and gain their honor by their contribution to the common cause. The ancient states and principalities of Germany, newly joined together into a federal system, might take their individual place among the United States of Europe.

I shall not try to make a detailed program for hundreds of millions of people who want to be happy, free and prosperous, and wish to enjoy the four freedoms of which the great President Roosevelt spoke, and live under the principles embodied in the Atlantic Charter.

"Dangers Have Not Stopped"

If this is the wish of Europeans in so many lands, then they have only to say so and means can certainly be found and machinery erected to carry that wish to full fruition. But I must give warning; time may be short. At present there may be a breathing space. The cannons have ceased firing. The fighting has stopped, but the dangers have not stopped.

If we are to form a United States of Europe, or whatever name it may take, we must begin now. In these present days we dwell strangely and precariously under the shield, and I will even say protection, of the atomic bomb. The atomic bomb is still only in the hands of a State and nation which we know will never use it except in the cause of right and freedom, but it may very well be that in a few years this awful agency of destruction will be widespread and the catastrophe following from its use by several warring nations will not only bring to an end all that we call civilization but may possibly disintegrate the globe itself.

I must now sum up the propositions which are before us. Our constant aim must be to build and fortify the strength of the United Nations organization. Under and within that world concept, we must recreate the European family in a regional structure, called, it may be, the United States of Europe, and the first practical step would be to form a Council of Europe.

If at first all states of Europe are not willing or able to join the union, we must nevertheless proceed to assemble and combine those who will and can. The salvation of the people, of the common people of every race and land, from war and servitude must be established on solid foundations, and must be guarded by the readiness of all men and women to die rather than to submit to tyranny.

In all this urgent work, France and Germany must take the lead together. Great Britain, the British Commonwealth of Nations, mighty America and, I trust, Soviet Russia—and then indeed all would be well—must be the friends and sponsors of the new Europe. Let Europe arise!

The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty

K. M. Panikkar notes the following main points for consideration of such a treaty in the Introduction of his book *The Basis of an Indo-British Treaty* which has been reproduced with his permission in *The Asiatic Review*, October, 1946 :

The question has to be considered at the very beginning as to why there should be an Indo-British treaty, a long-term agreement between England and India, which would necessarily limit the initiative of both countries and tie them together in a partnership which might not be welcome to either. Is there between the two countries that range of interdependence which makes such a development inevitable? Is there no other alternative which will serve the interests of either party better? Unless these questions can be satisfactorily answered, the mere fact that India is now within the British Empire, and, therefore, from the point of view of peaceful evolution, a partnership between the two will be the most satisfactory process of development, will not carry conviction, however reasonable such

a point of view may be. Indian nationalists fervently desiring independence, and unhappy in their present relations with Britain, will have to be satisfied that it is in the *interests of India* to have such a long-term agreement, and that there is no better alternative open to them. Equally, the British people have to be satisfied that, in undertaking new commitments in the East on the basis of a free and independent India, they have no better alternative for safeguarding their position. The inescapable necessity of such a treaty is, therefore, the first thing to be demonstrated.

Today space is an essential factor in national strength, in combating the atom bomb and propellent artillery. The small nations have ceased to count, and can exist only under the protection of Great Powers. Another point which needs to be emphasized is the change in geographical conceptions brought about by the growth of air-power. The arrangement of power in the past was only with reference to land and sea. The air played no part. Today it is different. We have to adjust our geography to the conditions of air-power. In a recent contribution General F. S. Tuker has tried to work out the revolutionary implications of air-power on geography and national power. The abolition of frontiers as we know them, the pattern of invasion directly in the heart of a State (as in Holland in 1940), the ineffectiveness of narrow seas for protection —all these cleary mean the doom of the small State.

More than all this, the three Great Powers have not only taken up their positions, but defined their areas. America's supremacy is hemispheric and is not immediately open to challenge. The position in the Eurasian continent is what is of vital and immediate importance to us. Here the heart of the continent has expanded from the Pacific to the Adriatic, and controls the Baltic. For the first time after what turned out to be the abortive attempt of Jenghiz Khan, the Heartland of the Eurasian continent is united under one iron control. The genius of Mackinder pointed out long ago that the power that controls the land mass from the Carpathians to the Pacific will have established an impregnability in power, and extent of space which cannot be penetrated, and a strategic position which can strike anywhere it chooses. That power today is organized not in the primitive manner of Jenghiz, with bandaged horsemen for communications and catapults for artillery. It is industrially powerful, closely knit, capable of the highest reaches of science in every sphere, and with its military forces at a high pitch of efficiency and prestige.

The transformation of the steppe land from mere space into a seat of industrial and military power which Mackinder foresaw has already taken place. The old weakness of the Heartland, that its centres of production were situated in areas vulnerable to external attack has been overcome. in the first place by a dispersal of industries necessitated by the German invasion and secondly by the complete elimination of Central European Powers. Today the Heartland has taken up its position as the one organized land mass in the Eurasian hemisphere.

As against the heart of the continent, so organized, the previous Great Powers of Europe have become puny States. The only land-power which could have organized a continental resistance has been destroyed, and Russia has made it amply clear that they will not permit the revival of a new Reich. In effect, only what the geopolitical thinkers call the Rimland is left outside.

The power of Great Britain always lay on the Rimland, based on Portugal, Gibraltar and Malta. So long as Asia was unimportant. this gave her the necessary power of offence and defence. Today the position is completely changed. The organization of the Rimland, if based on England alone, will be insufficient against the power of a great continental nation, not dependent on sea communications and self-sufficient in every respect. If the maritime areas of Rimland have to be organized, it can only be with the assistance of a large land mass which is oceanic in its interest, and which can be made reasonably safe from air-power. The organization of maritime areas is possible only on the basis of an Anglo-Indian Treaty. The great land area of India organized to a high pitch of industrial efficiency at one end, and Great Britain at the head of a Western Bloc at another, can keep the maritime areas together. There seems to be no other way. From the point of view of Britain, the necessity of an Indo-British alliance is clear. Without it her position in world politics will be untenable.

If, from the Western point of view, an alliance of Britain with India is necessary, it is equally so from the point of view of India. It is clear that, without such an alliance, India must inevitably fall within the orbit of Russia. Why should it not be so? It may be asked. The reason is simple. So far as Russia is concerned, the Indian Peninsula is merely a Rimland area, of particular importance to either her strength or her position. India's organization as a Great Power is of no vital concern to Russia. India's weakness and backwardness will not materially affect her, any more than the weakness of Mexico affects the United States. All that Russia will be concerned with will be to see that India does not join any other group. On the other hand, in the organization of a maritime State system India will be one of the pivotal areas. It will be in the interests of all her associates that she is strong, well-organized, industrially advanced—in fact, a nation in a position to play her role in the world. A weak, ineffective and industrially backward India cannot be a prop of the alliance, for, without India being such a prop, the alliance must fail. In her own interest, therefore, India has the best chance for fulfilling her national destiny as a partner in the maritime State system.

The essential fact is that India is a maritime State with a predominance of interest on the sea. She is the one true Rimland, whose continental affiliations are comparatively negligible. From the continental point of view of Eurasia she is only an abutting corner, walled off by impassable mountains. From the sea and air point of view, on the other hand, she is one of the great strategic centres. From the maritime point of view she is claimed to be an "air island." She is the natural air transit centre of the maritime areas. To the maritime State system India is invaluable. To the continental system she is unimportant.

Therefore, it goes without saying that India's true interest lies in the capitalization of her national and positional importance, and not in being absorbed within an orbit where she will not count. She can ensure future peace and work out her destiny as a Great Power only in such an alliance.
